

MUZEUL JUDEȚEAN MUREȘ



MARISIA

STUDII ȘI MATERIALE

XXXIII

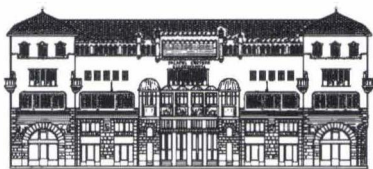
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Peter Anreiter, Eszter Bánffy, László Bartosiewicz, Wolfgang Meid, Carola Metzner-Nebelsick (eds),
*Archaeological, Cultural and Linguistic Heritage. Festschrift for Erzsébet Jerem in Honour of her 70th
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ANOTHER EARLY IRON AGE ZOOMORPHIC CLAY FIGURINE FROM TÂRGU MUREȘ

SÁNDOR BERECKI

Keywords: zoomorphic figurine, porcine, Iron Age, Târgu Mureș

Cuvinte cheie: figurină zoomoră, porcine, epoca fierului, Târgu Mureș

Clay figurines are frequent finds in Early Iron Age sites. The pieces of information regarding these artefacts frequently are limited to their mentioning and/or illustration, however several syntheses, analytic and experimental studies have also been written. On the margin of a recent discovery from the fortress in Târgu Mureș the paper brings into discussion (again) the Early Iron Age zoomorphic clay figurines.

The prehistoric materials from the archaeological layers in the fortress from Târgu Mureș are scarce due to the landscaping and earth works of the later periods. Only a few prehistoric features were revealed, since the establishment of the Franciscan friary and then the buildings of the medieval and modern town, followed by the constructions of the Austrian Army heavily disturbed the layers from earlier periods. The first settlement on this terrace situated on the left bank of the Mureș River dates from the Neolithic Starčevo–Criș–Körös culture;¹ from this period a few hearths, clayed platforms and pottery were found. From the soil above the Stone Age layer, finds from the Wietenberg and Noua cultures were unearthed,² followed by the Early Iron Age layer and the correspondent few features. After the beginning of the first millennium BC the terrace was inhabited again at the beginning of the first millennium AD by Romans and communities from the migration period.³

During the excavations from the last years several Early Iron Age figurines were revealed. In 2011, a clay figurine representing a horse was found,⁴ followed by further figurines in 2012. The present paper presents one of these clay finds from the last year.

The fragmentary clay figurine is brown coloured; because of the uneven firing its colour is lighter on one side and darker on the other. Its

surface is rough, it was tempered with crushed potsherds and chaff, thus pores can be observed on the surface of the object. The two legs on the right side are broken, the legs on the left side are conical, as well as the two ears. The mane is indicated by a rib drawn from the paste, which starts between the two ears in the front and has an oblique trajectory, ending on the right side of the rump. The representation is highly schematic; the anatomical characteristics of the animal can hardly be defined. The determination of the species is also made difficult by the fragmentation of the figurine: the frontal, head part which might greatly help in the classification, is missing. Even so, considering the mane and the analogies, one may define the figurine as a representation of a wild boar.

Conditions of discovery: Târgu Mureș–Fortress, 2012/C41a, -120 cm. Dimensions: length: 28.75 mm; frontal height: 19.31 mm; dorsal height: 23.76 mm; ears' length: 5.65 mm; length of frontal legs: 8.02 mm; length of dorsal legs: 8.76 mm; length of the mane: 23.88 mm. Weight: 5.95 g.

The clay figurine is very schematic and rough, like the majority of the figurines from this period.⁵ Regarding the details presented on the representations of wild boars one can observe that – excepting two of the finds from Lechința de Mureș, where the tusks are also represented⁶ – only the ears are modelled on the head, without further details.⁷

¹ Petică – Molnár 2000.

² Petică – Apai 2003.

³ Körösfői 2009.

⁴ Berecki 2012.

⁵ Vasiliev 1986, 80.

⁶ Horedt 1963, Abb. 2/3, 5.

⁷ Ursache 1999, 43.

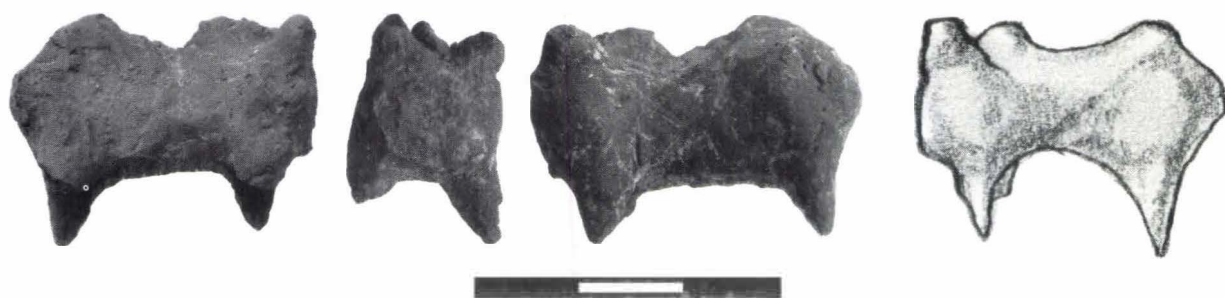


Fig. 1. Zoomorphic clay figurine from Târgu Mureș (drawing: A. Pokorný).

The closest analogies can be mentioned from Teleac⁸ and Lysychnyky.⁹ In the case of the object from Târgu Mureș, the definition of the species was attempted based on the mane of the figurine, although at Lysychnyky in Ukraine such manes are also characteristic for bulls; yet, in their case the species can be defined on the basis of the abdominal anatomical elements.

Regarding the number of the zoomorphic representations, at the very end of the 20th century only 82 such objects were known, out of which fourteen were representing porcine.¹⁰ Among the 43 clay figurines from Siret, only horses, bovine and a single porcine are reproduced;¹¹ however this later piece has too few details to accept its identification as a porcine. A number of 35 pieces were discovered at Grănicești, among them horses, bovine and porcine.¹² Wild boars are rare representations among the zoomorphic figurines. One of the two clay animals from Tilișca had the tusk represented.¹³ 35 zoomorphic figurines were found at Teleac and among them three porcine were identified;¹⁴ probably two of them represent wild boars.¹⁵ Another wild boar is known from Vărădia-Chilii in Banat.¹⁶

Nine representations of porcine are known from Lysychnyky,¹⁷ out of which probably only one would be a wild boar. The figurines are very

schematic; the anatomical details which would indicate their species can hardly be recognized. From more distant areas, wild boars were identified among the 40 pieces from Visegrád–Csemetekert/Lepence found in front of a kiln dated to the HaA2B period of the Urnfield culture. Discoveries from the Hallstatt culture are also mentioned from the site – the rest of the figurines were dated to this period –; the site was considered the westernmost point on the distribution map of the eastern type of zoomorphic clay figurines.¹⁸ Nonetheless, their parallel to the figurines discovered at Lechința de Mureș was questioned lately.¹⁹

Therefore, even if the majority of the zoomorphic representations are domestic animals,²⁰ sometimes wild ones occur, both types shaped in static position. The pieces from Lechința de Mureș were all considered wild animals,²¹ however in the absence of arguments the affirmation cannot be embraced unreservedly, since the ovine and horses might just as well be domestic. It can be concluded that among the zoomorphic representations of the Early Iron Age only wild boars represent the wildlife, while some of the other representations, such as ovine, bovine or horses cannot be assuredly categorized as domestic or wild animals.

Only occasionally the sex of the animals is represented. In the case of porcine, the figurine from Siret was considered a male;²² one of the figurines from Teleac a female,²³ while the two wild boars from Lechința de Mureș were seen as males.²⁴

Regarding the available archaeozoological data of the period, wild boar bones of seven

⁸ Vasiliev 1986, 80, fig. 1/5–6.

⁹ Maleev 1996, 366, Abb. 1/7. Later, the same author defined the same figurine as a bull (Maleev 2007, 67–68, fig. 3); however, in the paper, several classifications can be questioned, since among porcine also ovine can be seen, among bovine maybe some porcine and between the ovine some horses.

¹⁰ Ursache 1999, 42.

¹¹ Mareș et al. 2008, 83, 92, fig. 6/11.

¹² László 1994, 90, fig. 46–49.

¹³ Lupu 1989, 60, fig. 26/11, 21.

¹⁴ Vasiliev 1986, 80, fig. 1/5–6, 2/2; Vasiliev et al. 1991, 68, fig. 27/5–6; 28/2.

¹⁵ Horedt et al. 1962, fig. 6/4.

¹⁶ Gumă 1993, 189–190.

¹⁷ Maleev 2007, 66–67, fig. 2.

¹⁸ Gróh 1984, 56, Abb. 4/1.

¹⁹ Gróh 2009, 25–26, 29–30.

²⁰ Vasiliev 1986, 80; László 1994, 90; László 2001, 307; Ardeu – Bălos 2003, 184.

²¹ Sîrbu 1987, 108.

²² Mareș et al. 2008, 92, fig. 6/11.

²³ Vasiliev 1986, 80, fig. 1/6.

²⁴ Ursache 1999, 43.

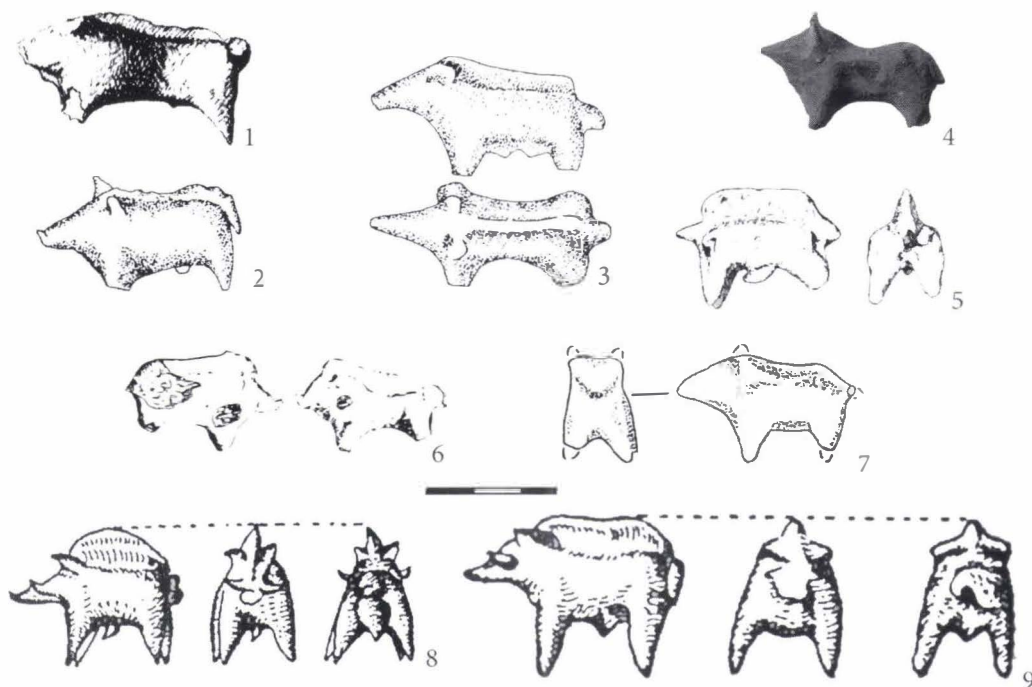


Fig. 2. Early Iron Age porcine representations. 1. Teleac (after Horedt et al. 1962, without scale); 2–3. Teleac (after Vasiliev 1986); 4. Baks (after Szabó 2011); 5–6. Tilișca (after Lupu 1989, without scale); 7. Lysychnyky, UA (after Maleev 1996); 8–9. Lechința de Mureș (after Horedt 1963).

individuals were discovered at Racoș–*Piatra Detunată*,²⁵ six individuals at Mediaș–*Gura Câmpului*, five at Teleac, three at Bernadea and one at Mediaș–*Cetate* and Zau de Câmpie–*La Grădiniță*.²⁶ For the Early Iron Age – and obviously the previous period – the crossbreeding between pig and wild boar was presumed.²⁷

Zoomorphic representations are not so much characteristic for a culture;²⁸ they are rather a common symbol of the period and area.²⁹ The majority of the pieces date from the HaB–HaC period, but they were found also in HaA contexts.³⁰ Generally, the anthropomorphic representations were dated largely, between 1200 and 600 BC.³¹

The observations according to which the Early Iron Age zoomorphic figurines have a unitary character, that they are of fine paste and are well fired, finely executed and their dimensions are corresponding to the proportions of the real

animals,³² or that some are presenting artistic valences³³ cannot be generalized unreservedly, especially if taking into consideration the objects from Târgu Mureș.

For the contemporaneous Cozia–Saharna culture three types of cultic places or sanctuaries have been defined: domestic, territorial and cultic centres, the clay figurines – among them the zoomorphic ones – discovered in houses being seen as an argument for the first category.³⁴ In the case of the figurines from Visegrád the wild boar – previously considered tapir – was endowed with cultic functions because of the inventory of the pit in which it was found together with a pair of tusks, while the rest of the figurines were interpreted as toys; the perforated horse figurine was considered a toy put in the front of a clay wagon.³⁵ Their cultic role connected to fertility and fecundity³⁶ or domestic magic and ritual practices,³⁷ or cultic accessories³⁸ may be questioned even because of

²⁵ el Susi 2009, 231–234.

²⁶ Bindea 2008, 101–105.

²⁷ el Susi 2009, 232–233.

²⁸ László 1994, 90.

²⁹ Maleev 2007, 74; Sana – Bejinariu 2010, 172.

³⁰ Sirbu 1987, 108; the two pieces discovered at Chinari were dated to the HaA2–HaB1 period (Rezi – Nagy 2009, 103–104).

³¹ Metzner-Nebelsick 2000, 164.

³² Sirbu 1987, 108; László 1994, 90; Ardeu – Bălos 2003, 184.

³³ Vasiliev et al. 1991, 145.

³⁴ Kaşuba 2003, 192.

³⁵ Gróh 1984, 62; Gróh 2009, 29.

³⁶ Gróh 1984, 62; Vasiliev 1986, 80; László 1994, 90; Ievițki 1994, 111; Ursache 1999, 45; László 2001, 307; Szabó 2002, 52; Ardeu – Bălos 2003, 185.

³⁷ Sirbu 1993, 132–133; Sirbu 2004, 361.

³⁸ Mareș et al. 2008, 88.

their rudimentary and schematic character in a period when potters achieved great masterpieces, but also because of the presence of wild animals. The shaping of these objects did not necessitate high manual dexterity, as experiments have shown that an unskilled person could accomplish such an object in five to ten minutes.³⁹ Considering them the 'finger exercises' of potters⁴⁰ would be contradicted however by their distribution on a relatively large area. Since some of the pieces have been provided with holes, an apotropaic role can be presumed;⁴¹ but a profane utilization is also probable, or even a changing functionality of these clay objects can be presumed.⁴² Since no figurine has been discovered in grave, their connection to the funerary practices can be excluded.⁴³

Either way, the zoomorphic clay figurines are symbols of the pastoral ideology of the period, and based on the distribution map one can conclude that they reflect the close intercultural contacts on a ritual and ideological level between communities on both sides of the Carpathians.⁴⁴ It is questionable if they were also art objects in the broader context of symbolic material culture,⁴⁵ but surely these social products give an insight of the cultural system of the period⁴⁶ through the eyes of the manufacturer – (and therefore in a subjective mode), cultural system characterized by sedentary lifestyle, agriculture and animal breeding.⁴⁷ It remains an unanswered question, however, whether these objects were used in rituals or ceremonies meant to influence these factors. In any case, they certainly underline the – profane or cultic – importance of these animals, and from the wildlife the role of the wild boar for the communities from the beginning of the first millennium BC.

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Rezumat

Figurine din lut sunt descoperiri frecvente în siturile din prima epocă a fierului. Deși informațiile cu privire la aceste artefacte în cele mai multe cazuri sunt limitate la o mențiune și/sau ilustrarea lor,

unele sinteze, studii analitice și experimentale tratează această categorie de descoperiri. Pe marginea unei descoperiri recente din cetatea de la Târgu Mureș prezentul studiu aduce în discuție (din nou) figurine zoomorfe de lut de la începutul epocii fierului.

AKINAKAI OF KELERMES TYPE: NEW DISCOVERIES IN CENTRAL AND NORTHERN BESSARABIA

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Cuvinte cheie: akinakes, spadă, pumnal, tip Kelermes, cultura scitică, armament, prima epocă a fierului

This article presents some new and previously unknown findings of akinakai from the territory of the Republic of Moldova. These akinakai belong to Scythian culture and could be attributed to Kelermes type. The chronological framework of this type is based on several funeral complexes and determined by 650–600 BC. Distribution of stray finds of Kelermes type swords and daggers allow to reconstruct routes of spread of Early Scythian antiquities in forest-steppes of Don, Volga region and Carpathian basin. Besides that, a special cultural status of this type it is assumed. This supposition is based on such complementary indicators as their presence in burials, the existence of prestige exemplars and representations of such akinakai on other types of archaeological inventory. Also, the bronze model of akinakes (from Medgidia, Romania) is connected with Kelermes type swords and daggers, most likely produced as a decoration of the Scythian anthropomorphic sculpture.

This year marks the 50th anniversary of issuing the well-known monograph on Scythian weaponry, signed by the famous Russian scytho-logist Anna Meljukova (1964). According to A. Alekseev, the classification presented by Meljukova goes back to the ideas of M. I. Rostovtsev and V. A. Gorodtsov.¹ In fact, Vasily Gorodtsov tended to keep to the strict classification criteria, the ideal embodiment of which, in his opinion, were the classification schemes as in natural sciences.

This aspiration to ideal types makes V. Gorodtsov the first archaeological taxonomist (probably, the first not even in Russia, but in the world), because this 'typological method' he substituted to so called 'museum classification'.² Nevertheless, the study of A. I. Meljukova is an example of classification, rather a 'typological'³ than a 'museum' or 'collectible' one,⁴ since in her groups (even allocated by hierarchical principles) are hidden chronological and typological observations. Despite the fact that, the classification of A. I. Meljukova still remains the most common and generally accepted, the attempts to rethink the

classification criteria of Scythian armament do not stop. This is quite natural since, as noticed by Leo Klejn, the idea of the 'best typology' is only 'a mirage' which could be pursued, but never achieved.⁵ The main strategies in classification (as a scientific method) could be divided in two groups: 'empiric' (based on main features of artefacts and allocation in types due to its similarity) and 'positivist' (hypothesis-deductive procedure).⁶ The latter one provides a deductive selection of the features and characters which is determined by only the research objectives, i. e. able to bring it to the typology as a result. This positivist approach could be demonstrated and illustrated on Kelermes type of Scythian akinakai.

Basing on the specific combination of some features of akinakai (like the shape of the hilt, of the blade and the most archaic feature - presence of a bight on the handle) A. Voroshilov defined a new group of Scythian swords and daggers in the forest-steppe zone of the Don region, which he named 'akinakai of Kelermes type'.⁷ The observations of A. Voroshilov under this type of Scythian akinakai were recently supplemented.⁸ Earlier, E.

¹ Gorodtsov 1927, 6 after: Alekseev 1991, 272. Though the references to Gorodtsov's book ('Typological method in Archaeology', 1927) are not presented in the monography written by Meljukova.

² Klejn 2011. I, 648, 652–653.

³ Klejn 1991, 367.

⁴ Gorelova – Haslavskaja 1991, 61.

⁵ Klejn 1991, 103–105.

⁶ Klassifikacija 2013, 141–142.

⁷ Voroshilov 2009, 40; Voroshilov 2011, 157; Voroshilov 2013, 91.

⁸ Topal – Brujako 2012, 134–141; Denisov 2012, 66–67; Shelekhhan 2013, 137–138.

Černenko proposed this term (Kelermes type) for the description of massive 'butterfly-like' hilts and suggested as a model the sword from Kelermes burial (Kuban region).⁹ Later, M. Pirtskhalava attributed to 'so called Kelermes type' a group of akinakai from Tlia necropolis, Georgia.¹⁰ Now the fact that Kelermes type is a historiographical phenomenon could be affirmed and it is used widely like the other types of Scythian akinakai, for example – Marychevka type,¹¹ Chertomlyk type¹² and Solokha type.¹³ To the present, we can count about 30 akinakai with the bight on handle and 10 of them come from a well-defined archaeological context and therefore have a precise chronological position due to connection with archaeological context (*Pl. 2*). Besides these, one could include into this group about 20 other finds which display very close technological and design features, such as shape of triform handle, massive 'butterfly-shaped' hilt (rarely 'heart'- and 'kidney'-shaped), and the blade with two almost parallel edges and median rib, could be added to this group.

Modern archaeology evaluates the problem of stray finds differently, sometimes stray finds have not been regarded as useful in any interpretation. Nevertheless, careful use of data based on stray finds may give some positive results.¹⁴ So, the transformation of finds without any context into the archaeological record is an important scientific problem. In our case, the information about spreading to the West of the Dniester river of Kelermes type akinakai was essentially supplemented by a group of stray finds. An iron sword relatively well preserved was found in the forest near Vatici village (Republic of Moldova, Orhei district). Besides that, another similar akinakes came also from Orhei district – near Susleni village. Even though, akinakes from Vatici was published in a special paper in Russian,¹⁵ I consider it is necessary to include the description of this item here. The total length of this akinakes was about 49 cm (the preserved length is 47,5 cm). The cross section of the blade is rhombic, the edges are parallel having a median rib about 20 cm. The blade's length probably was about 39 cm, the width varies from 4 cm (near the hafting

plate) to 3,5 (in the middle). The hilt is triform, consisting from three shafts, and the central one is rhombic, the length from the pommel to the hafting plate is 8,5 cm, the width is 3 cm, the thickness is 1 cm. The dimensions of butterfly-like hafting plate are 7×4,8 cm, the dimensions of massive pommel are 5,5×2 cm. Under the pommel an iron bight was attached with outside diameter about 1 cm.

Another original akinakes was found not far from the Susleni village (Republic of Moldova, Orhei district) (*Pl. 1/2; 4/11*). This item is already the fourth akinakes reported from the Orhei district: the other three have been found in Vatici (see above), Lukaševka¹⁶ (now Lucășeuca) and Butuceni fortified settlement.¹⁷ Despite the presence of the bight on the handle, this exemplar differs genuinely from akinakes from Vatici. For example, it's pommel is more elongated, it's handle is not triform, but has only two massive shafts on the edges. The form of hafting plate is heart-like, so the edges of plate are more rounded and facing down. The preservation of this exemplar is excellent (what is typical for the majority of Early Scythian akinakai), the total length is 51 cm. The cross section of the blade is also rhomboid, the edges are parallel and the blade has also the median rib which occupies about two thirds of the length (25 cm). The length of the blade is 38 cm, the width varies from 3,7 to 3,8 cm. The hilt's length is 8 cm (from the pommel to the hafting plate), the width is 2,7 cm, the thickness of shafts is about 1 cm. The dimensions of hafting plate are 6,5×3,9 cm and the pommel is 7×1,5 cm (thickness is 1,2 cm). Under the pommel an iron girdle with the bight is attached (diameter is 0,8 cm, the thickness is 0,5 cm). The form of hafting plate, the design of pommel are not so typical for Kelermes type, as for some bimetallic exemplars, for example, from Stepnoj,¹⁸ grave 85 from Tlia

⁹ Černenko 1980, 11.

¹⁰ Pirtskhalava 1995, 56.

¹¹ Ismagilov 1981, 126; Vasiliev 2001, 35; Ismagil – Sungatov 2004, 127; Denisov 2010, 227.

¹² Grakov 1947, 104; Guljaev 2009, 147.

¹³ Agulnikov et al. 2013, 274; Topal 2014.

¹⁴ Juodagalvis 2002; Johanson 2006.

¹⁵ Topal – Brujako 2012, 134–135, fig. 1/2.

¹⁶ Sergeev 1961, fig. 3. It is advisable to note that the article by G. Sergeev provided a historiographical error. So, in this publication were mixed up the descriptions of figures of stray find from Lukaševka and grave from Suruceni. Nevertheless, it was included in *Errata* on the last page of issue, this mistake continues to be repeated (see: Lapushnjan 1979, fig. 42; Meljukova 1979, fig. 33/5; Stepi 1989, fig. 27/33; Brujako 2005, fig. 37/11; 43/1).

¹⁷ Nikulitse 1977, fig. VIII/4. There is a reasonable doubt in this topographical attribution, because this akinakes is published in monography of Lapushnjan as 'a stray find from Trebujeni' (Lapushnjan 1979, 115, fig. 43), so the connection of this item with Getian fortified settlement of 4th–3rd c. BC is not so unobvious. Besides, due to archaic design of this akinakes and the general absence of Scythian swords and daggers on Getian settlements, this location looks too unconvincing.

¹⁸ Vinogradov 1974, 259.

necropolis¹⁹ or Orbeasca de Sus.²⁰ Perhaps this proximity to early bimetallic exemplars could explain the unusual design of the hilt (made from shafts) which imitates frame bronze hilt. A fortiori, some examples of such 'technological rethinking' of Caucasian ideas in the West are known already from the Pre-Scythian period, including cold arms.²¹

The chronological frames of Kelermes type could be based on a group of complexes from Caucasus and Dniepr region. A special attention deserves the eponymous find – a prestige sword from burial 1 of Kelermes, excavated in 1903 by G. Schultz (*Pl. 3/7–7a*) and very close analogy from Litoj burial (*Pl. 3/9–9a*), near actual Kirovograd, investigated in 1763 by A. Melgunov²² (this discovery was called after his name: Melgunov burial mound or Melgunov hoard).²³ The date of Kelermes complex with sword sometimes varied from middle 7th c. BC²⁴ to 7–6th c. BC,²⁵ second half of 6th c. BC²⁶ or 6–5th c. BC,²⁷ or even the 1st half of 4th (sic!) c. BC (as it was dated by the author of the first publication E. Pridik, basing on the analysis of 'artifacts of Ancient East, Scythian and Greek origin').²⁸ At the same time, *terminus ante quem* of '650–625 BC' introduced by A. Ivantchik²⁹ seems to be the most appropriate. V. A. Kisel also proposes even lower dating of Kelermes and Melgunov swords – 675–625 BC,³⁰ basing on the analogies of ornament in the form of a triangles and the curved leaves on Urartian relief from Adilcevaz of 680–645 BC.³¹ Besides this, other sword, also provided with the bight on the hilt from Kelermes is well-known (*Pl. 3/10*).³²

Recently some new akinakai of Kelermes type appeared from the investigations of Vladimirovskij cemetery (near Novorossiysk, Russia) – from grave 28 (*Pl. 3/8*) and 135 (*Pl. 3/3*).³³ Both

of the exemplars are characterized by triform handle with the bight and massive butterfly-like hafting plate. Unfortunately, this material was presented selectively; furthermore, the cemetery was generally dated by late 7th – early 6th c. BC. However, the iron cheek-piece from the grave 28³⁴ has wide analogies from earliest barrows from Kelermes of 650–625 BC.³⁵ Besides, iron bit from the grave 135³⁶ is almost an exact copy of iron bit from burial 41 of Fars cemetery, which is also synchronous to Early Kelermes group of middle 7th c. BC.³⁷

Likewise from Caucasus a complex comes from Tlia cemetery (grave 164) with an akinakes with the bight under straight pommel (*Pl. 3/5*).³⁸ The scabbard of this sword ends with a zoomorphic cap. It is necessary to mention the long sword (88 cm) with a bight under the pommel,³⁹ discovered in the layers of Karmir-Blur fortified settlement in Armenia (*Pl. 3/11*), terminus ante quem of its destroying is middle 7th c. BC.⁴⁰ The Caucasian group could be extended with a sword from the grave 4, discovered in 1952 near Mineralnye Vody, Stavropol'⁴¹ (*Pl. 3/6*) with an amorphic ledge under the pommel, which also could be interpreted as remains of bight.⁴² Two complexes with Kelermes type akinakai come from Georgia – grave 102 near Bazaleti⁴³ (*Pl. 3/2*) and grave 110 from Varsimaantkari⁴⁴ (*Pl. 3/4*). The exact chronology of these complexes could not be fixed, but in catalogue of exhibition of 2001–2002 'Georgia. Treasures from the Land of the Golden Fleece' the sword from Bazaleti was dated by 7th c. BC, and the exemplar from Varsimaantkari – by 6th–5th (sic!) c. BC.⁴⁵ A sword with a bight on the

¹⁹ Tekhov 1980, 223, fig. 3/7.

²⁰ Vulpe 1990: 36, Taf. 5/25.

²¹ Topal – Brujako 2012, 134.

²² History of this discovery is circumstantially presented by Irina Tunkina (Tunkina 2007, 195–202).

²³ Pridik 1911, 1–2.

²⁴ Alekseev 1992, 52, 96; Alekseev 2003, 295; Ivantchik 2001, 282.

²⁵ Artamonov 1966, 18, 91; Il'inskaja – Terenozhkin 1983, 104; Murzin 1984, 19–20.

²⁶ Rostovtsev 1925, 312.

²⁷ Rostovtsev 1926, 240.

²⁸ Pridik 1911, 21.

²⁹ Ivantchik 2001, 282.

³⁰ Kisel 2003.

³¹ van Loon 1990, pl. XX, after Kisel 2003.

³² Mantsevich 1969, fig. 2/1; Galanina 1994, fig. 5; Galanina 1997, cat. 4.

³³ Shishlov et. al. 2007, fig. 3/5–6.

³⁴ Shishlov et. al. 2007, fig. 4/9.

³⁵ Galanina 1997, 16–17, 53–54, 83, 120, fig. 33. Iron cheek-pieces with three loops belong to the most prevalent types in Early Scythian culture on Caucasus (about 130 ex.). According to analysis of S. Makhortykh, its chronological framework could be determined by middle 7th – first decades of 6th c. BC (Makhortykh 2013, 275).

³⁶ Shishlov et. al. 2007, fig. 4/2.

³⁷ Leskov – Erlikh 1999, 74, fig. 39/7.

³⁸ Tekhov 1980, fig. 12/2.

³⁹ Piotrovskij 1959, 177, fig. 6; Kossack 1987, 67, Abb. 25/1. The similarity of this akinakes with swords from Kelermes and Melgunov was shown by the author of discovery. B. B. Piotrovskij 1959, 177.

⁴⁰ Ivantchik 2001, 59–61.

⁴¹ Egorov 1955, fig. 20/1.

⁴² Nonetheless, this important detail was not mentioned by author of publication (Egorov 1955, 57), though K. F. Smirnov drew attention to it (Smirnov 1961, 11).

⁴³ Georgien 2001, Kat. 383; Mehnert 2008, 119, Taf. 53/13.

⁴⁴ Georgien 2001, Kat. 382; Mehnert 2008, 156, Taf. 85/7.

⁴⁵ It seems that G. Mehnert is also agree with these dates, noting however, that chronology of Bazaleti sword 'was based on outdated typology of A. I. Meljukova' (Mehnert 2008, 69, 82).

handle was found in the grave 1 of barrow 6 near Yasnozorie village (Cherkasy region, Ukraine)⁴⁶ (Pl. 3/1) with its total length of 44 cm. According to the authors of this discovery, most of the grave goods have analogies in 2nd half of 7th c. BC, for example, bilobate arrowheads of Kelermes type, bits with stapes-like endings, bronze pendants etc. Basing on these analogies the terminus post quem of Yasnozorie grave was established as middle 7th c. BC, that is to say 2nd half of 7th c. BC.⁴⁷

The number of findings associated with well-dated complexes or context is much lower than stray finds. We know just several stray finds from Dnieper region. So, E. V. Černenko mentions a group of akinakai with bight on the handle from Museum of Dnepropetrovsk (Pl. 4/15),⁴⁸ Kiev State Museum (Pl. 4/11), Museum of Poltava (Pl. 4/17).⁴⁹ Another dagger is stored in the Museum of Dnepropetrovsk, and its provenance is probably connected with the territory of Dnepropetrovsk city (Pl. 4/19), i.e. on the frontier between steppe and forest-steppe regions.⁵⁰ The most northern find comes from Kiev-Vetrjanye Gory⁵¹ (Pl. 4/13). A big group of stray finds of akinakai with bight on the triform handle concentrates in forest-steppes of Volga-Don interfluvies (Pl. 2). The dagger with broken blade (the cross section is rhombic form) with median rib and triform shaft handle was found near Staroe Zakharkino (Penza region, Russia)⁵² (Pl. 4/14). A sword from Museum of Chaplygin was found up North to the city (Pl. 4/6), on the right bank of Ryasa river, in front of 'Petropavlovskaya pustyn' monastery.⁵³ In 1980 a sword with the blade with parallel edges and apparently with remains of the bight on handle⁵⁴ (Pl. 4/7) was found near Krasnyi Log.⁵⁵

An akinakes is stored in Tambov local museum, and it was found in Tambov region (Pl. 4/3)⁵⁶ with broken bight on a handle.⁵⁷

From Saratov region come two akinakai of Kelermes type: near Vladykino⁵⁸ (Pl. 4/2) and from Arkadak museum⁵⁹ (Pl. 4/1). In Voronezh region, near Yaman, in 2010 was found an akinakes with broken bight⁶⁰ (Pl. 4/4). The same article by A. Voroshilov provides a drawing and description of a dagger from Kursk region local museum (Pl. 4/10), which was found in this region.⁶¹ Its handle consists of three shafts, rounded on the edges and the central of rhombic form.⁶² Besides that, another early Scythian sword with the bight under the handle is known in Kursk region – from Klyuch⁶³ (Pl. 4/5). The hilt of the sword with the bight from Borisoglebsk (Pl. 4/16) ends with antennae (or, rather volutes),⁶⁴ that is not so typical for the majority of Kelermes type akinakai.⁶⁵ Also, here is worth mentioning the broken sword from Yulovskaja volost, Volsk county,⁶⁶ now Saratov region (Pl. 4/18).⁶⁷ Actually the most eastern finding of Kelermes akinakes could be considered a recently published sword from Isakly museum,⁶⁸ Samara region (Pl. 4/8). Its total length is 51,5 cm, the handle is triform, the hafting plate is butterfly-shaped and under the pommel there is a narrow iron sleeve with a small bight. Other swords and daggers to East of Volga (i.g. Argajash, Lugovsk cemetery, Ushbiyik)

⁴⁶ Kovpanenko et al. 1994, 53, 55, fig. 6/1.

⁴⁷ Skoryj 2003, 35.

⁴⁸ L. N. Golubchik affirms that this dagger corresponds to the old collection of the museum and belongs to a group of stray finds of Bakhmut county of Ekaterinoslav province (now Artemovsk, Donetsk region). It's interesting that, besides the bight under the pommel was made an opening (Golubchik 1986, 80, fig. 2/1), probably after the bight was broken (Shkurko 1962, 98). A. I. Shkurko determined *terminus ante quem* as 'middle 6th c. BC' (Shkurko 1962, 100).

⁴⁹ Shkurko 1962, 98–99, fig. 3; Černenko 1980, 12, fig. 6/1–2, 4.

⁵⁰ Shelekhan 2013, 136, fig. 1.

⁵¹ Belozor – Skoryj 1985, 255, fig. 1.

⁵² Maksimov – Polesskih 1971, 239–240, fig. 1/4.

⁵³ Klovov 1996, 126, fig. 4/1.

⁵⁴ The authors of the first publication mistakenly attributed this exemplar and basing on analogies from Čertomlyk, Durovka and Chasty Kurgany (by oval pommel) dated by 4th–3rd c. BC.

⁵⁵ Kornjushin – Puzikova 1995, 32.

⁵⁶ Another find from Tambov region (Umyot museum) was mentioned by A. N. Voroshilov in his report on the Conference of young scientists in Moscow (Voroshilov 2013, 92).

⁵⁷ Klovov – Moiseev 1999, fig. 6/2; Voroshilov 2011, 161, fig. 3.

⁵⁸ Morzherin 2004, fig. 4; Voroshilov 2011, 157, fig. 2/1.

⁵⁹ Morzherin 2004, fig. 3; Voroshilov 2011, 159, fig. 2/2.

⁶⁰ Voroshilov 2011, 161, fig. 4.

⁶¹ Voroshilov 2011, 162, fig. 5/1.

⁶² Apalkov 1995, 150, fig. 1/4.

⁶³ Apalkov 1992, 69, fig. 1a.

⁶⁴ Mulikidzhanjan 1983, 137–139, fig. 1/1.

⁶⁵ It is well-known a sword from A. A. Bobrinsky collection (fig. 5/12) with the pommel decorated with small volutes (Meljukova 1964, fig. 20/1), which is according to some features very closed to Kelermes type. From Southern Bashkortostan near Berlyachevo (fig. 5: 11) comes an akinakes with triform hilt and massive butterfly-shaped hafting plate (Smirnov 1961, 20, fig. 3/7), which could be also attributed to Kelermes type, despite the lack of the bight under the pommel. This exemplar also was decorated with pommel in the form of *antennae*.

⁶⁶ However, as it turned out, quite another item came from Yulovskaja volost (Maksimov – Polesskih 1971, fig. 2/1), and this sword came from the former local Museum of history and the place of discovering was never known, but one could assume that it was Saratov region (Maksimov – Polesskih 1971, 239).

⁶⁷ Smirnov 1961, fig. 1/5.

⁶⁸ Denisov 2012, 66, fig. 1.

also provided with iron sleeves, despite some attempts⁶⁹ could hardly attributed to Kelermes type, because by 'their construction and function' they could not be compared with early Scythian swords.⁷⁰

With no doubt, the bight on the handle is the clearest and easily detected sign for early Scythian swords and daggers, including even the bimetallic ones. K. F. Smirnov has noticed an interesting detail on the hilt of sword from Lapot (Stenka Razin burial mound), namely the ledges 'probably formed as a result of a failed moulding of a bight under the pommel'.⁷¹ As a result, according to him, functional considerations made it necessary to punch an opening in the handle. This fact as well as bimetallicism in the combination with frame handle were interpreted by K. F. Smirnov as 'archaic Caucasian features'. Such bights are known on other bimetallic swords with frame handles from Kumbulta-Galiat-Faskau⁷² and Kharkov museum of history.⁷³ Generally, the manufacturing technology of early Scythian frame handles is determined as a 'Cimmerian' (Pre-Scythian) one. B. A. Shramko, for example, explains the preservation of ancient technological methods combined with new forms as the result of insufficient knowledge of complicated forging, forge welding with a well-developed technology of bronze moulding.⁷⁴

In addition, there is another group of swords and daggers that could be attributed to Kelermes type, basing on their morphological similarity, despite of the lack of the bight on handle. One of the exemplars recently was found in the exposition of National Museum of Archaeology and History of Moldova, Kishinev, and was discovered in 1970s near Lipnic⁷⁵, Oknitsa district (*Pl. 1/3, Pl.*

5/1). Total length of this well-preserved dagger is 29 cm. The blade with parallel edges and lenticular in section is 17 cm, the width is 2,7 cm, on the one side traces of a median rib could be observed. The handle is triform and consists of three shafts of the same size and same round shape, the dimensions are 7,6×2 cm (from pommel to the hafting plate), the thickness of shafts is 0,6 cm. The pommel is massive oval-shaped, the width is 4,5 cm, the height is 1,5 cm, the thickness is 1,4 cm. The hafting shaft is butterfly-shaped, the dimensions are 2,9×5,5 cm.

Perhaps the bights on some exemplars were lost in antiquity, or probably were made from organic materials. Therefore first of all this group is based on such feature like triform handle made of three shafts, and the central is usually rhombic. It is quite possible that the shape of central shaft was influenced by manufacturing of akinakai i.e. due to the fact of making the blade with median rib and the handle by hot hammering from one piece of metal. It seems that on some exemplars the central rhombic shaft of the handle is an extension of median rib of the blade, and two round shafts on the edges of hilt are rudimentary preserved from frame handles of bimetallic akinakai. Namely this detail shows the connection between Kelermes type and bimetallic akinakai, for which the design of moulded bronze frame had constructive importance. According to B. A. Shramko, if bimetallicism disappears, this design becomes not constructive, but ornamental imitation.⁷⁶ Perhaps this could explain 'frame' and 'tri-form' design of much more late exemplars until 5th c. BC. In this regard, akinakes from Imirler grave near Amasya (Anatolia, Turkey) is especially interesting.⁷⁷ Long sword from Imirler (*Pl. 6/10*) is often compared to early Scythian akinakai, including exemplars from Kelermes and Litoj (Melgunov) barrow.⁷⁸ It is notable that the cross section of the blade is rhombic with the rib in the middle and the handle with hafting plate was covered with iron frame.⁷⁹

The next most important features could be considered the massive pommel combined with butterfly-shaped hafting plate, then parallel edges of blade with the median rib. Basing on metric characteristics (i.e. length of blade) Kelermes type

⁶⁹ Ismagil 2000, 137.

⁷⁰ Tairov 2007, 144.

⁷¹ Smirnov 1961, 11.

⁷² In 1900 P. S. Uvarova published the fragments of a bronze frame handle from the cemetery near Kumbulta (Uvarova 1900, tab. XCV/3–4), then A. I. Terenozhkin basing on her collection offered his own reconstruction (Terenozhkin 1975, 29, 34, fig. 20/6–7). In 1960 E. I. Krupnov published the fragments of handle from Faskau (Krupnov 1960, tab. XXX/3). It turned out that these fragments are from the same sword, but they were published with different names, creating a historiographical confusion. More about this historiographical curiosity see: Babenko 2006, 54.

⁷³ Babenko 2006, 55, fig. 1; 2/3–4.

⁷⁴ Shramko 1984, 30–31.

⁷⁵ Earlier this akinakes was stored in Otaci local museum and was attributed as a 'medieval dagger' (sic!) of Stephen the Great time (probably due to geographical closeness to the Lipnic battlefield of 1496). I would like to thank V. Bubulici and E. Abyzova (find curators of National Museum of Archaeology and History of Moldova) for the

information.

⁷⁶ Shramko 1984, 31.

⁷⁷ Ünal 1982, 66.

⁷⁸ Kossack 1987, 67; Ivantchik 2001, 42–48.

⁷⁹ H. Hauptmann wrote that handle of this sword is made of bronze (Hauptmann 1983, 268), but V. Ünal ignored the description of this quite important detail.

akinakai could be divided into three main groups: >25 cm; 25–35 cm; 35–55 cm. Akinakai with the bight on the hilt are represented in all groups, but most of them in latter, while the swords and daggers without a bight tend mainly to the first two. The aims of the bight or an opening on the handle (presented only on early Scythian akinakai) have not been clearly defined yet. E. V. Černenko suggested that it served to attach a kind of a sword-knot in order to wear the sword on the hand and 'to prevent its loss during the fight'.⁸⁰ Probably, the high length of the swords with bights (as a part of sword-knots) implies the fight on horses, i.e. we could assume the equestrian nature of this type of weaponry. So, no wonder that this functional element is almost completely absent on daggers or short swords.

Caucasus is represented by another series of akinakai of Kelermes type from Tlia necropolis, e.g. from the graves 93, 94, 106, 128, 129 and 216 (*Pl. 5/2–7*),⁸¹ and even more, the author of the excavations in Tlia emphasizes that they have not only the morphological similarity, but also the technological closeness: these exemplars were made of soft raw steel.⁸² There is also need to mention akinakai from Samtavro cemetery⁸³ (e.g. from grave 212 (*Pl. 5/13*)) and the massive dagger from burial pit 12 from Nigvziani, Georgia⁸⁴ (*Pl. 5/14*). Two akinakai were found on the right bank of Dnieper river: one of them comes from A. A. Bobrinsky's collection⁸⁵ and another one from Daryevka area (*Pl. 5/21*) near Shpola,⁸⁶ and besides, the latter, despite the absence of the bight under the pommel and heart-shaped hafting plate is very close to the exemplar from grave 164 from Tlia. As the exemplar from Tlia, it has similar bone scabbard's end decorated in Animal style. Also it is very closed to Kelermes type the finding from Smela⁸⁷ (*Pl. 5/20*). The exemplar found in 1970s near Slavjanogorsk, Donetsk region⁸⁸ could be attributed to Kelermes type (*Pl. 5/9*). It has triform shaft-shaped hilt with massive pommel without a bight under, but this fact, however,

did not prevent the authors to trace analogies to Kelermes and Melgunov burials, Yasnozorje and Karmir-Blur, the main typological feature for them was 'the hafting plate of Kelermes type'.⁸⁹ Stray-find from Sosnovka, Sumy region are also among analogies.⁹⁰ Kharkiv region also gives us a dagger of Kelermes type from Russky Bishkin (now: Nizhniy Bishkin)⁹¹ (*Pl. 5/10*). Similar forms are known for Don forest-steppe: from Lipetsk⁹² (*Pl. 5/8*), Nikolskoe, Lipetsk region⁹³ (*Pl. 6/7*), a well-preserved akinakes from Mordovskiy Karay, Saratov region⁹⁴ (*Pl. 5/16*), Tugolukovo, Tambov region⁹⁵ (*Pl. 6/8*) and Yulovskaja volost⁹⁶ (*Pl. 5/18*). A dagger with triform handle, butterfly-shaped hafting plate and median rib on the blade (*Pl. 5/15*) was found in Voronezh region, near Monastyrshchina.⁹⁷ The exemplar, supposedly, from Lugovsk (Orenburg region) is probably the most eastern find of Kelermes type sword without a bight under the pommel⁹⁸.

There is a series of swords that we could attribute to Kelermes type (despite of the lack of the bight) originating from Carpathian-Balkan area, e.g. an akinakes found in Ploiești-Triaia, Romania, near tumuli of Bronze age and Ferigile-type.⁹⁹ A. Vulpe, the author of the most complete catalogue of swords and daggers of Early Iron age of Romania, attributed this sword to his Ferigile-Lăceni type which consists of the swords of early stage of Ferigile cemetery (including burial mound 41).

Besides this, basing on 'his typological considerations and comparison with prestige swords from Litoj (Melgunov) burial mound' he dated this akinakes by '1st half of 6th c. BC'.¹⁰⁰ And, indeed, the sword from Ploiești, despite to the lack of hafting plate, is very close to akinakai from Tugolukovo and Nikolskoje (*Pl. 6/7–8*) due to hilt's form and ornamentation of the pommel with horizontal parallel lines could be surely attributed to Kelermes type. Along this big sword

⁸⁰ Černenko 1980, 13.

⁸¹ M. Pirtskhalava even in 1995 attributed these akinakai as 'so called Kelermes type', stressing the lack of their prototype in Pre-Scythian time (Pirtskhalava 1995, 56).

⁸² The akinakes from grave 93 is an exception and it was forged from high quality steel (Tekhov 1980, 248).

⁸³ Terenozhkin 1975, fig. 20/2–4.

⁸⁴ Mikeladze – Baramidze 1977, fig. 3/6.

⁸⁵ Meljukova 1964, fig. 20/1.

⁸⁶ Il'inskaja 1975, tab. XXXIV/18; Kossack 1987, Abb. 33/1.

⁸⁷ Shramko et al. 1970, 45, fig. 2/3.

⁸⁸ Privalova – Privalov 1988, fig. 4/9; Dubovskaja – Podobed 1993, 46–47, fig. 55/1.

⁸⁹ Dubovskaja – Podobed 1993, 47.

⁹⁰ Kulatova 1992, 80–84, fig. 1/2.

⁹¹ Sibilev 1926, tab. XXV/2; Grechko 2010, 62/1.

⁹² Klovov 1996, 126, fig. 4/2.

⁹³ Voroshilov 2011, 163, fig/6.

⁹⁴ Morzherin 2004, 182.

⁹⁵ Medvedev 1999, 104, fig. 51/3.

⁹⁶ Maksimov – Polesskih 1971, fig. 2/1.

⁹⁷ Demidova 1964; Liberov 1965, 75.

⁹⁸ This item is displayed in Orenburg Governor's Museum of History but the exact place of its discovery is unknown. I take this opportunity to thank A. Denisov for information about this important find.

⁹⁹ Vulpe 1987, 177, fig. 2/1; 1990, 32, Taf. 4/16.

¹⁰⁰ Vulpe 1990, 33.

a similar dagger was found (*Pl.* 6/5).¹⁰¹ Among the swords grouped by A. Vulpe into Ferigile-Lăceni type, two exemplars of Lăceni variant should be mentioned, e.g. eponymous stray-find from Lăceni¹⁰² (*Pl.* 6/9) and a sword from burial mound 41 from Ferigile¹⁰³ (*Pl.* 6/4). The swords of Ferigile variant do not show so obvious similarity, though the exemplar from Curtea de Argeș (*Pl.* 6/11) has triform handle and its pommel is decorated with horizontal lines.¹⁰⁴ A snaffle of Vekerzug type with endings in shape of horse heads (4th variant after Kemenczei) was also found with that sword. *Terminus post quem* for snaffles of this type is last decades of 7th c. BC¹⁰⁵ though in Carpathian basin this type penetrates at the turn of 7th–6th c. BC.¹⁰⁶ And the burial 41 from Ferigile an Curtea de Argeș burial A. Vulpe grouped into Ferigile-4 stage, 1st half of 6th c. BC,¹⁰⁷ allthought later he dated the 4th stage by entire 6th c. BC, and the t.p.q. was determined as 'late 7th c. BC'.¹⁰⁸ To the South from Danube, a well-preserved akinakes found near Praventsy, Bulgaria is stored in Museum of Shumen¹⁰⁹ (*Pl.* 5/17), and it is very close to the sword from Kiev-Vetrijannye Gory by design.

The geographical distribution of akinakai of Kelermes type is a quite interesting phenomenon, these finds practically do not overstep the bounds of forest-steppe area of Scythian culture (*Pl.* 2). Furthermore, there are at least two directions of their spread: a meridional one for graves and latitudinal (both East and West) for stray finds.

So, it seems those researchers who believe that the process of typological formation of Scythian akinakes was initiated on Northern Caucasus based on Kabardino-Pyatigorsk type of daggers¹¹⁰ are closer to the truth than others. However we could not ignore the role of Transcaucasia, where Scythian weaponry either was imported directly or was produced basing on northern Caucasian samples,¹¹¹ and not later than middle 7th c. BC, i.e. almost simultaneously with appearance of prestige forms of akinakai of Kelermes type. As for the high number of stray-finds from forest-steppe regions (e. g. Don region),

their concentration causes various discussions and versions, for example, of their using in cult purposes, 'sacrificial or memorial cult processed even on battlefields'¹¹² or about their connection with destroyed burial complexes.¹¹³ On the other hand, the steppes of Don are not the single region where the stray finds concentrate. So, the stray finds of Scythian swords and daggers represent about 75% of the finds in Carpathian-Dniester or not less than 50% in middle Dniepr region.¹¹⁴ Among other things, the concentration of stray finds of Scythian weaponry to East from Carpathians (e. g. on Bârlad Plateau as well as between the Bistrița and Târnău ridges) is definitely connected with Scythian migrations from Moldova to Transylvania.¹¹⁵

There is an extremely important discovery from Lower Danube, related to the problems of Kelermes type – an unique bronze model of akinakes, found in 1955 near Medgidia, Romania.¹¹⁶ This item has been moulded from high quality bronze and richly decorated with reliefs and carved ornamentation on one side, and with two shafts for attachment on another (*Pl.* 6/1). D. Berciu suggested that this find is an 'emblem' for decorating the burial chamber or, more likely, is an element of Scythian anthropomorphic sculptures,¹¹⁷ which are well-known in Romanian part of Dobruja from 6th c. BC.¹¹⁸

The lack of analogies for this item, as well as traces of use do not allow the clear determination of its function. But it is needed to note that the akinakes is one of the most popular elements of Scythian sculpture and could be met on more than 40% of findings.¹¹⁹ Besides that, on the one of Scythian statues from Lower Danube there are made several hollows below the line which could be used for attachment¹²⁰ of such kind of 'emblem'.¹²¹ Regarding the time of producing this model, it seems important to solve the problem what kind (or what type) of akinakes it presents. Such features as parallel edges of the blade, the

¹⁰¹ Vulpe 1987, 179, fig. 2/2; 1990, Taf. 4/17.

¹⁰² Vulpe 1990, 31–32, Taf. 4/14.

¹⁰³ Vulpe 1967, 131, pl. XV/2; Vulpe 1990, 32, Taf. 4/15.

¹⁰⁴ Vulpe 1967, pl. XVI/1; Vulpe 1990, 31, Taf. 2/13.

¹⁰⁵ Kemenczei 2009, 51.

¹⁰⁶ Brujako 2005, 273.

¹⁰⁷ Vulpe 1977, 91.

¹⁰⁸ Vulpe 1990, 125–126.

¹⁰⁹ Atanasov 1995.

¹¹⁰ Leskov 1979; Černenko 1979; Shramko 1984; Ismagilov 1989.

¹¹¹ Esajan – Pogrebova 1985, 52.

¹¹² Sarapulkin 2005, 162; Voroshilov 2011, 166–167.

¹¹³ Razuvaev – Kur'janov 2004, 192.

¹¹⁴ Topal 2005, 29.

¹¹⁵ Especially big concentration is situated near Târgu Neamț, not far from the existing now mountain passes as Păltiniș, Tulgheș and Bicaz. Mihailescu-Bîrliba – Untaru 1971, fig. 4.

¹¹⁶ Berciu 1958, 94–102, fig. 1–2; Berciu 1959, 9–18, pl. I–II.

¹¹⁷ Berciu 1959, 18.

¹¹⁸ Ol'hovskij – Evdokimov 1994, 16.

¹¹⁹ Ol'hovskij – Evdokimov 1994, tab. 15; Topal 2005, 29.

¹²⁰ The distance between these deepenings is close to the distance between shafts on the Medgidia model and is about 20 cm.

¹²¹ Alexandrescu 1958, 292, fig. 3–4.

shape of pommel and hafting plate allowed even the author of first publication of this find to compare it with swords from Kelermes and Melgunov.¹²² In addition, the attention could be drawn to such details as ornamentation of the pommel with horizontal lines¹²³ (e.g. as on akinakai from Tugolukovo, Nikolskoe and Ploiești) and the median rib – features which are characteristic for Kelermes type. Images of animals, e. g. sitting goats (the closest analogy is the ornamented hafting plate of Melgunov sword) and the decoration of the hilt with a bird of prey probably indicate a creative rethinking of the Western Asiatic traditions as it is shown on prestige ceremonial swords of Kelermes type. Most likely it indicates a later time of manufacturing of emblem from Medgidia (compared with Melgunov sword). So, probably the time of producing of this emblem coincides with the appearance of Kelermes type akinakai across the Prut to the West and the Scythian statues across the Danube in the South at the turn of 7th–6th c. BC.

Generally, there are three main approaches to the typology of Scythian edged weapon: typology based on a combination of the shape of pommel and hafting plate; studying functional features based on design of blade; working with the 'cultural types'.¹²⁴ An interesting attempt of determination of the cultural types on Scythian swords and daggers was made by Andrey Alekseev (1991). Being one of participants of the archaeological seminar lead by Leo Klejn in Leningrad State University, A. Alekseev tried to illustrate some theses of L. Klejn on the material of Scythian akinakai. His main thesis was the idea of the connection between cultural context and typological features, therefore the main determined problem is searching for the groups of artifacts recognized by members of cultural society,¹²⁵ and the searching for these groups is impossible without researching the context.¹²⁶ A. Alekseev builds the evolutionary series in accordance with his own theory of consecutive destroying of the phallic symbolism in design of akinakai¹²⁷ from the 'primordial' kidney-shaped (reniform)

to the 'abstract' narrow butterfly-shaped hafting plate.¹²⁸ However, it seems that 'cultural types' of Scythian akinakai could be determined by other complimentary indicators. One of them is the presence of prestige (ceremonial) items inside a type (or group), i.e. decorated with precious metals. Another important indicator is the reflection in art (e.g. monumental sculpture, toreutics etc.). Therefore, due to the fact of wide spread of Kelermes type akinakai in burial complexes, presence of prestige forms and representations (as Medgidia model apparently associated as a decoration of statue) we could refer to significant involvement of Kelermes type in Scythian cultural context. Moreover, the presence of the image, in which an ancient artist sought to emphasize the most important features, makes possible to judge about hierarchy of typological characters.¹²⁹ This fact brings Kelermes type beyond abstract archaeological paradigm (i.e. it is possible to determine its special status of 'cultural type') and allows us to see this type in the reflection of the cultural context in all its diversity.

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¹²² Berciu 1958, 105.

¹²³ It is need to mention that the pommels of Melgunov and Kelermes swords are also ornamented horizontally: the floral ornament in case of Melgunov, and oblique hatching in case of Kelermes pommel (fig. 3/7a, 9a; 7/4,6; 8/4).

¹²⁴ Denisov 2010a, 270.

¹²⁵ Alekseev 1991, 272.

¹²⁶ Klejn 1979, 69.

¹²⁷ A detailed critical analysis of this conception was recently presented by Alexander Shelekhan (See: Shelekhan 2013a).

¹²⁸ Alekseev 1991, 276–279.

¹²⁹ Alekseev 1991, 275.

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Rezumat

Articolul introduce în circuitul științific unele descoperiri inedite de pumnale de tip akinakes de pe teritoriul Republicii Moldova. După mai mulți parametri, acestea pot fi atribuite tipului Kelermes.

Limitele cronologice ale acestui tip sunt determinate de analiza inventarului funerar din mormintele cu akinakai și pot fi stabilite în mijlocul – a doua jumătate a sec. VII î.Hr. Răspândirea descoperirilor fortuite de akinakai de tip Kelermes permite reconstrucția rutelor de pătrundere a vestigiilor scitice

timpurii în silvostepile Donului, regiunea Volgăi și Bazinul Carpatic. În baza analizei mai multor indici ce se completează reciproc – prezența în morminte, existența unor forme de paradă și a reprezentărilor acestor akinakai pe suprafața altor categorii de inventar arheologic – se presupune statutul cultural deosebit al tipului respectiv. Astfel, cu tipul Kelermes poate fi legată descoperirea modelului de akinakes turnat din bronz din Medgidia, care, probabil, a fost executat pentru a împodobi o sculptură antropomorfă scitică.

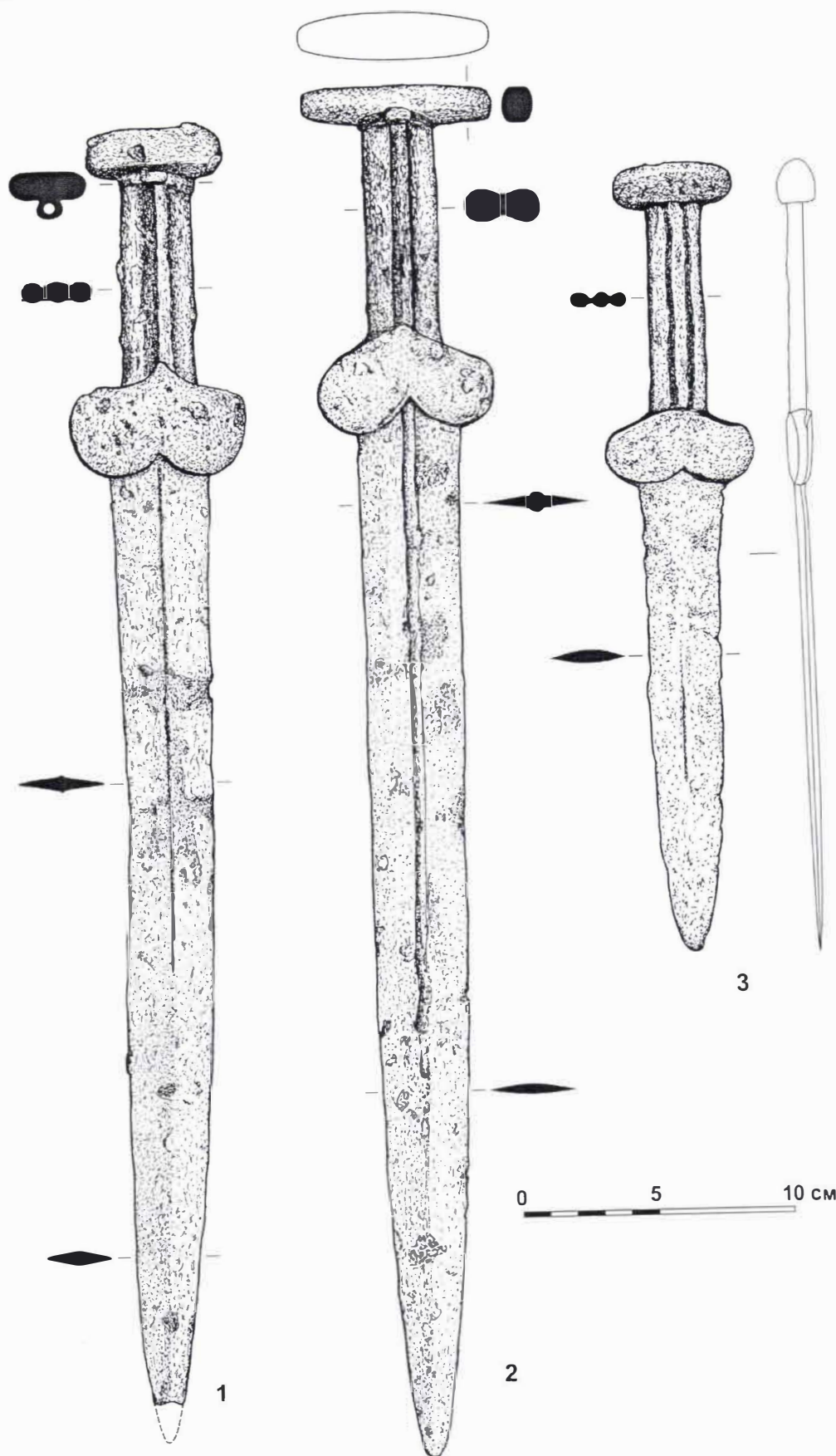
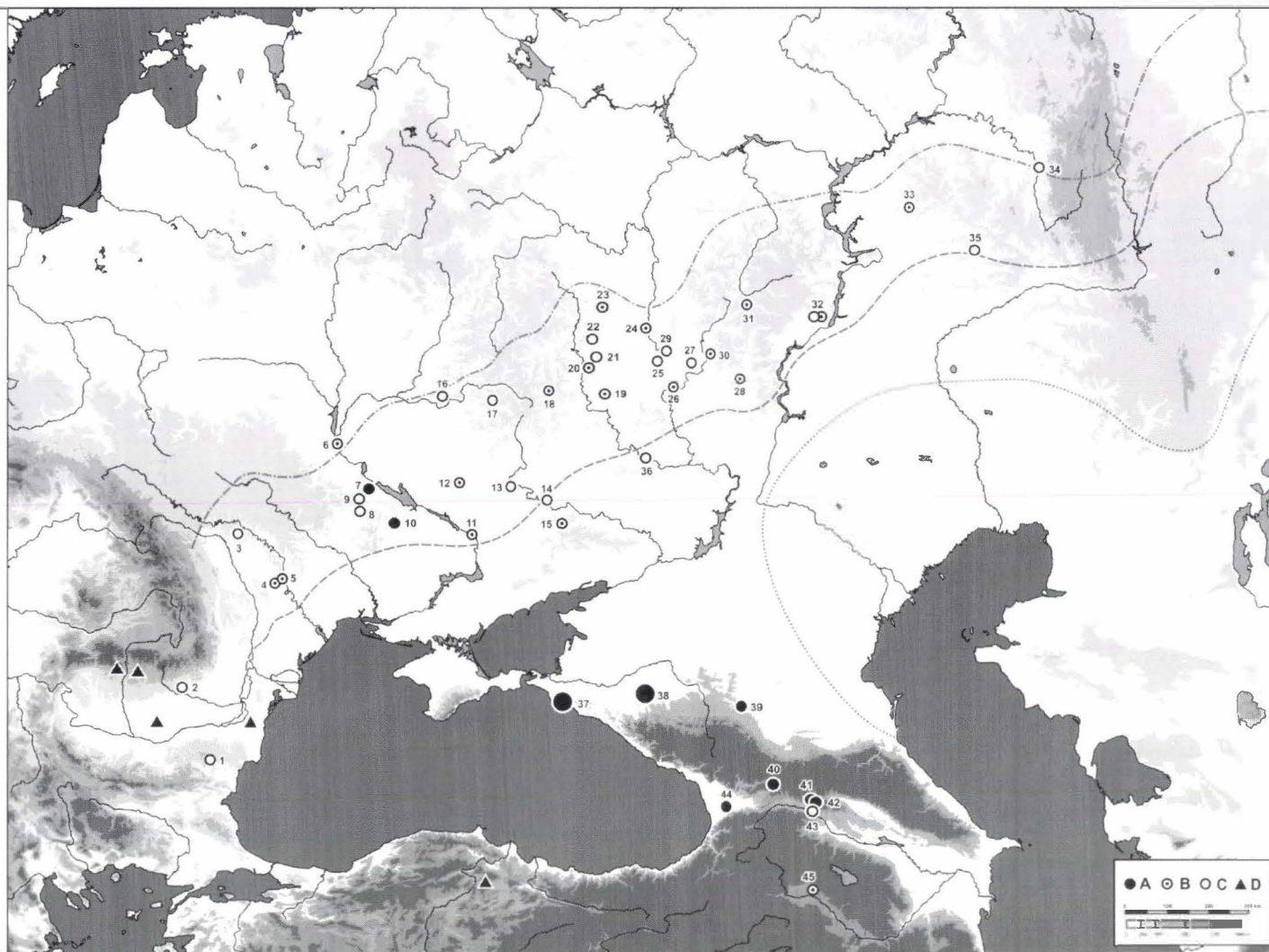
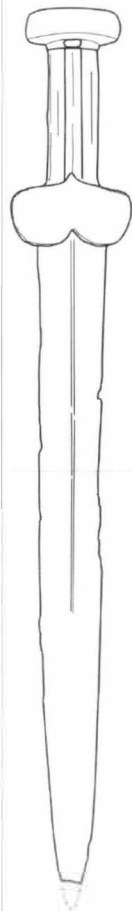


Plate 1. Akinakai of Kelermes type from Republic of Moldova
1-Vatici; 2-Susleni; 3-Lipnic.



1. Pravenstsy
2. Ploesti
3. Lipnic
4. Vatici
5. Susleni
6. Kiev
7. Yasnozorie
8. Shpola-Darievka
9. Smela
10. Litoj (Melgunov) burial mound
11. Dnepropetrovsk
12. Poltava
13. Nizhnij (Russkij) Bishkin
14. Slavjanogorsk
15. Bakhmut (Artyomovsk)
16. Sosnovka
17. Kursk
18. Kljuch
19. Krasnyj Log
20. Yaman
21. Nikolskoe
22. Lipetsk
23. Chaplygin
24. Tambov
25. Tugolukovo
26. Borisoglebsk
27. Mordovskij Karay
28. Vladykino
29. Rzhaksa
30. Arkadak
31. Staroe Zakharkino
32. Yulovskaja volost
33. Isakly
34. Berljachevo
35. Lugovsk
36. Monastyrschina
37. Vladimirovskij
38. Kelermes
39. Mineralnye Vody
40. Tlia
41. Varsimaantkari
42. Bazaleti
43. Samtavro
44. Nigvziani
45. Karmir-Blur

Plate 2. Distribution of Kelermes type akinakai and close analogies. A – finds in complexes, B– stray finds with bight on handle; C stray finds without bight on handle; D – close analogies to Kelermes type akinakai.

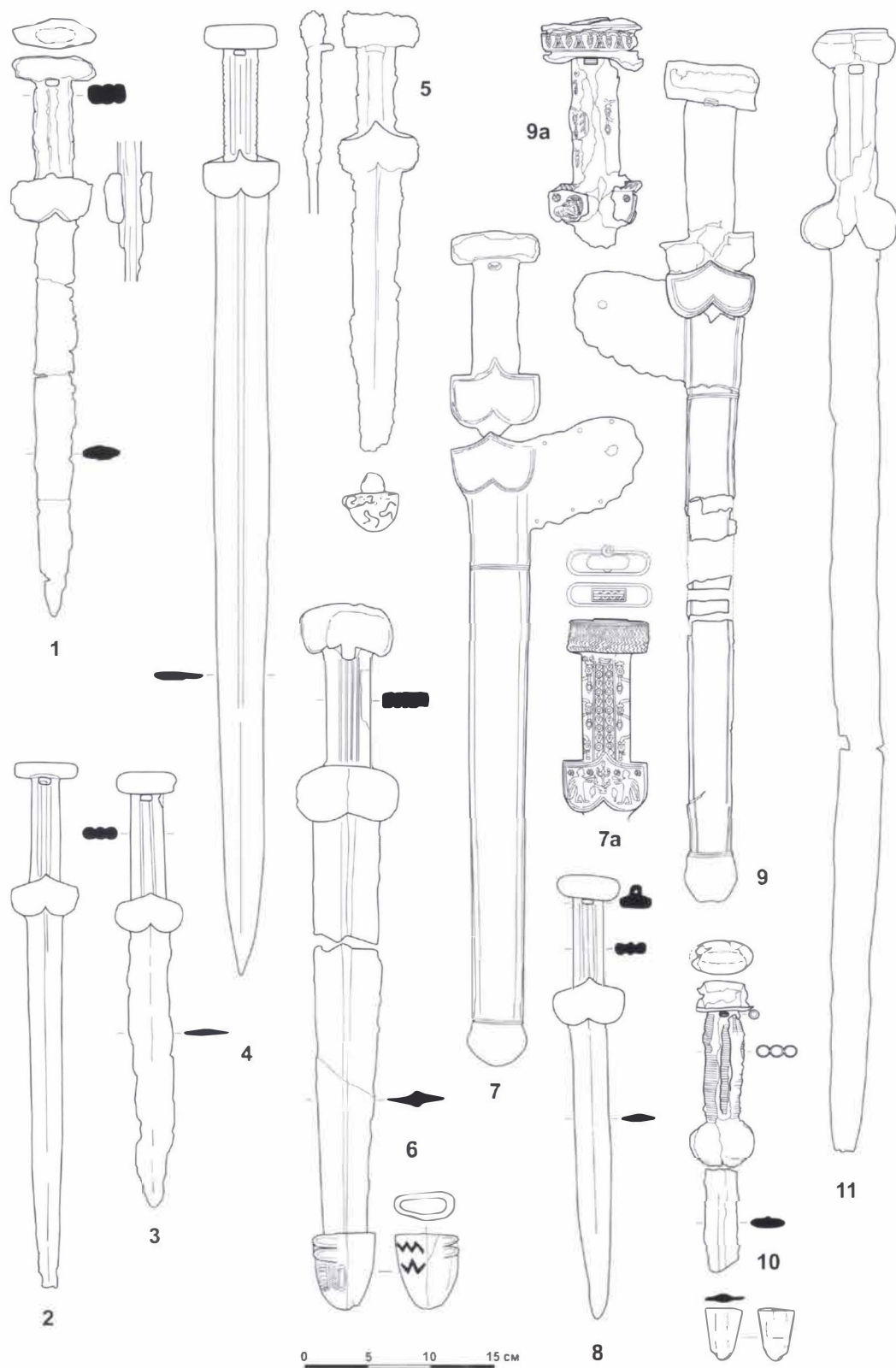


Plate 3. Kelermes type akinakai with bight on handle (from complexes)

1 – Yasnozorje, b.6, gr.1; 2 – Bazaleti, gr.102; 3 – Vladimirovskij, gr.135; 4 – Varsimaantkari, gr.110; 5 – Tlia, gr.164;

6 – Mineralnye Vody, gr.4; 7, 7a, 10 – Kelermes, b.1; 8 – Vladimirovskij, gr.28;

9, 9a – Litoj (Melgunov) burial mound; 11 – Karmir-Blur.

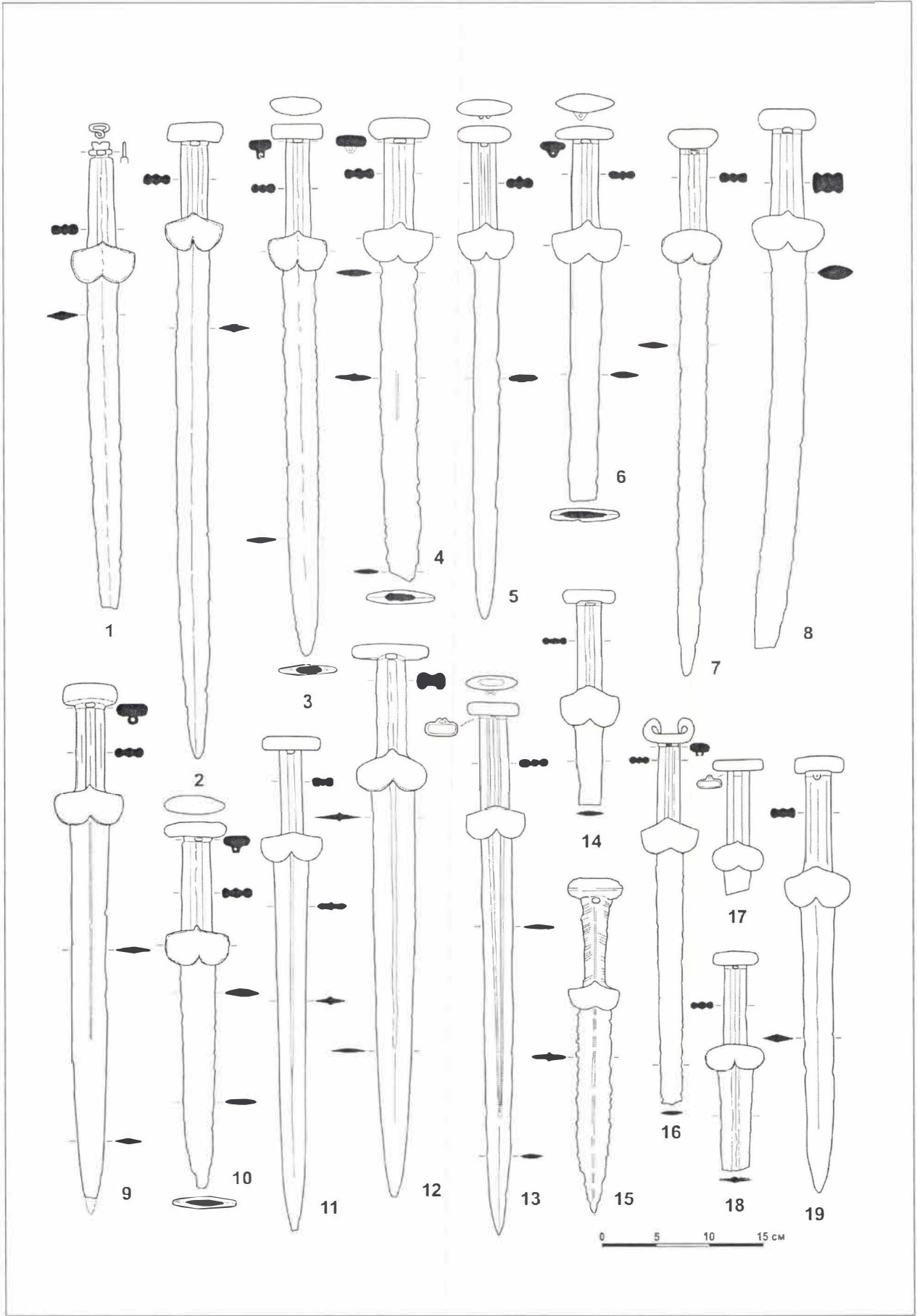


Plate 4. Kelermes type akinakai with bight on handle without any archaeological context.
1-Arkadak; 2-Vladykino; 3-Tambov region; 4-Yaman; 5-Kljuch; 6-Chaplygin; 7-Krasnyj Log; 8-Isakly; 9-Vatici;
10-Museum of Kursk; 11-National Museum of Ukraine; 12-Susleni; 13-Kiev-Vetrjanye gory; 14-Staroe Zakharkino;
15-Bakhmut (Artyomovsk); 16-Borisoglebsk; 17-Museum of Poltava; 18-Saratov region; 19-Dnepropetrovsk
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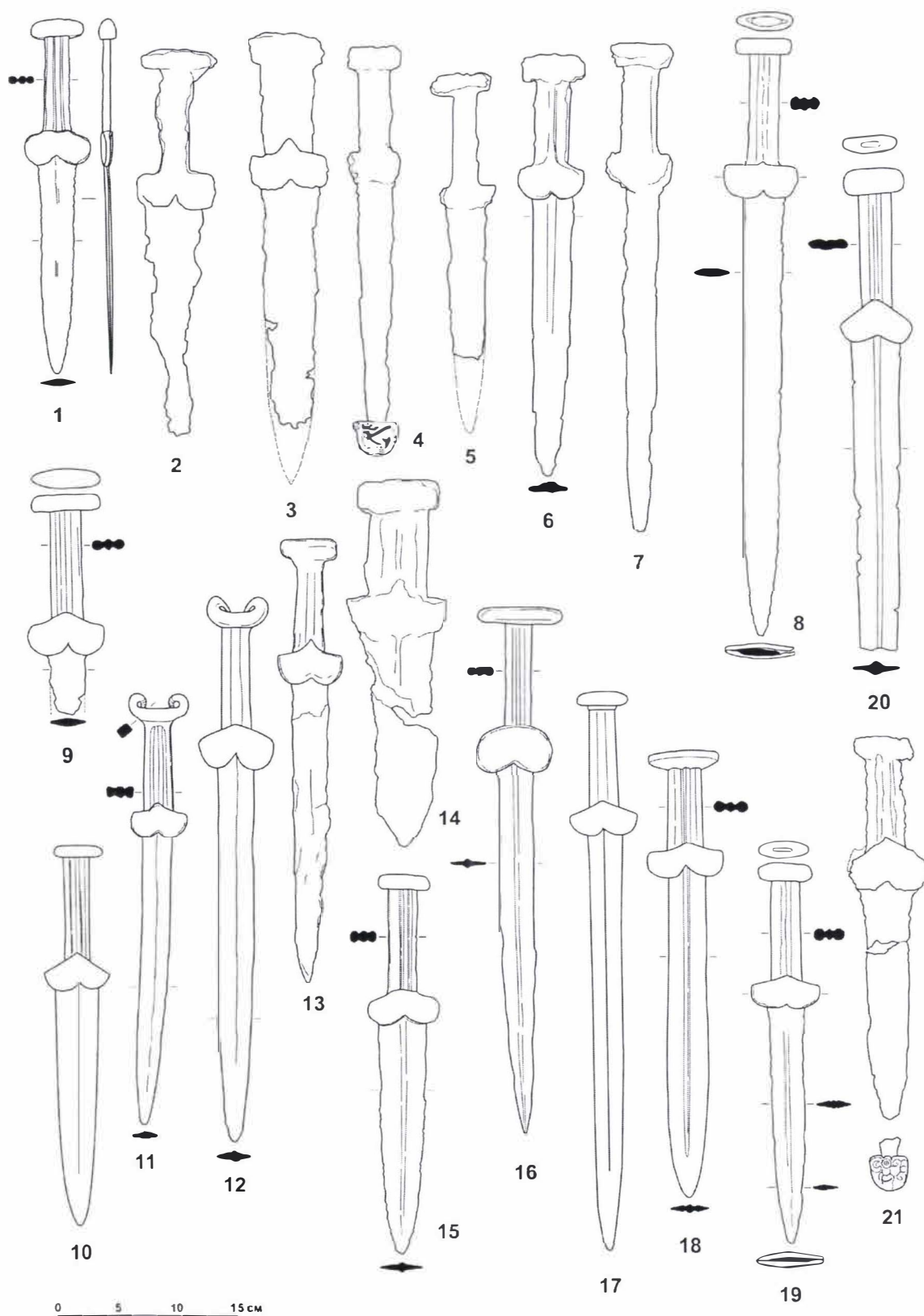
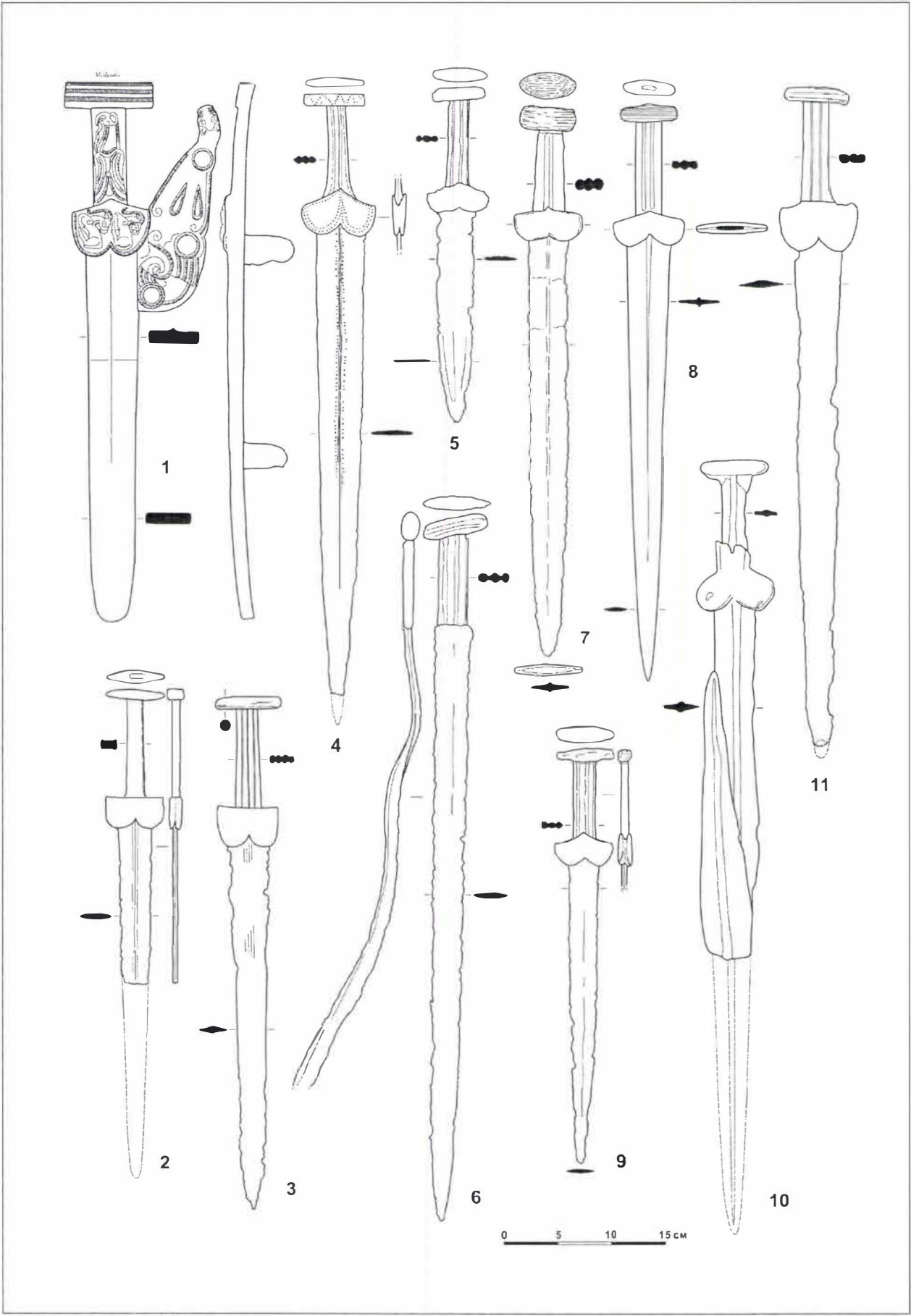


Plate 5. Kelermes type akinakai without bight on handle.

1-Lipnic; 2-7-Tlia (2-gr.129, 3-gr.106, 4-gr.216, 5-gr.94, 6-gr.128, 7-gr.93); 8-Lipetsk; 9-Slavjanogorsk; 10-Nizhnij (Russkij) Bishkin; 11-Berljachevo; 12-A. A. Bobrinskij collection; 13-Samtavro, gr.212; 14-Nigvziani, gr.12; 15-Monastyrshchina; 16-Mordovskij Karaj; 17-Praventsy; 18-Yulovskaja volost; 19-Rzhaksa; 20-Smela; 21-Shpola-Darievka



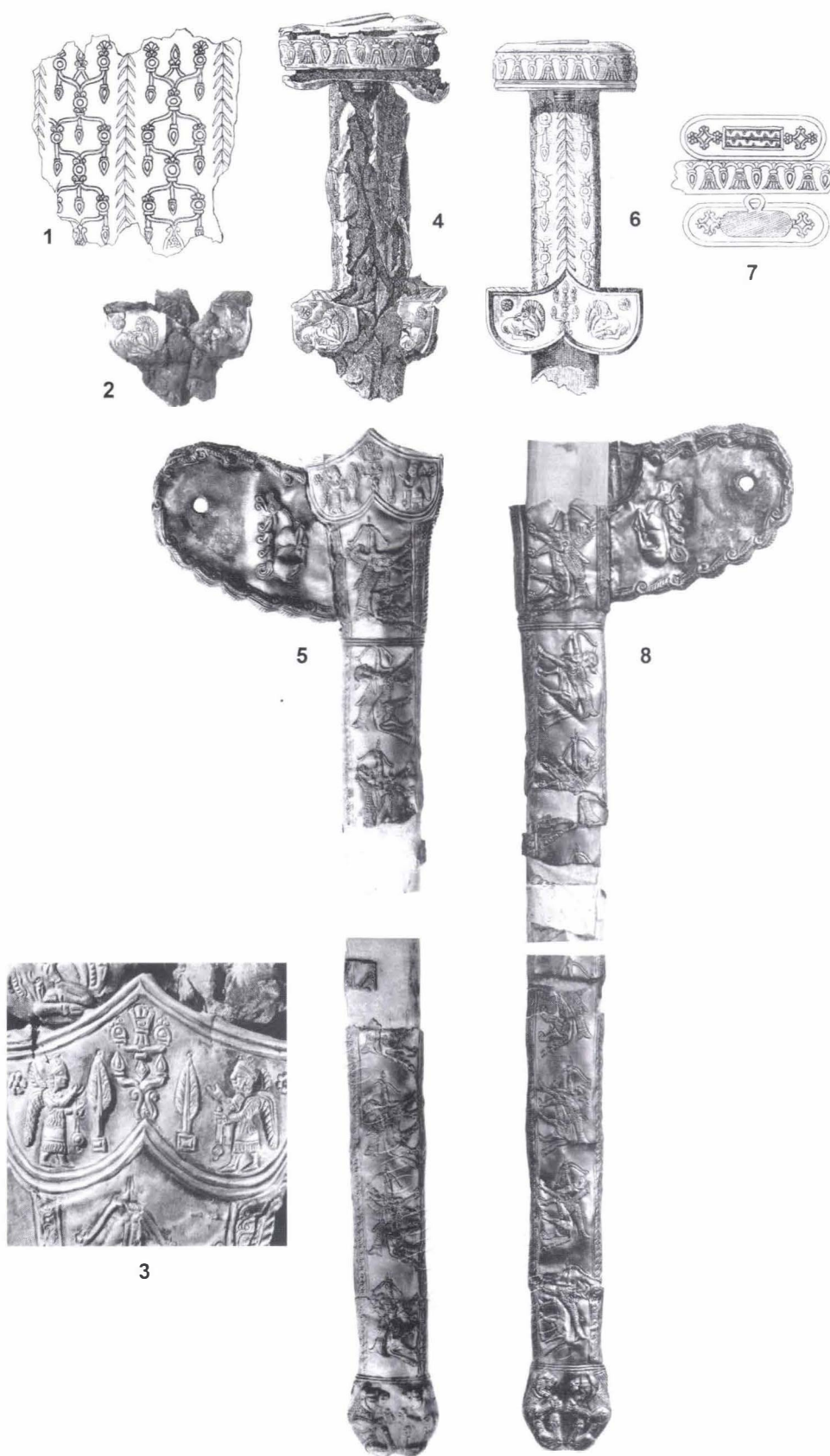


Plate 7. Ceremonial sword from Litoj (Melgunov) burial mound (after Pridik 1911)

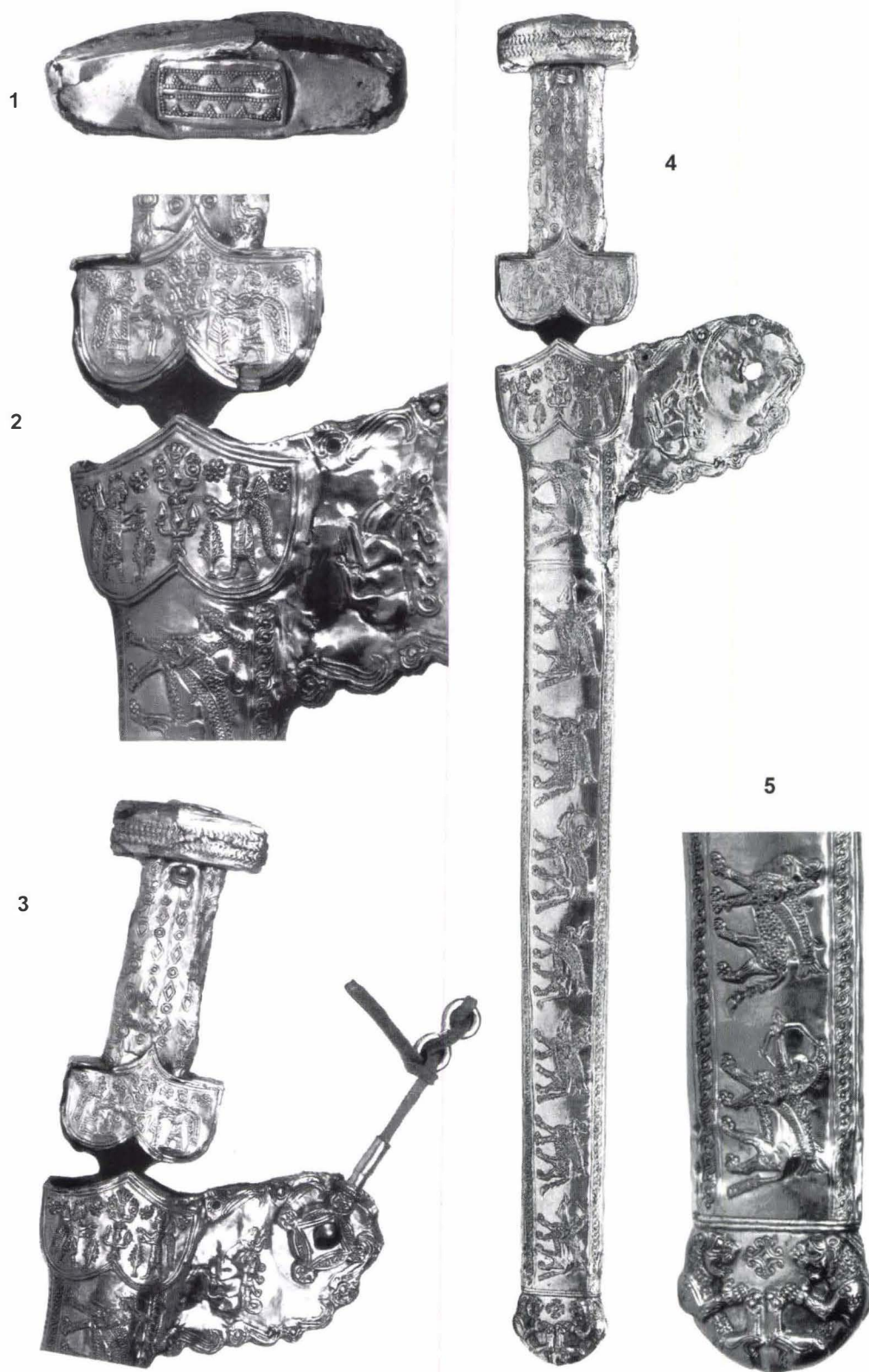


Plate 8. Ceremonial sword from Kelermes burial (after Galanina 1997)

A NEWLY DISCOVERED DAGGER-KNIFE FROM DUMBRAVA (VĂTAVA PARISH, MUREȘ COUNTY)

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Keywords: iron akinakes, dagger-knife, butt spike, Early Iron Age, Scythian culture

Cuvinte cheie: akinakes, pumnal-cuțit, capăt de băț, prima epocă a fierului, perioada scitică

In the summer of 2012 the archaeological collection of the Mureș County Museum has enriched with two iron artefacts. Based on the analogies the objects can be listed within the discoveries of the Scythian period. The first piece, namely the dagger-knife of akinakes type, is a well known example of the Scythian culture, and based on similar artefacts from Romania and from the Carpathian Basin it can be dated to the end of the 6th beginning of the 5th cent. BC. Thanks to the very good state of preservation it is the best representative of its type. The second socketed piece due to its uncertain find circumstances and to its very common shape can only be classified with uncertainty to the Scythian period. It presents some similarities with butt spikes or scabbard chapes, but also with some iron socketed axes.

In the summer of 2012 Mr. Iuliu Cristinel Pop donated to the Mureș County Museum an iron dagger, which was discovered in 22nd of July 2012, during a filed survey and investigation with a metal detector.¹ The artefact came to light on a crest in the periphery of Dumbrava village (Vătava parish), situated in the north-eastern corner of Mureș county, around the middle of the distance between the Mureș River and the border with Bistrița-Năsăud county (Pl. 1/1–2). The name of the find spot is *Vârful Muncelului* (Muncelului Hilltop), which is situated on a slope inclined towards north and south, and stretching for about 4 km on the east–west direction (Pl. 1/5). The 800 m altitude offers a great perspective over the entire area between the Mureș River (downstream till Reghin), the Călimani Mountains and the hills and valleys in the west. The nearby villages are Vătava and Dumbrava, at a distance of more than 2 km. In the area three isolated medieval arrowheads were also discovered. The happenings of a much later period are shown by the remains of the trenches from the Second World War (Pl. 1/4).

On the exact find spot of the artefact a small field research has been carried out by the staff of the Mureș County Museum. Unfortunately no other archaeological material could be identified. When we took notice of this find the possible existence

of a Scythian grave find was supposed. But the archaeological investigations offered us not even a single trace of a presumed grave find and this is the reason why the dagger from Dumbrava has to be considered an isolated find.

Description of the artefact²

An iron akinakes-dagger, intact (Pl. 2/1a–d). It has a slightly curved blade, which narrows gradually towards the tip; it has a single cutting edge and a triangular cross section. The guard is composed of two heart shaped iron plates, which were handmade separately and fitted through hammering on to the blade (Pl. 3/4). The two lobes which make up the guard have equal dimensions and are uniform, having a slightly oval shape (Pl. 3/5). The handle is lenticular in cross section, narrowing very slightly towards the upper end. It ends in a straight and perpendicular bar, which has a bipedal axe shaped form, having a lenticular cross section. Before the restoration on the two sides of the handle two longitudinal grooves, and at the middle of the blade small and parallel ribbings could be observed. After the restoration these features became more obvious: the handle has on each of its sides a narrow and longitudinal groove, which slides under the guard and under the perpendicular

¹ We would like to express our gratitude towards Mr. Pop Iuliu Cristinel for his collaboration with the Mureș County Museum, and for the information regarding the place and character of discovery.

² The research and restoration was supported by a grant of the Ministry of National Education, CNCS - UEFISCDI, no. PN-II-ID-PCE-2012-4-0618

bar as well. The horizontal ribbings are dispersed uniformly on the entire handle, having around 1–2 mm between each other (*Pl. 3/3*). The blade and the handle were manufactured from a single piece of wrought iron, the guard and the bar being added at the end (*Pl. 3/1–2, 4*). After the restoration the outline of the blade under the guard can be observed. The thickness of the guard doesn't exceed 1.5–2 mm. At the point where the handle meets the guard, the handle suddenly broadens, almost perpendicular till the width of the blade. The artefact is very good preserved, at the moment of discovery being covered by a thick layer of rust. The blade was sharpened in prehistory, having obvious traces of use and wear. It is made of wrought iron.

Dimensions: total length: 42.3 cm; handle length: 10.8 cm; blade length: 27.1 cm; guard max. width: 5 cm; guard min. width: 4.6 cm; handle width inf: 1.1 cm; handle width sup: 1.6 cm; bar length: 6.1 cm; bar width: 1.3 cm; handle thickness: 0.8 cm; guard thickness: 0.5 cm; blade thickness: 0.6; weight: 289.5 g. Mureș County Museum, inv. nr. 8021.

Typological and chronological considerations

From the close region of Dumbrava (Vătava parish), a few other Scythian finds can be mentioned, which are listed in the literature. At Vălenii de Mureș (Brâncoveniști parish) several arrowheads were discovered,² at Batoș three graves came to light incidentally, in two different find spots (Neue Halde and Lotul Dumbrava), with several ceramic fragments, bitronconic vessels, arrowheads and even an iron antenna-hilted akinakes,³ and at a distance of 16 km west from Dumbrava, in the village of Posmuș (Șieu parish), from a destroyed grave find several arrowheads and a bronze akinakes were recovered.⁴ From a slightly greater distance, at Băița (Lunca parish) a biritual cemetery was unearthed, with 5 inhumation and 7 incineration graves. From the metal artefacts we mention the conic headed earrings, the golden phalera, bronze bracelets, iron rings, the horse equipment, iron spears, battle axes, arrowheads and three akinakes type daggers.⁵

The short swords or daggers with two cutting edges, the so called akinakes, are typical Scythian weapons, without any local antecedents, and they are not spread in the Central European Hallstatt culture either.⁶ The Scythian akinakes originating from the regions north of the Black Sea have two cutting edges, and the ones from the Carpathian Basin can have either two or one cutting edge. Those with only one edge form a separate group, having a local aspect and they are characteristic for Transylvania, the Tisa Valley and Slovakia.⁷ The one edged daggers represent in fact an evolution in shape and time, being spread mostly in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin.⁸ The akinakes type daggers appear for the first time in Europe in the second half of the 7th cent. BC, having three main distribution areas: Central Moldavia, Transylvania and the middle and upper course of the Tisa River.⁹

The different typological divisions are based primarily on the outline of the guard, the end of the handle, and the shape and manufacture of the blade. Based on their characteristics the artefacts very similar to the one from Dumbrava were classified by V. Vasiliev in type A4, being a compound variant, with a horizontal, unusually long and narrow ended bar at the upper part of the handle, a rounded guard, with a long and narrow, slightly curved, one edged blade. This shape incorporates also some elements from the post-archaic daggers, representing a separate aspect, suggesting a personal and isolated evolution.¹⁰ The oval or lenticular cross section of the handle and the curving of the blade are specific characteristics which can be dated to a later date, thus differentiating from the earlier archaic pieces.¹¹ Based on their outlines such artefacts were incorporated also in the category of the war-knives, with a single cutting edge, Tiszadob variant. The handle of such weapons ends in a horizontal bar, having the form of a two edged axe, the grip has an oval cross section, with a longitudinal groove.¹² In

² Lazăr 1995, 89, XVI.5.A/b.

³ Vasiliev 1966, 411–420, Fig. 2–5; Vasiliev 1980, 142/8; Lazăr 1995, 66–67, IX.1.D and E.

⁴ Vasiliev 1980, 148/69; Vulpe 1990, 23, Taf. 42A; Marinescu 2011, 147/C.

⁵ Vasiliev 1976, 49–87, Pl. XVIII–XXVI; Vasiliev 1980, 142/11; Lazăr 1995, 177, L.2.A.

⁶ Vasiliev 1979, 11–12, 15; Kemenczei 2005, 200. The only exception is the dagger from Veszprém, See Kemenczei 1984, 37, Abb. 2/2.

⁷ Ginters 1928, 23–33; Dušek 1961, 162; Dušek 1964, 285.

⁸ Kemenczei 2001, 23; Kemenczei 2009b, 109. The daggers from the Great Hungarian Plain, with the handles being oval in cross section, with horizontal ribbings and perpendicular bar at the end, are considered imitations after Transylvanian pieces.

⁹ Vasiliev 1978, 104–105; Vasiliev 1979, 13–15; Vasiliev 1980, 79–81.

¹⁰ Vasiliev 1976, 70–71; Vasiliev 1979, 29–30; Vasiliev 1980, 83.

¹¹ Isac 1994, 180.

¹² Vulpe 1990, 92–94.

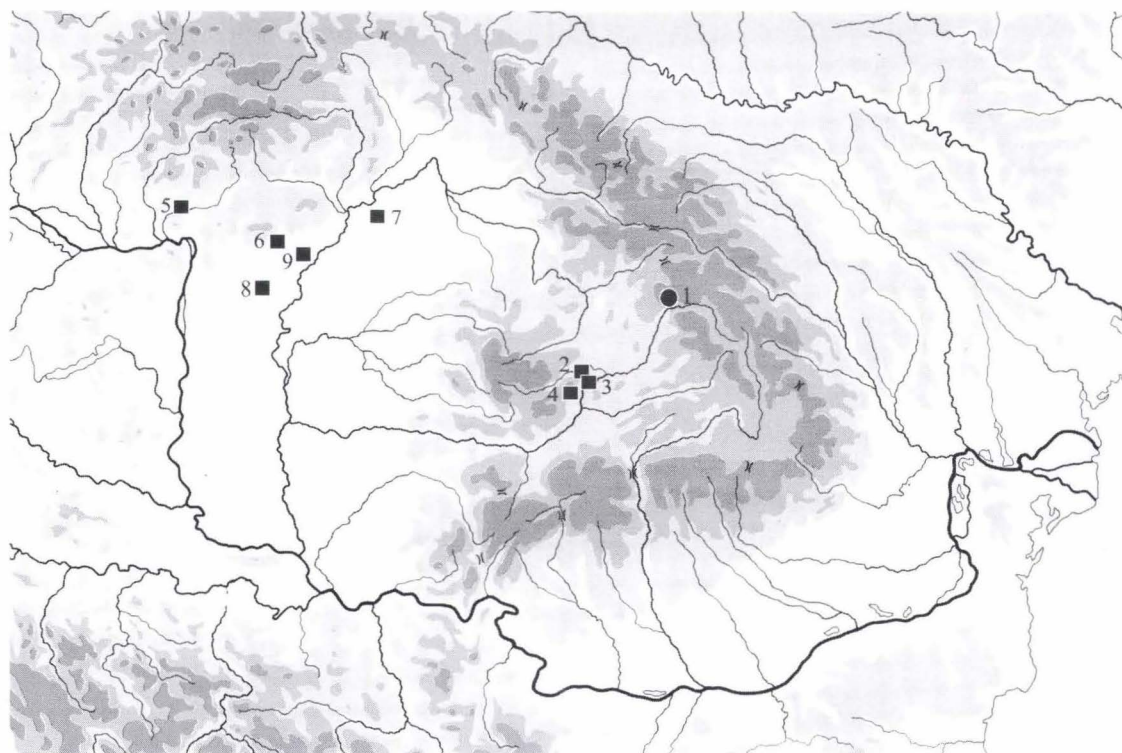


Fig. 1. Distribution map of the Tiszadob type dagger-knife.

1. Dumbrava; 2. Mirislău; 3. Ciumbrud; 4. Benic; 5. Želiezovce; 6. Gyöngyös; 7. Tiszadob; 8. Nagykáta–Egreskáta; 9. Tarnadob–Báb.

his typological classification of the late Hallstatt daggers, T. Kemenczei separates the two edged akinakes, characteristic for the eastern Carpathian Basin, from those with one cutting edge, which stand as local variants. The shape of the dagger from Dumbrava was included in the 2 variant, the handle having a horizontal bar at the end, an oval cross section, an oval shaped guard split in two in the lower half.¹³

Similar pieces were manufactured in the Great Hungarian Plain and in Transylvania starting with the 7th cent. BC, being very characteristic to the region of the eastern Carpathian Basin.¹⁴ Their Transylvanian presence was narrowed to a small territory, namely to the region of Aiud, and they were put into connection with the so called Ciumbrud group.¹⁵

The artefact from Dumbrava completes the distribution map, being the most eastern representative of this variant, but integrating at the same time in the general distribution pattern of the Transylvanian Scythian finds (Fig. 1).

Similar forms, as the one from Dumbrava, occur in a quite small number, mostly from funerary discoveries, others being isolated finds. From Transylvania we can mention only the artefacts from Ciumbrud¹⁶ and Mirislău¹⁷, eventually the fragmented dagger from Benic¹⁸ which is lacking the perpendicular bar at the end of the handle, but the outline of the blade and the guard, the cross section of the handle shows very similar features with the dagger from Dumbrava. Al. Vulpe classifies the piece from Aiud also in the Tiszadob variant, in spite of the fact that it shows similarities with the short swords of Ferigile-Lăceni type, based on the three vertical ribs on the handle.¹⁹ From Hungary we can name two very close analogies, based on the shape of the blade, guard, and on the ribbings of the handle, from Nagykáta–Egreskáta²⁰ and Kom. Nógrád²¹,

¹³ Kemenczei 1991, 70, 75.

¹⁴ Kemenczei 2000, 74.

¹⁵ Vulpe 1990, 94. The goal of this article is not the debate of the cultural and chronological framework of the Transylvanian Scythian problem, neither the acceptance, denial nor clarification of the so called Ciumbrud group, therefore regarding the different questions concerning this group See: Vulpe 1970, 152–157; Vulpe 1981, 398–404; Vulpe 1984, 54; Moscalu 1981, 23–35; Vulpe 2001, 409–410. On the other hand V. Vasiliev assigns the Transylvanian group to the ethnical group of Agathyrsi, having Scythian-Iranian origins, and being foreign in the local environments. See Vasiliev – Zrinyi 1974, 119–120; Vasiliev 1980, 134–140; Vasiliev 1982, 261–266; Vasiliev 2005, 73.

¹⁶ Ferenczi 1965, 91–93, Fig. 7.

¹⁷ Herepey 1897, 66, Fig. 6.

¹⁸ Roska 1942, 149, Fig. 173.

¹⁹ Vulpe 1990, Taf. 29/195.

²⁰ Kemenczei 1984, Abb. 1/4.

²¹ Kemenczei 1984, Abb. 1/3.

as well as the ones from Gyöngyös²², Tiszadob²³, Tarnadob–Báb²⁴ and in Slovakia from Želiezovce²⁵ (Pl. 4).

The first akinakes daggers appear in Scythian burial grounds.²⁶ Generally it is mentioned as the earliest artefact of the Scythian group which penetrated into Transylvania.²⁷ For the hybrid variants A4 (with bar at the end of the handle) and B4 (with antennas at the end of the handle), which appear in an extremely low number in Romania, V. Vasiliev recommends a dating in the first half of the 5th cent. BC, based on the grave find from Băița.²⁸ This artefact shows great similarities with the dagger from Dumbrava, the blade and the guard are almost identical, the only exception is the antenna like ending of the handle. The gradual narrowing of the blade towards the tip, doubled by the narrowing of the guard as well, is a characteristic of the classical or evolved phase of the Scythian period, and can be dated after the end of the 6th cent. BC, most probably in the first half of the 5th cent. BC.²⁹ The dagger from Ciurbrud was dated to the 6th cent. BC,³⁰ or to the 6–5th cent. BC.³¹ Based on the grave find from Aiud, Al. Vulpe dates this variant in the second half of the 6th cent. BC, being characteristic for the early Scythian civilisation. The Cepari variant, with antenna like ending, is placed in a slightly later evolution phase, namely to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th cent. BC.³² A similar chronological frame, end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th cent. BC is supported also by T. Kemenczei.³³ The same date is given also for the

dagger from Cincșor, with antenna handle, and a very similar blade to the one from Dumbrava.³⁴ The analogue find from Gyöngyös was recovered near 6 zoomorphic rattles, which were dated to the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th cent. BC.³⁵

The dagger-knives similar to the one from Dumbrava were named in different ways, the basic meaning remaining the same: akinakes,³⁶ akinakes-dagger,³⁷ akinakeslike dagger,³⁸ dagger,³⁹ battle-knife with heart shaped guard,⁴⁰ or short sword.⁴¹ The form of the piece from Dumbrava has a single cutting edge, due to which it is usually listed within the category of the battle-knives. The daggers have usually two edges, and they were used for stabbing. For the Transylvanian region the variant with one edge and those with double edge are present in the same chronological time span.⁴² Taking into consideration the information presented above, the dating of the analogue pieces, and the fact that it is an isolated find without any documentation regarding the find circumstances, we believe that the dagger-knife from Dumbrava can be roughly dated between the end of the 6th cent. and the beginning of the 5th cent. BC. If we take into account the evolved shape and outline of the artefact, a dating to the beginning of the 5th cent. BC seems more probable.

The iron akinakes from Dumbrava completes the repertoire of the Scythian weapon finds from Transylvania. Thank to the very good state of preservation, and due to the very explicit formal characteristics the weapon from Dumbrava becomes the best representative of the dagger-knives with one cutting edge of the Tiszadob (Kemenczei, Vulpe) or A4 (Vasiliev) variant from the eastern edge of the Carpathian Basin.

²² Márton 1908, 37–38; Kemenczei 1984, Abb. 1/6; Kemenczei 2000, 28–33, Abb. 1–7. The end of the handle is supposedly broken.

²³ Kemenczei 1984, Abb. 3/2.

²⁴ Kemenczei 1984, Abb. 3/5.

²⁵ Vulpe 1990, Taf. 41/10; Dušek 1961, Taf. 6/6. In 1964 the same drawing is given for the discovery from Nové Zámky, See Dušek 1964, Fig. 5/2.

²⁶ Kemenczei 1984, 43–44; Kemenczei 2009a, 36–37.

²⁷ Vasiliev – Zrinyi 1974, 118.

²⁸ Vasiliev 1976, 71; Vasiliev 1979, 33; Vasiliev 1980, 85–86; Vasiliev 2005, 72, 74. Generally the majority of the different akinakes types have parallels in the north Pontic region, but similar artefacts to the one from Dumbrava are not present in Scythian archaic burial finds, nor do they have analogies north to the Black Sea. See also Vasiliev *et al.* 1973, 33, footnote 45, where the Romanian researcher dates, in contradiction with W. Ginters, to the same horizon, namely the 5th cent. BC, the daggers with simple bar and those with antenna endings as well.

²⁹ Vasiliev 1976, 70–71.

³⁰ Vasiliev 1978, 104.

³¹ Ferenczi 1967, 38–39.

³² Vulpe 1990, 93. Regarding the same dating See also Vasiliev 1976, 71.

³³ Kemenczei 1991, 75.

³⁴ Isac 1994, 180, Fig. 2.

³⁵ Bakay 1971, 91; Perevodcsikova 1980, 31; Kemenczei 1991, 75; Kemenczei 2000, 33–38, 42–43.

³⁶ Kemenczei 1984, 33; Kemenczei 1991, 70, although being listed within the category of the Hallstatt swords and daggers with one or two cutting edges.

³⁷ Vasiliev 1978, 101; Vasiliev 1979, 11; Vasiliev 1980, 78.

³⁸ Marinescu 2011, 139.

³⁹ Buzdugan 1976, 239.

⁴⁰ Vulpe 1990, 92.

⁴¹ Vulpe 2001, 411.

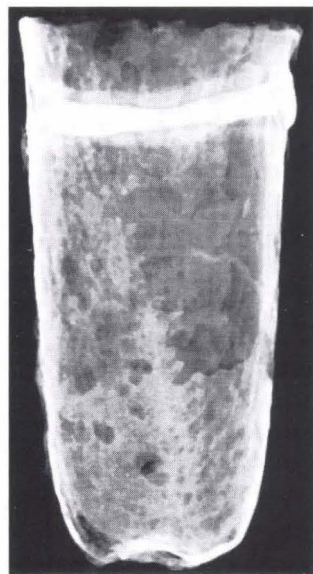
⁴² Vasiliev 1979, 33, 35; Vasiliev 1980, 85–86; Vulpe 1990, 93, 95.

Appendix

The second artefact, the socketed object, was discovered in the same spot, in the same conditions, very close to the dagger-knife. Unfortunately stratigraphical connection could not be established between the two pieces. Due to the fact that its exact function could not be established, and what is more not even approximate analogies could be found, we would like to discuss it separately, assuming only that it is a Scythian artefact.

Description of the artefact

Presumably an iron butt spike, intact (*Pl. 2/2a–e*). It has a trapezoid form on the wide side, and a triangular outline from the small side, narrowing gradually towards the tip. It has a rectangular cross section, rounded at the corners. It has a straight rim, without any thickening or ribbings. The socket holds wooden remains. On a small side a rivet is noticeable, which held the wooden handle (*Fig. 2; Pl. 3/6*). The tip of the artefact is slightly notched. It is made of wrought iron.



Dimensions: total length: 4 cm; max. width wide side: 2 cm; min. width wide side: 1.2 cm; max. width small side: 1.6 cm; min. width small side: 0.7 cm; iron sheet thickness: 0.2 cm; rivet diameter: 0.5 cm; weight: 13 g. Mureș County Museum, inv. nr. 8022.

Fig. 2. X-ray view with the butt spike.

At the beginning a contemporary designation was also assumed. Its exact role however could not be established. Furthermore the condition of the wrought iron does not exclude the possibility that it has a prehistoric provenience.⁴³

Looking from another perspective the artefact shows some similarities with very simple

shaped iron socketed chisels. The rectangular cross section, the wooden remains within the socket can lead us in this direction, but the artefact doesn't have a specific and pronounced edge. The oval tip seems to have a totally different function, and is not proper for cutting and scooping. The bent tip has an ancient notch. Although the presence of the rivet is not uncommon among the socketed chisels, it does not occur frequently. The very simple shaped, iron analogue finds such as those from Vințu de Jos, Lăpuș, Teleac and Turnișor⁴⁴ present a totally different shape and outline, with sharpened edge, and are missing the rivet or rivet hole.

Similar artefacts are generally named scabbard chapes, when they are linked to swords, daggers or battle-knives, or they are considered also butt spikes when in close relation with spears.⁴⁵ Their shape does not vary greatly, and their function is determined by the artefact next to them.⁴⁶ Al. Vulpe separates three different types: those with tube like shape and seal like tip, those with tube like shape and wide sharp-edged tip, and thirdly those with simple, elongated, trapezoid outline, made of iron sheet.⁴⁷ From this point of view the piece from Dumbrava represents a unique shape, having a simple, undecorated form, and most importantly a rectangular cross section. It is also very interesting, slightly problematic, that the vertical split which is a natural characteristic after the bent iron sheet is not noticeable on the surface. The x-ray analysis didn't elucidate this deficiency either (*Fig. 2*). The rectangular cross section, rounded at the corner, does not correspond with the possible Scythian butt spikes, which have circular sections and pointed tips. Such artefacts, but every one of them with oval or round cross section, with a pointed tip, were unearthed at Ferigile⁴⁸, Szentes-Wekerzug,⁴⁹ Tápíószele,⁵⁰ Csanytelek–Újhalastó⁵¹. Their dating varies between the second half of the 7th cent. BC and the beginning of the 5th cent. BC.⁵²

⁴⁴ Wanzek 1989, Taf. 59/1–4.

⁴⁵ Vulpe 1967, 65; Galántha 1981, 54; Vulpe 1990, 98; Kemenczei 2009a, 38.

⁴⁶ In the cemetery from Ferigile for example in barrow grave nr. 12 a butt spike was attached to the spear, and in barrow grave nr. 99 beside a battle-knife and a spear two socketed objects (a chape and a butt spike) were found.

⁴⁷ Vulpe 1990, 98–102.

⁴⁸ Vulpe 1967, Pl. XIX/1–11. Very close analogy Pl. XIX/10.

⁴⁹ Kemenczei 2009a, Taf. 77/11.

⁵⁰ Kemenczei 2009a, Taf. 82/10.

⁵¹ Galántha 1981, Abb. 12/3.

⁵² Vasiliev 1980, 89; Vulpe 1990, 102; Kemenczei 2009a, 39 (between 7th–6th cent. BC).

⁴³ Unfortunately we didn't have the possibility and necessary time to perform metallographic analysis, nor dendrochronological investigations; this is why an exact answer regarding these topics cannot be given at present time.

We believe that based on the typological characteristics the function of a socketed chisel can be ruled out. Furthermore the wooden remains within the socket, the presence of the rivet and the notched tip makes us believe that we are not dealing with a scabbard chape, as we have presumed in the beginning, but most probably with a butt spike of a spear. To what extent can the analyzed artefact be linked to the Scythian culture is hard to determined, because we are lacking clean and obvious analogies. Taking into consideration that no other archaeological remains were discovered in the Vârful Muncelului find spot, where the two pieces came to light, a Scythian origin might be presumed.

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Botond REZI

Mureș County Museum
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Rezumat

În vara anului 2012 colecția de arheologie al Muzeului Județean Mureș s-a îmbogățit cu două artefacte de fier. Pe baza caracteristicilor piesele se încadrează în epoca scitică. Prima piesă, pumnalul-cuțit de tip *akinakes*, face parte dintr-o variantă bine cunoscută a culturii scitice, iar pe baza analogiilor din România și din Bazinul Carpatic în general, se datează la sfârșitul secolului 6, începutul secolului 5 î.e.n. Datorită

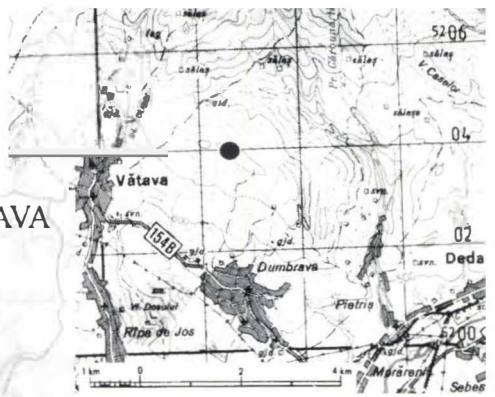
caracteristicilor formale și a condiției de păstrare ar putea fi considerată ca cea mai bună reprezentantă a tipului A4 din România sau a tipului *Tiszadob*. A doua piesă, cea cu toc, din cauza condițiilor neclare de descoperire și a formei comune, foarte larg răspândite, poate fi încadrată doar cu incertitudine în epoca scitică. Prezintă asemănări cu unele călcâie de lance, eventual cu capetele metalice ale unor teci, dar și cu unele culturi de fier. Are o secțiune dreptunghiulară, și păstrează urme organice în interior.



1



2



3



4



5

Plate 1. The location of the site: 1–2. geographical maps; 3. modern topographical survey; 4. aerial photography (made by Z. Czajlik, Institute of Archaeological Science, Budapest, Hungary); 5. the exact find spot of the artefacts.
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro>

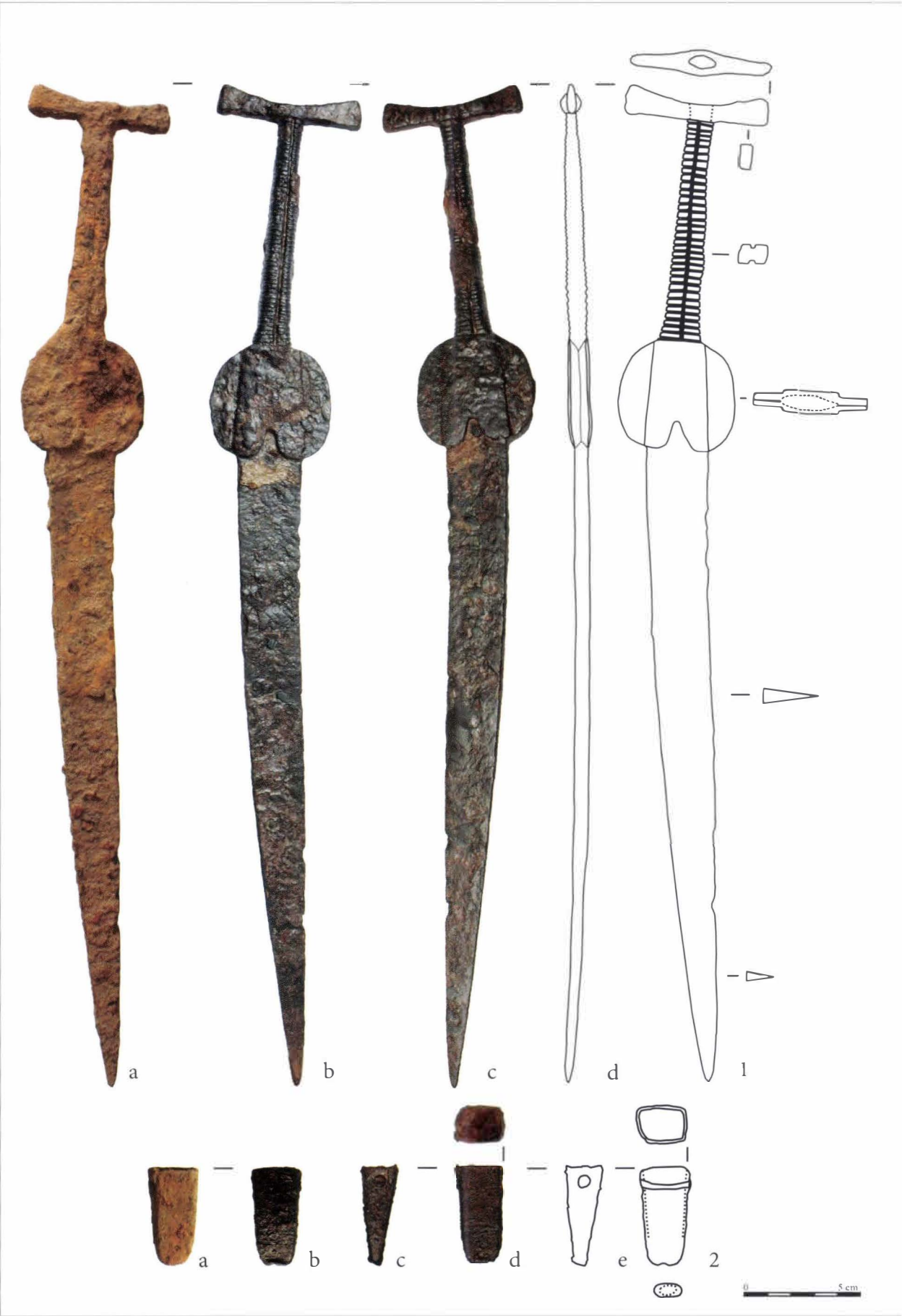


Plate 2. The dagger-knife before (1a) and after restoration (1b-c) and the butt spike before (2a) and after restoration (2b-d).

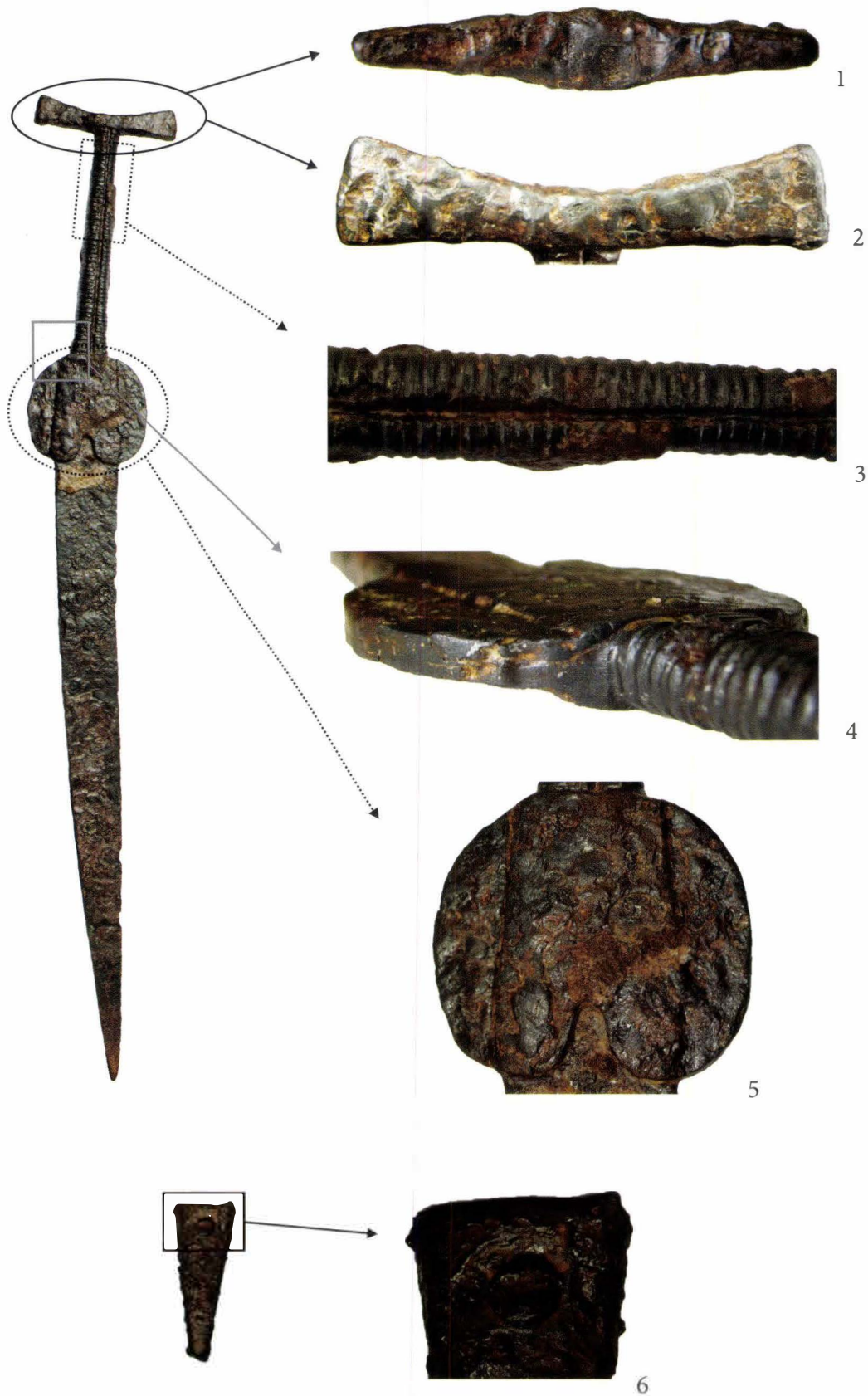


Plate 3. Macro photos with the dagger-knife and the butt spike; not to scale.

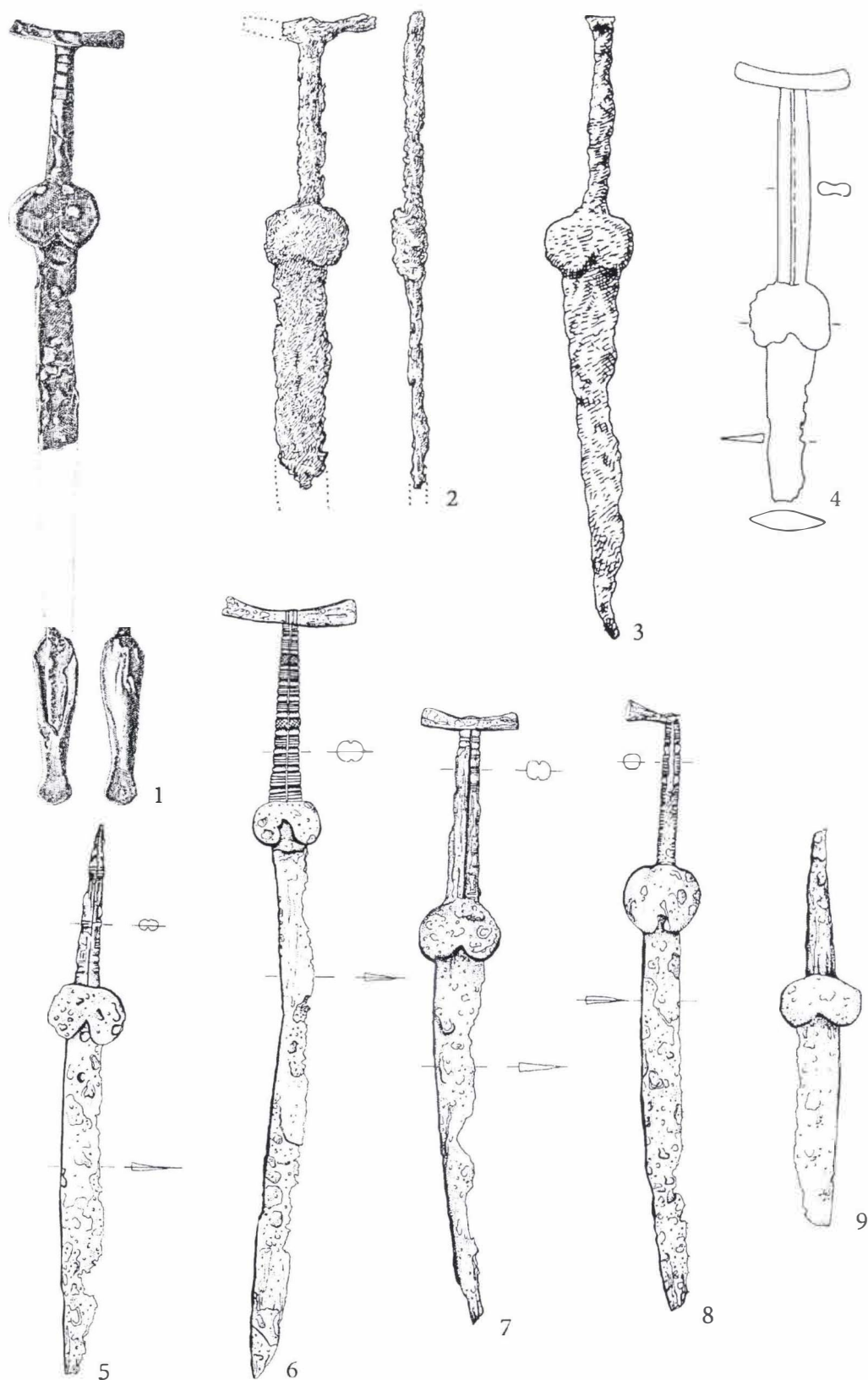


Plate 4. Analogies for the dagger-knife from Dumbrava: 1. Mirislău (after Herepey 1897); 2. Ciumbud (after Ferenczi 1965); 3. Benic (after Roska 1942); 4. Želiezovce (after Vulpe 1990); 5. Gyöngyös, 6. Kom. Nógrád, 7. Tiszadob, 8. Nagykáta–Egreskáta, 9. Tarnadob–Báb (5–9: after Kemenczei 1984). not to scale.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL IMPACT OF LEGIONARY PRESENCE ON THE LIFE OF A PROVINCE. THE DISLOCATION OF THE ROMAN ARMY IN RAETIA

ISTVÁN GERGŐ FARKAS

Keywords: latin epigraphy, legionary dislocation, Roman Raetia, religion of the Roman Army, history of North Africa

Cuvinte cheie: epigrafie latină, legiune, Raetia, religie romană, Africa de Nord

Kulcsszavak: latin epigráfia, legio, Raetia, római vallás, Észak-Afrika

Despite the fact, that Raetia's creation, as well as its numerous reorganisation and expansions primarily served a military purpose, the soldiers garrisoning its forts have also had a significant effect on the non-military segments of the province's life. The primary sources for this impact are of epigraphical nature. The legion's soldiers and officers partook in and supervised numerous construction works in the province, as attested by milestones. Raetian funerary epitaphs attest, that legionary officers had extensive families during their service. Regarding the economical impact of the legion, the earnings of officers of middle and higher ranks cannot be disregarded. Dedicatory inscriptions attest the important role, that legionary officers held in the religious life of Raetia.

Introduction

The Roman province of Raetia was located North of the Alps and Italy, occupying the mountainous area of present-day Bavaria, Germany. The province of Raetia was annexed to the Roman Empire in a brief campaign led by *Ti. Claudius Nero*, who later became Emperor Tiberius and *D. Claudius Drusus*, his younger stepbrother.¹ The names of the subjugated tribes were listed on the *Tropaeum Alpium*, the triumphal monument commemorating Emperor Augustus' victory over the peoples of this region.² The primary significance of the newly organized province Raetia was of military nature. The Roman soldiers stationed on its territory supervised the northern side of the Alpine passes, which was vital for the protection of Italy itself. In the course of the 1st century AD, the area of the province was gradually expanded (Fig. 1). The earliest military installations, which evolved to become the province's first towns were located along rivers running North to South, e.g.: Bregenz (*Brigantium*) near the Bodensee, Kempten (*Cambodunum*) along the Iller, Auerberg (*Damasia*), Epfach (*Abodiacum*) and Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicorum*) along the Lech and Gauting (*Bratanium*) near the Isar.³ During Emperor Claudius' reign, the northern line

of the frontier reached the Danube. The Danube continued to serve as a single, homogenous frontier until the beginning of the 2nd century AD. In the years between AD 107/116, succeeding his Dacian campaigns in AD 101–102 and AD 105–106,⁴ Emperor Trajan expanded the frontier north of the Danube and created the Raetian *limes*.⁵ The western end of the Raetian *limes* joined the Germanian *limes* in the area of present-day Schirenhof.⁶ On its eastern extremity, it connected to the already operational Danubian *ripa* in the vicinity of Hienheim⁷ and Eining.⁸ Eastwards, the Danube remained a frontier river in Noricum, the two Pannonias, in Moesia superior and a large section of Moesia inferior.

During the Marcomannic wars and the numerous Germanic incursions of the 3rd century AD, military installations on the most exposed section of the Raetian *limes* were destroyed and reconstructed several times.⁹ Approaching the middle of the 3rd century AD, the Raetian frontier system was subjected to increasing pressure from

⁴ Rosenberger 1992, 92–94.

⁵ Sommer 2012, 151.

⁶ ORL B VI. (1897), Nr. 64; Planck 2005, 546–556; Schönberger 1985, 484, Nr. E 72.

⁷ Faßbinder 2008, 169–170; ORL A VII. (1932), Sect. 15; Faßbinder 2010, 102.

⁸ Gschwind 2004; Czys et al. 1995, 434–436; Schönberger 1985, 457, Nr. C 73, 474, Nr. D 117.

⁹ Sommer 2012, 151, 170–173.

¹ Suet., *De vita Claudii*, 1. 2.

² Plin., *Nat. hist.* III. 24; CIL V 7817 [La Turbie – 7/6 BC].

³ TIR, Raetia; Bender 1997.

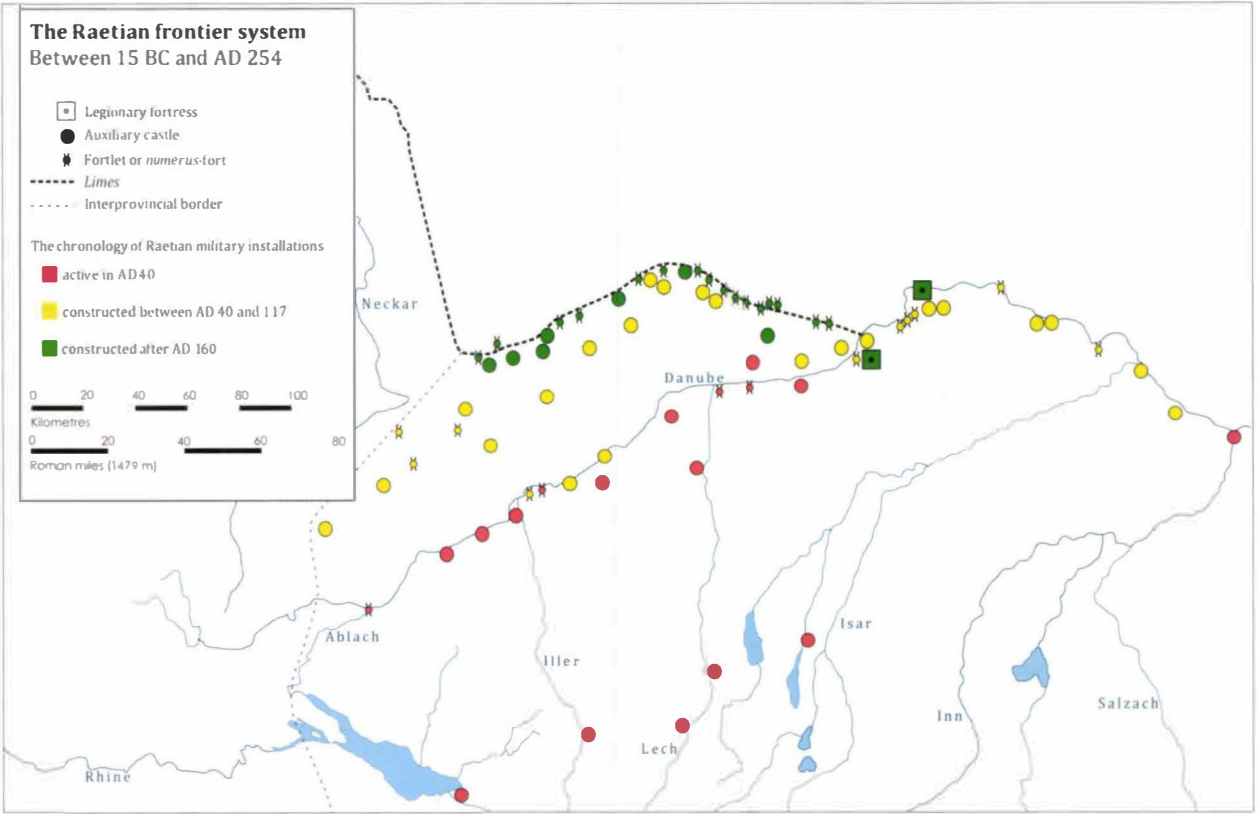


Fig. 1: Roman military fortifications operational in Raetia during the period 15 BC – AD 254

Germanic people. Raids became more frequent and more forceful, until the Spring of AD 254, when an incursion of previously unseen strenght shattered and collapsed the Raetian frontier system. The areas north of the Rhine, Danube and Iller, were permanently lost to the Empire.¹⁰ This article deals with the non-military aspects of legionary dislocation in Raetia from its occupation in 15 BC until the collapse of the Raetian *limes* in AD 254. Although the history of Raetia did not end with this devastation, as the remaining area remained under Roman control until the early 6th century AD, when Theoderic the Great incorporated its territory to his Empire, the events of AD 254 brought about a series of extensive military reforms, thus it makes sense to deal with the Roman Army in Raetia in the two completely different stages of its existence separately. This article aims to shed light on the non-military impacts of legionary presence on provincial life, in the era of the Principate.

The analysis of Antique literary and epigraphical sources unanimously attests, that two legions formed Raetia's garrison during the Principate. Two legionary fortresses are known from Raetia, both dateable to the period succeeding the Marcomannic wars (AD 166

– c. 180). One was a short-lived camp in the vicinity of present-day Eining-Unterfeld, built to house soldiers of the *legio III Italica* during their campaign against raiding Marcomannic tribes. The other was a permanent fortress, constructed in AD 179 on the territory of present-day Regensburg after truce was declared.¹¹ The construction of the legionary fortress at Regensburg was result of a planned military strategy aiming to reinforce an important crossing point over the Danube. Prior to the fortress' construction, two auxiliary forts (Regensburg-Kumpfmühl and Regensburg-Bismarckplatz) secured the region (similarly to Straubing I-III and Straubing-IV).

The outbreak of the Marcomannic wars and the subsequent destruction of the forts both at Kumpfmühl and Bismarckplatz indicated the need to further reinforce this area, which was achieved by the transfer of a legion to this area. This was the first time in Raetia's history, that a legion formed part of its permanent garrison. It is possible, that legionary soldiers were present on the territory of Raetia before the arrival of the *legio III Italica*, as attested by various *instrumenta* inscriptions, one of the most famous among these, the incised helmet found at Nersingen.¹² However

¹⁰ Reuter 2007, 357–569; Sommer 2012, 151.

¹¹ CIL III, 11965 [Regensburg – AD 179].

¹² Kuhn 2001, 56.

these finds are to be seen as evidence left behind by an army on the march, or on campaign (as during the turmoils of civil wars), rather than signs of a permanent garrison. During their transfer and passage through Raetia, these legions built a series of marching camps, although their discovery due to their function and the characteristics of the Bavarian landscape is quite difficult, and has so far eluded research. The presence of *legio III Italica* had an effect on the entire Raetian frontier system. Several fortlets and *numerus*-forts were possibly manned by legionary soldiers, e.g. at Hienheim,¹³ Pfatter-Gmünd¹⁴ and Regensburg-Großprüfening.¹⁵ Legionary soldiers carried out, whilst officers supervised numerous construction works and refortifications along the Raetian *limes*.¹⁶ The following section of the article gives a brief account of Raetian legionary fortresses.

The Legionary fortress at Eining-Unterfeld

The fortress at Eining-*Unterfeld* is part of the Danubian *ripa*. It is located approximately 1.2 kilometres northeast from the auxiliary fort at Eining. The fortress covered an area of 10.6 hectares, with sides measuring 328 × 320 meters (Fig. 2). It was built and garrisoned by the *legio III Italica* during the Marcomannic wars, after which, the legionary fortress at Eining-*Unterfeld* was abandoned and the legion built its new, permanent fortress at Regensburg.¹⁷ Th. Fischer suggested, that the legionary fortress at Eining-*Unterfeld* was built precisely in AD 172.¹⁸ However no epigraphical, nor any other evidence attests this dating, thus, it is more apt to suggest, that the fortress was constructed in the years around AD 170. In the first years of the Marcomannic wars, between AD 166-170, the *legio III Italica* participated in the liberation of Northern Italy and Dalmatia, therefore the construction of the fortress at *Unterfeld* plausibly occurred only after AD 170.¹⁹



Fig. 2: Ground-plan of the Roman legionary fortress at Eining-Unterfeld (Spindler – Fischer 1984, fig. 27)

Bibliography: Christlein – Fischer 1979, 423–428; Czysz et al. 1995, 435–436; Schönberger 1983, 235–239; Schönberger 1985, 488, Nr. E 90.

The Legionary fortress at Regensburg

The legionary fortress at Regensburg is part of the lower Raetian *ripa*. It covers an area of 24.55 hectares with sides measuring 542 × 453 meters (Fig. 3). It was encircled by stone walls two meters wide and eight meters high, sections of which are visible even today.²⁰ The *canabae legionis*, the civil settlement developed together with the fortress. Given, that both the Medieval and the Modern settlement overlap the Roman remains, only small sections of the *canabae*'s territory have been excavated. So far, an oriental sanctuary and an administrative building are discovered, situated under present-day Arnulfsplatz and Bismarckplatz respectively.²¹ Soldiers of the *legio III Italica* constructed the fortress in AD 179, as attested by its building inscription.²² The earliest phase of the barracks was built of timber and were reconstructed in stone during the first half of the 3rd century AD.²³ In the years around AD 180, following the end of the Marcomannic wars, soldiers of the *legio III Italica* participated in a series of constructions and renovations on the Raetian *limes*, as attested by building inscriptions found at various sites, including Böhming and

¹³ Faßbinder 2008, 169–170; ORL A VII. (1932), Sect. 15; Faßbinder 2010, 102.

¹⁴ Faßbinder – Pietsch 2006, 73–76; Wood 2004, 235 ff.

¹⁵ Dietz – Fischer 1996, 155–161; Faßbinder et al. 2011, 92–95; Schönberger 1985, 489, Nr. E 92.

¹⁶ CIL III 14370,2 [Böhming – AD 181], AE 1983, 730 [Ellingen – AD 182]; Sommer 2012, 176.

¹⁷ Schönberger 1983, 235–239; Schönberger 1985, 488, Nr. E 90; Czysz et al. 1995, 435–436; Jütting 1995, 187, 190; Gonzalez 2003, 150; Fischer – Riedmeier 2008, 161–162.

¹⁸ Fischer – Riedmeier 2008, 161.

¹⁹ Kovács 2005, 153–172.

²⁰ Czysz et al. 1995, 503–505.

²¹ Czysz et al. 1995, 507.

²² CIL III 11965 [Regensburg – D 179]; Dietz – Fischer 1996, 84–87, 113; Reuter 2007, 113; Sommer 2012, 164, 167.

²³ Czysz et al. 1995, 506.

Ellingen.²⁴ During the numerous Germanic raids in the first half of the 3rd century AD, all Roman sites in the area of present-day Regensburg – the fortlet at Großprüfening, the *canabae legionis* and the legionary fortress – suffered destruction, as attested by a thick burnt layer, dateable to this period, but were rebuilt.

The legionary fortress was destroyed in the years around AD 280s.²⁵ Apart from occasional attacks however, this area was generally considered secured, as the *legio III Italica* repeatedly participated in campaigns far away in North Africa and the eastern provinces.²⁶ The *Notitia Dignitatum* attests, that the *legio III Italica* was still garrisoning the fortress at Regensburg in the end of the 5th century AD.²⁷ The Roman fortress and settlement can be identified as the ancient toponym *Castra Regina*.²⁸

Bibliography: Cysz et al. 1995, 503–508; Dietz – Fischer 1996, 84–136; Schmidts 2001, 95–140.

The legio III Augusta

The *legio III Augusta* was a long-time garrison of the North-African theatre.²⁹ Its involvement with Raetia traces back to the events of the Era of the Barracks Emperors.³⁰ In April AD 238, under command of Numidia's governor, *legatus Augusti Capelianus*,³¹ binding their loyalty to Emperor Maximinus Thrax, the *legio III Augusta* countered and suppressed the uprising of M. Antonius Sempronianus, governor of the neighbouring province Africa Proconsularis, who had been proclaimed Emperor under the name of Gordian I, together with his son, Gordian II.³² In the course of the same year, however, Maximinus Thrax was assassinated before the gates of Aquileia, senatorial emperors Pupienus and Balbinus were slain by the Praetorian guard and the grandson of Gordian I was proclaimed Emperor under the name of Gordian III. Relishing the undivided support of the Senate, he had both reason and means to punish the legion responsible for the death of

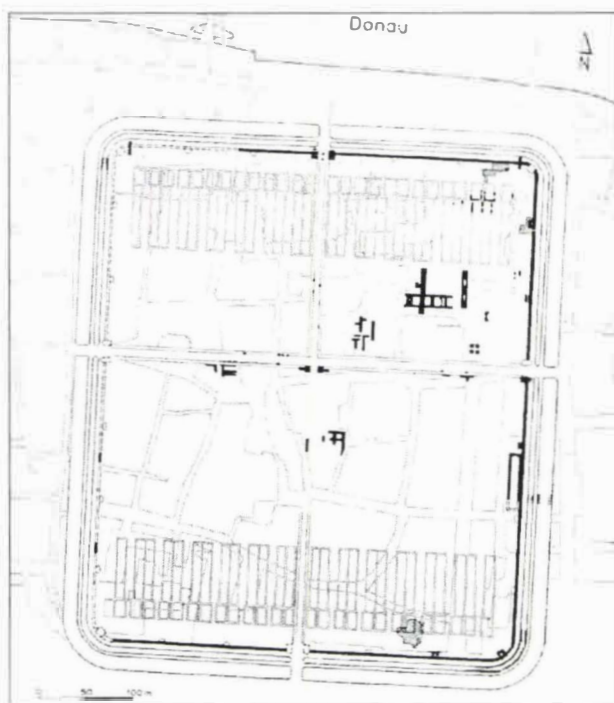


Fig. 3: Ground-plan of the legionary fortress at Regensburg (Czysz et al. 1995, 504, fig. 200)

his grandfather and his uncle, thus he disbanded the *legio III Augusta*.³³ Tilestamps displaying the name of the legion with the Imperial epithet '*Gordiana*' indicate, that the Emperor did not disband the unit immediately after his ascension.³⁴ Y. le Bohec argues, that there is no indication, that some parts of the legion remained active.³⁵ However, the imperial inscription of AD 253 suggests, that at least partially, the legion was active in Raetia in the years between AD 238 and 253.³⁶ Furthermore, the layout of the fortlet near Burgsalach In der Harlach is identical in every way to the *centenarii* of North Africa.³⁷ It is possible, that soldiers asking Imperial pardon, or those who remained loyal to the Gordian-dynasty were granted the possibility to serve on the distant and troubled frontier of the Raetian *limes*. These soldiers were prohibited from using the name of the disbanded and disgraced legion, thus the denomination '*legio III Augusta*' appears on but a handful of inscriptions north of the Mediterranean.

²⁴ CIL III 14370,2 [Böhming – AD 181], AE 1983, 730 [Ellingen – AD 182]: Sommer 2012, 176.

²⁵ Reuter 2007, 114, fn. 371–374.

²⁶ Reuter 2007, 113.

²⁷ Cysz et al. 1995, 507.

²⁸ Not. Dign. Occ. 35.

²⁹ le Bohec 2000, 373.

³⁰ le Bohec 2000, 377.

³¹ PIR, Nr. 404; A. Chausa Sáez suggested, that *Capelianus* was identical to L. Ovinus Pudens Capella (Chausa Sáez 1997, 20).

³² Herodian., *Historia* 7. 9. 3; sha, *Gordiani*, 15. 1; le Bohec 1989, esp. 451–453.

³³ le Bohec 1989, 453, fn. 17.

³⁴ CIL VIII, 10474,09 + 22631,17a [Lambaesis . AD 238]: '[le]g(io) III Aug(usta) Gor(diana)'.

³⁵ le Bohec 1989, 453, fn. 18.

³⁶ CIL VIII, 2482 [Mlilī – AD 253]: ',vexi]llat(io) mill|,iaria leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) re]stitu|tae e Raet(ia) Geme|ll(as) regressi'.

³⁷ Cysz et al. 1995, 432; Fleer 2004, 85; Typ. Burgsalach'.

Apart from garrisoning the *centenarium* in der Harlach, little is known of the task and role of legionary soldiers. Based on a similarity between the *centenarium*'s ground-plan of the *centenarium* and the layout of one of the towers at the auxiliary fort near Theilenhofen, M. Reuter suggested, that soldiers of the disbanded legion may have partaken in construction works along the Raetian *limes*.³⁸ In AD 253, former governor of Raetia *Publius Licinius Valerianus* was proclaimed Emperor, under the name of Valerian by the Roman Army in Raetia.³⁹ In gratitude for their support, Emperor Valerian restored the disbanded legion and returned it to its former fort at *Gemella*, in Numidia.⁴⁰

Bibliography: Gonzalez 2003, 114–131, esp. 124–129; le Bohec 1989, esp. 451–466; le Bohec 2000, 373–381; Chausa Sáez 1997.

The legio III Italica

In response to the large-scale invasions commonly known as the Marcomannic wars, in the years between AD 166 and 169, Emperor Marcus Aurelius – among other measures – recruited two new legions, the *legio II* and *III Italica* to fight off the invaders and afterwards, to secure the region north of the Alps.⁴¹ Several inscriptions note the recruitment of these Italian legions.⁴² In the years around AD 169/170, the *legio III Italica* was referred to as *legio III Concors*, as attested by a building inscription,⁴³ and several early tilestamps.⁴⁴ During the last decades of the second century AD, the name of the legion was vernacularised based on the origin of its first recruits, and was commonly referred to as *legio III Italica*. In his historic work Cassius Dio states, the change of the legion's name,⁴⁵ and the overwhelming majority of Raetian epigraphical sources refer to the legion as *legio III Italica*.⁴⁶ In the years between AD

166/167 and c. AD 170 the legion threw back the Marcomanni from North Italia and Dalmatia.⁴⁷ In the years between c. AD 170 and AD 179 the legion garrisoned the legionary fortress near Eining-Unterfeld. As attested by a building inscription, the legion constructed a fortress near present-day Regensburg, after the conclusion of the war in AD 179.⁴⁸ Following the Marcomannic wars, soldiers and officers of the legion took part in the reconstruction of the Raetian *limes* in the AD 180s. Their work is attested by two building inscriptions: one from Böhming,⁴⁹ set up in AD 181, and one from Ellingen, set up in AD 182.⁵⁰ Although currently only these two inscriptions are known, it is plausible, that legionary soldiers carried out construction works in several forts in the eastern section of the Raetian *limes*, such as Dambach-II, Alkofen,⁵¹ Dalkingen, Oberhochstatt, Raitenbuch, Regensburg-Großprüfening and Weißenburg-I.⁵²

The military reorganization of Diocletian left the legion at their former fort, although reduced it in size. The *legio III Herculia* was raised and transferred to the fort near Kellmünz a. d. Iller (*Mons Caelius*) to augment Raetia's defense, but was later transferred to the field Army of *diocesis Illyrici*.⁵³ Already during the course of the 4th century AD, legions of the Danubian frontier were no longer charged to a single fortress, but a series of smaller fortifications, developed for defence, scattered on the hills overlooking river valleys and guarding the natural passageways running in a North – South direction. These smaller forts were exclusively located South of the Danube, and were named *Submontorium*, *Cambidunum*, *Foetus*, *Terioli* and *Vallatum*. This act of reorganization suggests two different processes: that the Empire was becoming less and less able to protect its frontiers, but it refused giving up these territories wilfully just yet.

Bibliography: Gonzalez 2003, 149–151; RE 1924, 1925, 117.

³⁸ Reuter 2007, 99, fn. 209.

³⁹ Eutrop., *Breviarium* 9, 7; Orosius, *Historiae* 7. 22. 1; Victor, *de Caes* 32. 1.

⁴⁰ CIL VIII, 2482 [Mlili – AD 253].

⁴¹ SHA, *Vita Marci Aurelii*, 21. 8.

⁴² AE 1956, 123 [Tazoult-Lambèse – AD 165/166]: ‚ad dilectum cum | Iulio Vero per | Italiam tironum | II leg(ionum) Italicae'; CIL VI, 1377 [Roma – AD 165/166]: ‚misso ad iuventutem per Italiam legendam'.

⁴³ CIL III, 1980 [Solin – AD 169/170]: ‚vexillationes leg(ionum) II Piaae et III Concordiae'.

⁴⁴ CIL III, 11989a-c; IBR 496a-b, f-j, m [Eining – AD 179/190]: ‚leg(io) III It(alica) Con(cors)'.

⁴⁵ Dio, *Historia* 55, 24. 4.

⁴⁶ A total of 68 inscriptions related to the *legio III Italica* have been found on the territory of the province Raetia.

⁴⁷ Gonzalez 2003, 150.

⁴⁸ CIL III, 11965 [Regensburg – AD 179]: ‚vallum cum portis | et turribus <I>eg(ioni) I[II Italicae Concordi] | fecerunt'.

⁴⁹ CIL III, 14370, 2 [Böhming – AD 181]: ‚vex(illarii) | leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) vallum fece(runt)'.

⁵⁰ AE 1983, 730 [Ellingen AD 182]: ‚kastel(li) Sablonet(i) mu | rum(!) cum portis lapidi(bus) substitu | tum(!)'.

⁵¹ CIL III, 6000g [Alkofen]: ‚leg(io) III Ital(ica)'.

⁵² CIL III, 6000i + 11987 [Westheim]: ‚leg(io) III I[t]ali(ca)'.

⁵³ Gonzalez 2003, 480.

Summary

Despite the fact, that Raetia's creation, as well as its numerous reorganisation and expansions primarily served a military purpose, the soldiers garrisoning its forts have also had a significant effect on the non-military segments of the province's life. The primary sources for this impact are of epigraphical nature (Table 1). The legion's soldiers and officers partook in and supervised numerous construction works in the province, as attested by milestones set up in the vicinity of Kösching,⁵⁴ Nassenfels,⁵⁵ Neuburg a.d. Donau⁵⁶ and Regensburg.⁵⁷ Legionary stamped tiles are known from Eining⁵⁸ and Kösching⁵⁹. Both Eining and Kösching are located close to the Danube, upstream of Regensburg and it is possible that these tiles were moved by means of fluvial transport. Several *militaria inscripta* displaying names of legions were discovered in the southern section of Raetia, in close vicinity of the Alpine passes, although the lack of epithets makes their connection to the *legio III Italica* uncertain. Such *militaria* were found at Tiefelcastel,⁶⁰ Riom-Parsonz,⁶¹ Bivio,⁶² and Ummendorf.⁶³

The analysis of the epitaphs set up by and for legionary soldiers attests, that most of them remained in Raetia after their discharge. Although similarly to other legions, the *legio III Italica* had its soldiers sent out on various occasions, as attested by the dedicatory inscription of legionary *frumentarius*, (M.?) *Aurelius Silvinus*.⁶⁴ If these soldiers spent a considerable amount of time at the same place outside Raetia, it is possible, that they settled there after their discharge. This however, applies only to soldiers. Officers above the rank of centurions often changed units several times during their service,

thus the possibility that they settled in Raetia is low.⁶⁵ A total of 32 inscriptions commemorate the memory of soldiers deceased during and after military service, although some inscriptions list several legionary soldiers, either as deceased, or as commemorated or the person, who set up the epitaph. Proportionately to their ratio, most of the funerary inscriptions belong to foot soldiers and cavalymen of the ranks (*milites, equites*). 14 (17) soldiers are recorded on epitaphs without a specific rank (*duplarii*, and *immunes*), including those who were not promoted before their discharge (*veterani*).⁶⁶ 14 (15) soldiers of low to middle ranks (*aquiliferi, beneficiarii, centuriones, custodes armorum, exacti, librari, medici, optiones, signiferi* and *tubiceni*) are commemorated on inscriptions (Table 1) Five high ranking officers (*praefecti, tribuni*) are displayed on funerary inscriptions. In three cases, the sons of soldiers followed in their fathers' footsteps and enrolled into the *legio III Italica*.⁶⁷ Further three inscriptions mention progeny of soldiers, although lack to display their affiliation to the Roman Army.⁶⁸ This however, does not necessarily imply, that these sons did not have a military career.

The analysis of epitaphs clearly attests, that legionary soldiers were either married or had concubines already during their service, not only after their discharge (Table 2).

The number of funerary inscriptions, which refer to soldiers married after their discharge, is significantly less than those, which refer to soldiers who had already established families during service (Table 3). However the larger ratio of *coniuges* to *uxores* seems to apply in both cases: 7:3 regarding active soldiers, and 2:1 to discharged soldiers. Raetian funerary epitaphs attest, that legionary officers had extensive families during

⁵⁴ CIL XVII, 4, 70 [Kösching – AD 200/201]: *„vias et pont(es) rest(ituerunt)“*.

⁵⁵ CIL XVII, 4, 67 [Nassenfels – AD 195/215]; CIL XVII, 4, 66 [Nassenfels – AD 201]: *„[vias et pontes rest(ituerunt)]“*.

⁵⁶ CIL XVII, 4, 65 [Bergheim – AD 201]: *„vias et pontes rest(ituerunt)“*.

⁵⁷ CIL XVII, 4, 55 [Burgweinting-Harting – AD 195/215].

⁵⁸ CIL III, 6000h + 11986 [Eining]: *„leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)“*.

⁵⁹ AE 1933, 117 [Kösching]: *„leg(io) III Ital(ica)“*.

⁶⁰ AE 2003, 1286a [Tiefelcastel]: *„l(egio) III“*.

⁶¹ AE 2007, 1067a [Riom-Parsonz]: *„l(egio) III“*.

⁶² AE 2007, 1068a [Bivio]: *„l(egio) III“*.

⁶³ IBR 4960 [Ummendorf]: *„l(egio) III“*.

⁶⁴ AE 1991, 266 [Rome – AD 222/235]: *„Genio sancto | <c=k>astr(orum) pere | gr(inorum)“*. This inscription attests, that *frumentarii* were often drawn to Rome, in order to procure the necessary supplies for their units. During their stay, they were given accomodation at the *castrum peregrinorum* on the *Collis Caelius* in Rome.

⁶⁵ CIL II, 4162 [Tarragona – AD 179/300]: *„L(ucio) Numerio | L(uci) f(ilio) Felici | (1) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII g(eminiae) F(elicis) | (2) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX Vict(ricis) | (3) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) | (4) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) | (5) 7 (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)“*; CIL VI, 1450 [Rome – AD 223/250]: *„L(ucio) Mario L(uci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) | Maximo Perpetuo | Aureliano [...] trib(un)o laticl(auo) leg(ionis) | XXII Primig(eniae) item III Ital(icae)“*.

⁶⁶ The numbers in brackets include inscriptions with doubtful reading as well, while the numbers preceding indicate the quantity of unanimously interpretable inscriptions.

⁶⁷ CIL III, 5818 [Augsburg – AD 179/300]; CIL III, 5953 [Regensburg-S. Emmeram Kirche – AD 179/300]; CIL III, 6571+11964 [Regensburg-Kumpfmühler Straße – AD 179/300].

⁶⁸ CIL III, 5956+11959 [Regensburg-S. Clara Kloster – AD 179/300]; CIL III, 5958 [Regensburg-S. Peterstor – AD 179/300]; Wagner 1957, Nr. 35 [Augsburg – AD 179/300].

A	B	C	D	E
<i>aquilifer</i>	CIL III, 5816	1	–	–
<i>beneficiarius</i>	<i>tribuni</i> : Lupa 6540; <i>praefectus castrorum</i> : CIL III, 5953	2	CIL III, 5768	1
<i>centurio</i>	CIL XIV, 4467 Wagner 1957, Nr. 35	2	CIL III, 5876; CIL III, 5937; Lupa 6576	3
<i>cornicularius</i>	–	–	AE 2004, 1062	1
<i>custos armorum</i>	CIL III, 6571+11964	1	–	–
<i>duplarius</i>	AE 1992, 1307	1	–	–
<i>eques</i>	CIL III, 5947; CIL III, 5955	2	CIL III, 5942	1
<i>exactus consularis</i>	CIL III, 5812	1	–	–
<i>immunus</i>	CIL III, 11969	1	–	–
<i>legatus</i>	–	–	CIL III, 5793	1
<i>librarius</i>	CIL III, 5953; <i>consularis</i> .: CIL III, 5814	1 (2)	–	–
<i>medicus ordinarius</i>	CIL III, 6532	1	–	–
<i>miles</i>	CIL III, 5812; CIL III, 5814; CIL III, 5949; CIL III, 5950; CIL III, 11966; CIL III, 11970; AE 1962, 242; Wagner 1957, Nr. 120 (?); AE 1978, 582; CIL III, 14207, 6	9 (10)	Wagner 1957, Nr. 107	1
<i>optio</i>	CIL III, 5958	1	Lupa 6582; Lupa 6579; AE 1986, 532	3
<i>praefectus</i>	CIL V, 5036; CIL III, 5946	2	CIL III, 14370, 12	1
<i>signifer</i>	CIL III, 5818; CIL III, 5952; CIL III, 5956+11959	3	–	–
<i>tribunus</i>	Wagner 1957, Nr. 34; CIL III, 6571+11964; CIL III, 5974+11977	3	–	–
<i>tubicen</i>	CIL III, 5957+11960	1	–	–
unknown	CIL III, 5823; CIL III, 6531+11962	2	–	–
<i>veteranus</i>	CIL III, 5818; <i>honesta missio</i> : CIL III, 5956+11959; CIL III, 5957+11960	1 (3)	–	–

Table 1: The list of known soldiers of the *legio III Italica* and their ranks.

A	B	C
<i>coniunx</i>	CIL III, 5952; CIL III, 5949; CIL III, 5958 (?); CIL III, 6531+11962; Lupa 6413; Wagner 1957, Nr. 120; Lupa 6447	7
<i>uxor</i>	CIL III, 11969; CIL III, 11970 (?); CIL III, 5974+11977	3
unknown	CIL III, 5947	1

Table 2: Classification of the marital status of active soldiers of the *legio III Italica*.

A	B	C
<i>coniunx</i>	CIL III, 5957+11960; CIL III, 5955	2
<i>uxor</i>	CIL III, 5956+11959	1

Table 3: Classification of the marital status of discharged soldiers of the *legio III Italica*.

* The column headings in Table 1 are abbreviated as follows: A – Ranks; B – Epitaphs; C – Number of relevant epitaphs; D – Dedicatory inscriptions; E – Number of relevant dedicatory inscriptions.

** The column headings in Table 2 and 3 are abbreviated as follows: A – Denomination; B – Epigraphical references; C – Number of relevant epigraphical sources.

Type	Rank, office	Epigraphical reference	The epitaphs' cost of the setup in sestertii
military	<i>centurio legionis</i>	CIL III, 5817	16.000 HS
	<i>ex centurio, veteranus</i>	CIL III, 5820	4.000 HS
	<i>cornicularius tribunis</i>	CIL III, 5974+11977	4.000 HS
civilian	<i>advocatus fisci</i>	IBR 176	14.000 HS
unknown	without office	CIL III, 5841	3.000 HS'

Table 4: Funerary monuments from Raetia and the cost of their setup.

their service.⁶⁹ After their discharge, they kept slaves, whom they sometimes liberated.⁷⁰

Regarding the economical impact of the legion, the earnings of officers of middle and higher ranks cannot be disregarded (Table 4). In the years between AD 197 and 235, during a period less than half a century's time, the pay scale of legionary soldiers was gradually increased by 600%, from an initial stipendium of 400 *sestertii*, to 2.400 *sestertii*, thus raising the annual pay of soldiers from 1.200 *sestertii* to 7.200 *sestertii*.⁷¹

Dedicatory inscriptions attest the important role, that legionary officers held in the religious life of Raetia. The distribution of dedicatory inscriptions displays a different pattern than funerary epitaphs (Table 1). Votive altars and tablets were set almost exclusively by middle ranking officers of the legion, only a handful was dedicated by foot soldiers (*milites, equites*)⁷² and high-ranking officials (*legati, praefecti*).⁷³ So far no altar has been found in its *in situ* location, as most altars were either purposely deposited (as observed at Maryport) or reused as construction material.⁷⁴ However, archaeological evidence attest several sanctuaries near military installations, that housed such inscriptions⁷⁵ (e.g.: Mars and Victoria shrine near Eining-Weinberg⁷⁶ a Dolichenus-shrine near Pfünz,⁷⁷ and an oriental

shrine near Regensburg-Arnulfsplatz⁷⁸). The greater part of these votive inscriptions were set by active officers on their private matters and the quantity of official dedications of individuals or the entire legion is significantly less, than those of personal nature.

Votive inscriptions commemorated various deeds and donations of the legionary officers, which can be divided to an official and a private level. On official level, they completed their religious duty either as the bearer of a military rank or as the representative of the corps.⁷⁹ These duties included dedications made for the sake of the Emperor(s) or the Imperial family.⁸⁰ The greater quantity of dedicatory inscriptions however, provides insight into the private level of the various religious activities performed by legionary officers. Although the object of the vow is rarely defined, from these rare examples, it is possible to deduce, that these actions covered numerous aspects of everyday life from health and wellbeing of one,⁸¹ or the entire family,⁸² to one's safe return from battle,⁸³ or a crossing over Alpien passes.⁸⁴ The subject of the vow ranges from the

⁶⁹ CIL III, 5974: -, to a legionary cornicularius - et Val(eriae) Gemellinae (1) socr(ui) | eius iussu i<P=B>sus et (2) Cl(audio) | Macrino socr(e) eius | et (3) Val(erio) Valeriano s<o=ue>ce | rioni (4) Val(eria) Macrinilla ux | or et (5) Amandinus et (6) [Am] | andina fili(i) et heredes ex [HS] | n(umum) IIII mil(ia) parentibus kariss(imis) v(ivis) [- - -]'

⁷⁰ CIL III, 5817: , Managnio Ni | ciate liberto | ex H(S) n(ummis) XVI(milibus)'

⁷¹ Speidel 1992, 88, t. 1, fn. 5-10.

⁷² CIL III, 5942 [Saal a. d. Donau - AD 25.7.240]; Wagner 1957, Nr. 107 [Regensburg - AD 179/300].

⁷³ CIL III, 5793 [Augsburg - AD 185/192]; CIL III, 14370, 12 [Regensburg-Praetorium - AD 218/221].

⁷⁴ Hill 1997.

⁷⁵ CIL III, 5793 [Augsburg - AD AD 185/192]: , Mercurio | cuius sedes a tergo | sunt.

⁷⁶ Reuter 2007, 109.

⁷⁷ Czysz et al. 1995, 501.

⁷⁸ Czysz et al. 1995, 507.

⁷⁹ AE 1986, 532 [Regensburg - AD 180/192]: ,Genio centuriae [...] com | manip(u)lar(ibus) d(onum) d(edit)'.
⁸⁰ CIL III, 5768 [Bregenz - AD 238/244]: ,In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) [...] aram posuit'; CSIR Deutschland I. 1, Nr. 452 [Regensburg-Ziegetsdorf - AD 200/300]; AE 2004, 1062 [Regensburg-Niedermünster - AD 218/221].
⁸¹ CIL III, 5876 [Lauingen-Pfarrkirche - AD 169/300]: ,cum signo | argenteo' refers to the placement of small silver replica of the healed bodypart, in the sanctuary of Apollo Grannus.
⁸² AE 1985, 693 [Osterburken - AD 174]: ,Titius Taci | tus mil(es) leg(ionis) | III Ital(icae) b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n) s(ularis) | pro se et | suis'; AE 1996, 1154 [Osterburken - AD 180/190]: ,[- - - m]il(es) | [leg(ionis)] III Ital(icae) | [b(ene)ff(iciarius)] co(n)s(ularis) | [pro se] et suis'.
⁸³ CIL III, 5937 [Saal a.d. Donau - AD 182]: ,rever | sus ab exped | it(ione) Burica' refers to the campaign of Emperor Commodus led against the tribes Lugi-Buri in AD 182, cf.: Dio, Historia 72-73; Ptolemaeus, Geograph. II. 10.
⁸⁴ CIL V, 7866 [St. Bernard's pass - AD 179/300]: ,Iovi * CIL III, 5841: 'n(ummis) III (milibus)', the last two characters of the inscription are poorly preserved. The EDH database interprets these letters as 'n(ummis) I(?) F(?) L(?)' (HD 058315).

setup of an altar⁸⁵ or tablet to the expansion,⁸⁶ or reconstruction of sanctuaries.⁸⁷

Although legionary soldiers are almost unattested on epigraphical material, it is plausible, that they made and fulfilled their vows similarly to their officers (both being based on the same *do ut des* principle), but despite their greater numbers, their limited earnings prevented them from setting up altars made from lasting or luxurious materials, nor did they partake in the financing of the shrines' construction and reconstruction works.

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⁸⁵ CIL III, 5768 [Bregenz – AD 238/244]: *„deo Mercurio | Arcecio ex vo | to aram posuit“*; CIL V, 7865–7866 [Châteauneuf-Villevieille – AD 179/300]: *„Q(uintus) Eniboudius | Montanus 7 (centurio) | leg(ionis) III Italic(ae) | [...] aram posu | it.“*

⁸⁶ CSIR Deutschland I. 1, Nr. 430 [Regensburg – AD 179/300]: *„qui et por | ticum“*.

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Rezumat

Provincia Raetia, una dintre importantele zone strategice ale sistemului defensiv roman, a ocupat teritoriul aproximativ al Bavariei actuale, în Europa Centrală. Formând împreună cu provinciile germanice același sistem defensiv (Obergermanisch-Raetischer Limes), Raetia a avut rolul de a apăra pasurile din Alpi și Peninsula Italică. Totuși, numai după războaiele marcomanice, în jurul anilor 170, s-a stabilit în zonă proaspăt înființata legiune a III-a Italica.

Castrul legiunii a fost construit în anul 179 pe teritoriul actualului oraș Regensburg, iar castrul și așezarea din jurul acestuia au alcătuit cel mai important centru al provinciei până în secolul al V-lea. Toponimul Regensburg derivă din denumirea antică a castrului (Castra Regina, Not. dign. occ. 35).

Legiunea a III-a Italica a avut o influență majoră asupra locuitorilor provinciei. Studiul de față prezintă efectele prezenței acesteia în regiune, prin analiza informațiilor oferite de inscripțiile latine.

Kivonat

Közép-Európában, megközelítőleg a mai Bajorország területén fekvő Raetia a római határvédelem egyik fontos pillére volt. A germán tartományokkal közös határvédelmi rendszerbe (Obergermanisch-Raetischer Limes) tartozó Raetia az alpesi hágók, így közvetlenül az itáliai félsziget védelmét szolgálta. Ennek ellenére a tartományban állandó jelleggel csak a markomann háborúk kitörését követően, a Kr. u. 170-es évektől jelent meg az újonnan sorozott legio III Italica. A legio Kr. u. 179-ben a mai Regensburg területén építette fel táborát, amely nagyban hozzájárult ahhoz, hogy a tábor és a körülötte kialakult virágzó település a tartomány kiemelt központjává működött egészen annak Kr. u. V. században bekövetkezett feladásáig és azt követően is megőrizte jelentőségét. A Regensburg helynév közvetlenül visszavezethető a tábor antik megjelölésére (Castra Regina, Not. dign. occ. 35).

A legio III Italica nagy befolyást gyakorolt a provincia lakosságának életére. Jelen cikk a legio jelenlétének hatását a kézzelfogható bizonyítékok közül a legékeesszólóbbakon, a latin nyelvű feliratos forrásokon keresztül mutatja be.

THE COGNOMEN DEVICTARUM GENTIUM 'DACICUS MAXIMUS' OF MAXIMINUS THRAX

ANDRÁS SZABÓ

Keywords: epigraphy, imperial titulatures, Dacians, military campaign, Great Hungarian Plain

Cuvinte cheie: epigrafie, titulatură imperială, daci, campanie militară, Câmpia Panonică

Kulcsszavak: epigráfia, titulátúra, dákok, hadjárat, Alföld

In our discussion, we are trying to determine the Dacian population, whose defeat is marked by the cognomen devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus of the emperor Maximinus Thrax, by reconsidering the literary and epigraphic sources of his Sarmatian war and by using some new archaeological data.

During the greater part of his reign, the first barracks-emperor, Maximinus Thrax (235–238) waged a lengthy war from Pannonia against the Sarmatians of the Great Hungarian Plain (236–238). One of the most interesting questions about Maximinus' campaign is the appearance of the cognomina devictarum gentium *Sarmaticus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus* in his imperial titulature in 236. While the explanation of the *Sarmaticus maximus* cognomen is quite obvious, the *Dacicus maximus* cognomen is problematic. It has been suggested by some scholars, that it did not refer to Dacians (i. e. so-called Free Dacians), but instead to some other people of Dacian origin – although, there is no consensus on which. A plausible standpoint could be achieved by the thorough re-examination of the circumstances of the cognomen's reception, viz. the Sarmatian expedition of Maximinus, and by the reconsideration of some of the sources related to the history of the Dacian population in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

1. The Sarmatian expedition of Maximinus Thrax (Pl. 1.)

The events leading up to the Sarmatian campaign of Maximinus are relatively well known in detail from the accounts of Herodianos¹ and the *Historia Augusta*,² and in less detail from other minor literary sources.³ According to them, the

Pannonian war was preceded by a punitive expedition against the Germanic tribes across the Rhine, which started almost immediately after the proclamation of Maximinus as emperor in Mogontiacum, and it lasted until the autumn/winter of 235.⁴ It seems certain, that the recently discovered battlefield near Kalefeld, Lower Saxony can be linked to this expedition.⁵ After the successful campaign, Maximinus led his army to Pannonia and set up winter quarters in Sirmium, which later became his headquarters.⁶ (Pl. 1.) During the Sarmatian campaign's years, he never left Pannonia, as it is well-stated in the accounts of Herodianos.⁷ The success of the Germanic expedition is also marked by the appearance of the cognomen devictarum gentium *Germanicus maximus* in Maximinus' titulature, earliest at the beginning of 236.⁸ Because the cognomen appears only in 236, P. Kovács assumed that the Germanic campaign was still in progress as late as the beginning of 236, and tried to give a philological explanation for the contradiction of this statement with Herodianos' account.⁹ However, we must take into consideration, that the absence of a cognomen devictarum gentium (or any other name, title or their numbering) from the emperors' titulatures in inscriptions did not necessarily mean their 'real' absence from the official imperial titulature at any given time.

⁴ Herodianos, VII, 2, 9.

⁵ Callies 2011, 28–32; Wiegels et al. 2011.

⁶ Herodianos, VII, 2, 9.

⁷ Herodianos, VII, 3, 4.

⁸ CIL III, 11316; cf. AE 1973, 276; Kienast 1990, 184.

⁹ Kovács 2008, 145.

¹ Herodianos, VII, 2, 1–8.

² SHA Maximini duo, 12, 1–6.

³ Eutropius IX, 1; Aur. Vict. Caes., 26, 1.

Besides, the appearance of a cognomen in a titlature did not necessarily followed immediately the war efforts for which they have been awarded. Accordingly, we must not attribute any chronological importance to the absence of any component from the imperial titulatures, but even their appearance indicates only the *terminus post quem* of their usage in the official titlature. The Germanic war's success is also well attested by the imperial salutations (*imperator II*) of Maximinus,¹⁰ as well as by some coin issues¹¹ of 235/236.

The literary sources cease to tell us any details about the events following the emperor's arrival to Sirmium. It is clear, that his main goal was to subjugate the Sarmatians of the Great Hungarian Plain.¹² (*Pl. 1.*) Most likely, it was another punitive expedition (as in the case of his previous expedition in Germania), because the Sarmatians probably participated in the invasion of Pannonia in 235, which forced Severus Alexander to abandon his war efforts in the East.¹³ Concerning the Pannonian campaign of Maximinus, only the *Historia Augusta* mentions directly,¹⁴ that it was waged against the Sarmatians, while the account of Herodianos only states it indirectly in a (fictitious) *adlocutio* allegedly held by the emperor in 238.¹⁵

The chronology of Maximinus' Sarmatian war is relatively clear from the epigraphic sources. He was already in Sirmium by the winter of 235, and as Herodianos notes, he planned his new campaign for the next spring (236).¹⁶ The war was interrupted in early 238 by the news of the usurpation of the Gordiani in Africa and the conspiracy of the senate in Rome,¹⁷ which forced Maximinus to hastily march against Italy.¹⁸ As we mentioned above, Maximinus never left Pannonia between 236–238.¹⁹ The success of the Sarmatian expedition is marked by the appearance of the cognomen *devictarum gentium Sarmaticus maximus* and the increase in the number of the imperial salutations in the imperial titlature. The cognomen *Sarmaticus maximus* appears together with the cognomen *Dacicus maximus* in Maximinus' and

Maximus²⁰ imperial titulatures in 236,²¹ earliest with the third imperial salutation (*imperator III*).²² The two cognomina never appear separately on inscriptions, with the exception of a milestone found in Moesia inferior,²³ which only lists the cognomen *Sarmaticus maximus*. The imperial titlature on this inscription is obviously erroneous, as it enumerates the emperor as *co(n) s(ul) IIII*, but even if the omission of the cognomen *Dacicus maximus* is not just a random error, there must have been only a very short period of time elapsed between the usage of the two cognomina in the official imperial titlature. Nevertheless, neither the reception of the cognomina *devictarum gentium*, nor the third imperial acclamation can be dated more precisely, but all of them was already received by the autumn/winter of 236. The fourth,²⁴ fifth²⁵ and sixth²⁶ imperial salutations (*imperator IIII*, *V* and *VI*) can be dated to 237, while the seventh (*imperator VII*)²⁷ is usually linked to the emperor's Italian campaign of 238.²⁸ Some coin issues with the inscription *VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM* could also be related to the Sarmatian war, as their *terminus post quem* is 236.²⁹

The cognomen *devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus* clearly indicates, that the war was not only waged against the Sarmatians, but against some Dacian people as well. The cognomen *Dacicus maximus* also appears later in the century on the inscriptions of Traianus Decius,³⁰ Gallienus,³¹ Aurelianus³² and even in the titlature of Constantinus I on an *exemplum sacrarum litterarum*.³³ The cognomen has been interpreted by modern scholars differently, since the presence of the Dacian population in the Barbaricum after Traianus' conquest of Dacia (101–106) is a problematic question. Some scholars believed the 3rd century occurrences of this cognomen to mark a victory over the *Carpi*,³⁴ while others –

¹⁰ Kienast 1990, 182.

¹¹ RIC IV.2, Nos. 23; 70–74; 90–94.

¹² cf. Herodianos, VII, 2, 9; SHA Maximini duo, 13, 4.

¹³ Herodianos, VI, 7, 2–3.

¹⁴ SHA Maximini duo, 13, 3.

¹⁵ Herodianos, VII, 8, 4; Kovács 2008, 145–146.

¹⁶ Herodianos, VII, 2, 9.

¹⁷ Herodianos, VII, 8, 9; SHA Maximini duo, 18, 4.

¹⁸ Herodianos, VII, 8, 11; Börm 2008, 72–74.

¹⁹ Herodianos, VII, 3, 4.

²⁰ He appointed his son as *caesar* in early 236 – see Kienast 1990, 185.

²¹ Kienast 1990, 184.

²² CIL III, 3736; AE 1998, 1060 cf. CIL III, 5741.

²³ AE 1979, 543 = AE 2001, 1736.

²⁴ CIL II, 4693.

²⁵ e. g. AE 1905, 179.

²⁶ CIL VIII, 10047; CIL VIII, 22030.

²⁷ e. g. AE 1966, 218; AE 1971, 201.

²⁸ cf. Kienast 1990, 183–184; Kovács 2008, 146.

²⁹ RIC IV.2, Nos. 89, 120.

³⁰ CIL II, 4949.

³¹ CIL II, 2200.

³² CIL XIII, 8973 = ILS 581.

³³ CIL VI, 40776 = AE 1934, 158.

³⁴ Alföldi 1967, 313–314; Macrea 1968, 187; Tóth 1986, 95.

in relation with other inscriptions mentioning Dacian population in the 3rd c. – proposed,³⁵ that these inscriptions are referring to the *Cotini*, a 'dacianized', but originally Celtic population,³⁶ which lived north of the Danube Bend. However, if we closely examine the available sources, we can find many contradictions in these assumptions. First of all, the campaigns of Maximinus took place only in the Great Hungarian Plain, more closely in the area between Pannonia inferior and Dacia. This is supported by the fact that the emperor never left Pannonia between 236–238, but it is also well shown by the location of those military units in the Danubian region, which received the *Maximiniana* epitheton.³⁷ Some of these could be linked to the Sarmatian-Dacian war of Maximinus (*Pl. 1.*)

Pannonia superior: *legio XIV gemina*³⁸

It seems likely, that the *legio XIV gemina* received the honorific title *Maximiniana* only in 236, since it had appeared without it in 235 on an inscription from Neviodunum.³⁹

Pannonia inferior: *legio I adiutrix*,⁴⁰ *legio II adiutrix*,⁴¹ *ala III Augusta Thracum sag.*,⁴² *cohors VII Breucorum*,⁴³ *cohors I ∞ Hemesenorum c. R. sag. eq.*,⁴⁴ *cohors ∞ Maurorum*,⁴⁵ *cohors I Thracum Germanica*⁴⁶

The Lower Pannonian legions first appeared in 236 with their imperial epitheton, and the *legio II adiutrix* had appeared without its honorific title on an inscription dated to 235.⁴⁷ The epitheton of the *ala III Augusta Thracum* is only attested on one inscription dated to 236. The *cohors VII Breucorum* only appears with the title on stamped tiles, while the *cohors I ∞ Hemesenorum* appears with its honorific title only on two inscriptions, but only one of them can be dated more precisely to 237. The inscription showing the *Maximiniana* epitheton of the *cohors ∞ Maurorum* is very fragmentary and it cannot be dated more accurately, while the milestone mentioning the

honorific title of the *cohors I Thracum Germanica* can also be dated to 237. We can conclude that the majority of the military units in Pannonia inferior received their honorific titles in 236–237, most likely in relation with the Sarmatian-Dacian wars of the emperor.

Moesia superior: *legio IV Flavia Felix*⁴⁸

The *Maximiniana* epitheton of the *legio IV Flavia* is only attested on an altar from Singidunum, but it cannot be dated more accurately.

Moesia inferior: *cohors I Cisipadensium*,⁴⁹ *cohors I Lusitanorum*,⁵⁰ *numerus civium Romanorum*⁵¹

The three Lower Moesian auxiliary unit's honorific title is attested by one inscription each, but none of them can be dated.

The numerous occurrences of the *Maximiniana* epitheton in Pannonia inferior, its infrequency in the two Moesia, and its complete absence in Dacia also indicate, that the expedition only took place in the Sarmatian Barbaricum between Pannonia inferior and Dacia. (*Pl. 1.*) Since the reception of the cognomina *Sarmaticus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus* happened at the very same time or in a rapid succession, we ought to find the Dacian population referred to by the cognomen in this area as well.

2. The Dacian people in the 2nd–3rd century AD

2.1. Historical sources

After the conquest of Dacia by Traianus (101–102 and 105–106), the native population fled from the territory of the later Roman province, as it is well-stated by literary sources,⁵² but also demonstrated by the archaeological and epigraphic material of the province.⁵³ Concerning the subsequent period (i. e. from the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD), there is little reference to the Dacians in the written sources. Apart from sporadic mentions,⁵⁴ typically in connection with minor incursions and skirmishes, they appear in Hieronymus' Chronicon-translation⁵⁵ among

³⁵ Barkóczi 1945, 180–182; Alföldy 1961, 29; Mráv – Ottományi 2004, 70–71.

³⁶ Visy 1993, 9–10.

³⁷ Fitz 1983, 11.

³⁸ Fitz 1983, No. 537.

³⁹ AE 1934, 78.

⁴⁰ Fitz 1983, No. 538–538a.

⁴¹ Fitz 1983, No. 540–541.

⁴² Kovács – Lőrincz 2010, 280.

⁴³ Kovács 2005a, 245.

⁴⁴ Fitz 1983, No. 543–543a.

⁴⁵ Fitz 1983, No. 544.

⁴⁶ Fitz 1983, No. 545.

⁴⁷ Fitz 1983, No. 539.

⁴⁸ Fitz 1983, No. 546.

⁴⁹ Fitz 1983, No. 547.

⁵⁰ Fitz 1983, No. 548.

⁵¹ Fitz 1983, No. 549.

⁵² Eutropius VIII, 2, 6.

⁵³ The most up-to-date summary of the research history, with further literature: Visy 2012, 236–238.

⁵⁴ SHA Antoninus Pius, 5, 4; SHA Commodus, 13, 5.

⁵⁵ cf. Kovács 2005b, 190.

the barbarian belligerents of the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius (166–180).⁵⁶ Cassius Dio recounts, that 12 000 Dacians were received into the province of Dacia after the Northern Wars, in 180.⁵⁷ The Dacians mentioned by Dio, may be the same as the ones in the account of the *vita Commodi* of the *Historia Augusta*.⁵⁸

Besides the quite taciturn written sources, there are some inscriptions from the 3rd century referring to Dacians, but their interpretation is quite problematic. One of the most important and often-cited of these epigraphic sources is an inscribed sarcophagus from Brigetio:

AE 1947, 35 = RIU 590

Brigetio, first half of the 3rd century

M(arco) Ulp(io) Romano mil(iti) / praet(oriano) et primoscr(inio) praef(f(ectorum)) qui vi(xit) an(nos) XXXV / M(arcus) Ul(p(ius)) Cele(rinus) sal(ariarius) / leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) / p(iae) f(idelis) interpres / Dacorum vivus sibi / et filio suo s(upra)s(cripto) carissimo / f(aciendum) c(uravit).

The name of Marcus Ulpius Celerinus, the erector of the sarcophagus, also appears on an altar (also from Brigetio), which can be dated to the reign of Caracalla.⁵⁹ He was a *salararius*, and as such, he was not part of the legion's roster, but a hired civilian, who provided special services to a unit, such as working as an interpreter.⁶⁰ The scholars' opinions are quite different regarding why the *legio I adiutrix* needed an *interpres Dacorum*⁶¹ in the late 2nd–early 3rd century, but there is an agreement, that they should be linked to the *Cotini*, who lived north of the Danube Bend (viz. in the vicinity of Brigetio). The *Cotini* – as we mentioned above – were a 'dacianized', originally Celtic population,⁶² whom the Romans had received into Pannonia inferior after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius, and settled them in the vicinity of Mursa and Cibalae.⁶³ However, the exact date of their reception is unknown, since their settlement in Pannonia is not mentioned directly in any sources, and their inscriptions appeared only under the reign of Severus

Alexander and Traianus Decius.⁶⁴ Thus, their reception into Pannonia could have happened anytime between the end of the Northern Wars and some years before their appearance on inscriptions.⁶⁵ We must also note, that Cassius Dio claims, that the *Cotini* perished altogether after the events of the Northern Wars.⁶⁶ These Pannonian *Cotini* appear as *praetoriani* on the above-mentioned inscriptions, similarly to M. Ulpius Romanus, the deceased of the sarcophagus from Brigetio, which makes the association of the *interpres Dacorum* and the *Cotini* to seem even more convincing. Despite all these observations, it is very unlikely, that the cognomen *devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus* of Maximinus Thrax – or any other inscriptions mentioning Dacian expeditions – would refer to the *Cotini*, whom the Romans had already settled into Pannonia by the reign of Severus Alexander.

The cognomen *Dacicus maximus* can also not be associated with the *Carpi* (a mixed population of Dacian origin⁶⁷) as it has been suggested by some scholars.⁶⁸ At this time, the *Carpi* were settled between the rivers Prut and Siret, east to the Carpathians, and threatened the frontiers of Moesia inferior in the region of the Danube Delta, in league with the Goths.⁶⁹ As such, they were not involved at all in the wars of 236–238, as it is shown by the honorific titles of the Danubian military units, and by the fact that Maximinus never left Pannonia during his expeditions. Furthermore, the only Carpiian incursion we know of in that time happened in 238, in Moesia inferior,⁷⁰ two years after Maximinus received the cognomen *Dacicus maximus*, and even the *Historia Augusta* mentions it under the reign of Pupienus and Balbinus (238). Any victory over the *Carpi* was indicated by a separate cognomen (viz. *Carpicus maximus*) on inscriptions, well before the expeditions of Galerius.⁷¹ Among the titles of Aurelianus, the cognomina *Carpicus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus* appears at the same time on the same inscription,⁷² and usually they are

⁵⁶ Hieronymus Chron., 205g., cf. Helm 1956.

⁵⁷ Cassius Dio, LXXIII, 3; cf. Bichir 1976, 169.

⁵⁸ SHA Commodus, 13, 5.

⁵⁹ CIL III, 10988 – cf. Fitz 1983, 54–55.

⁶⁰ Méa 2012, 212.

⁶¹ Barkóczi 1945, 180–182; Alföldy 1961, 29; Mráv – Ottományi 2004, 70–71.

⁶² Visy 1993, 9–10.

⁶³ Kovács 2005b, 202.

⁶⁴ CIL VI, 2833+2389+2835 = CIL VI, 32542; CIL VI, 2800+2832+3419 = CIL VI, 32544; CIL VI, 2831+2852 = CIL VI, 32557.

⁶⁵ Their legal status and their position as praetoriani is argued by Alföldi 1936, 27.

⁶⁶ Cassius Dio, LXXI, 12, 3.

⁶⁷ Bichir 1976, 145–151.

⁶⁸ Alföldi 1967, 313–314; Macrea 1968, 187; Tóth 1986, 95.

⁶⁹ Bichir 1976, 145–151.

⁷⁰ SHA Maximinus et Balbinus, XVI, 3; P. Patricius, frag. 8.

⁷¹ Kienast 1990, 198, 232; CIL II, 4506 = ILS 576; CIL III, 7586; CIL VI, 1112; CIL XII, 5548; AE 1979, 409.

⁷² CIL XIII, 8973 = ILS 581.

always referred to as *Carpi* in every instance throughout the 3rd century.⁷³ The same applies to the *Cotini*, most notably in the case of the above-mentioned praetorian-inscriptions from Rome (*cives Cotinorum*), but they are referred to as *Cotini* even as early as the reign of Augustus on the so-called Vinicius-inscription.⁷⁴

Some other inscriptions from the 2nd and 3rd centuries mentioning Dacian incursions and expeditions can not be dated more closely, thus some of them could even be linked hypothetically to the Dacian wars of Traianus.⁷⁵ An inscription from Virunum,⁷⁶ mentioning a *bellum Dacicum* can be dated after 168 (*terminus post quem*), since the deceased, Veponius Quartus served in the *legio II Italica* for four years.⁷⁷ Another inscription, mentioning a *bellum Dacicum* is known from Intercisa, but it refers to the Carpic war of Philippus Arabs in 247–248,⁷⁸ i. e. to a war waged in the Roman province of Dacia, and not against Dacians. A stela from Crumerum⁷⁹ mentions an *incursus hostis Daciae*, but its association with a Dacian population is highly hypothetical, since the *hostis Daciae* ('enemy of Dacia') could be referring to any barbarian peoples outside Dacia. The funerary inscription of Aelius Iustinus from Brigetio⁸⁰ mentions an *expeditio Dacisca*, but since it can not be dated precisely, it could well be referring to the campaign of Traianus, or that of Maximinus Thrax.

2.2. Archaeological sources

The simultaneous receipt of the cognomina *Sarmaticus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus*, the honorific titles of the Lower Pannonian military units and the fact, that Maximinus never left Pannonia, all confirm that the Dacian people, whom his cognomen *Dacicus maximus* refers to, must have been settled in the Great Hungarian Plain.

Dacian finds from this area and period (2nd–3rd c. AD) are particularly rare, and their interpretation is problematic. Burials, which could be linked to the Dacians are completely

absent from the Great Hungarian Plain. This is not surprising, however, given the fact, that even from the territory of Romania, only approximately 50 burials are known from the La Tène C2-D period (i. e. the reign of Burebista and the 1st c. AD), which can be linked more or less securely to the Dacians.⁸¹ Such an absence of burials may be explained with funerary practices that left no archaeological traces.⁸² Accordingly, some finds can point to the presence of Dacians in the Great Hungarian Plain, if we adopt the idea, that their very characteristic hand-made pottery can be used to imply a Dacian ethnicity, or a population of Dacian origin or with Dacian elements. Such Dacian pottery is known from some findspots of the Great Hungarian Plain⁸³ from 3rd c. wide contexts, but since most of them are stray finds, their value as reliable archaeological sources are little. (Pl. 1.) Greater is the importance of those early Sarmatian settlements (i. e. beginning from the late 2nd c. / after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius⁸⁴), where such characteristic Dacian pottery finds have been recovered in greater number, in several cases from closed contexts. (Pl. 1.)

The first Sarmatian site, where such finds have been found, is the Roman period Barbarian settlement of the so-called Gyoma 133 archaeological site. A large number of characteristic hand-made Dacian cups⁸⁵ and pots⁸⁶ have been recovered from the objects dated to the period after the Northern Wars. Such hand-made pottery, with the same fabric, decoration and form, is without parallel in the archaeological material of Sarmatian settlements.⁸⁷ Their quantity and quality excludes the possibility of importing, and Dacian material from earlier periods⁸⁸ have not been found in the site.⁸⁹ The only plausible explanation – suggested by A. Vaday – is, that a population of Dacian origin or ethnicity moved in to the Sarmatian settlement after the Northern

⁷³ RIC IV.3, 75. No. 66; RIU 1155 = AE 1971, 326.

⁷⁴ AE 1895, 122 = AE 1905, 14 = ILS 8965.

⁷⁵ e. g. CIL V, 3372.

⁷⁶ CIL III, 4857.

⁷⁷ sc. the legion was established in 165 AD

⁷⁸ RIU 1155 = AE 1971, 326; Tóth 2010, 300–301; cf. Macrea 1968, 187.

⁷⁹ CIL III, 3660 = ILS 2308 = RIU 759.

⁸⁰ AE 1909, 144 = RIU 718.

⁸¹ Popa 2010, 398–399 - with further literature.

⁸² Sirbu 1993; Popa 2010, 389.

⁸³ Visy 1970, nos. 7: Doboz, 13: Algyő, 28: Szentes, cf. Vaday 1991, 78–79.

⁸⁴ Vaday – Szekeres 2001, 231–234.

⁸⁵ Vaday 1996, 133.

⁸⁶ Vaday 1996, 118–119.

⁸⁷ With the obvious exception of the ones mentioned below, cf. Vaday 1991, 80.

⁸⁸ The supremacy of the Dacian Kingdom of Burebista (and his successors in the 1st c. AD) only manifested itself as political control in this area, rather than real territorial control or military presence, up until the arrival of the Sarmatians, v. Vaday 1991, 79.

⁸⁹ Vaday 1996, 157.

Wars.⁹⁰ This could also have been the reason of the beginning of an 'industrial period' of the settlement after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius, which is marked by the appearance of some smelting furnaces – also without parallel in Sarmatian sites.⁹¹ (*Pl. 1.*) These elements of the Dacian population could have been drifted into the Sarmatian territories in the wake of the ethnical and political realignments and migrations caused by the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius, and perhaps they can be in relation with the Dacians 'expelled from their homelands', mentioned by Cassius Dio,⁹² concerning the events after the conclusions of the war.⁹³

The Sarmatian settlement of Újhartyán belongs to the same archaeological horizon as the settlement at Gyoma 133,⁹⁴ and similarly, the excavations conducted here have produced some pottery finds of strong Dacian character.⁹⁵ Based on the chronology of the exported Roman provincial goods (i. e. *terra sigillata*) of the site, the period from which the Dacian finds have been recovered can be dated between cca. 180–230.⁹⁶ Yet another early Sarmatian settlement has yielded Dacian finds, in a recent rescue excavation at Kiskunhalas.⁹⁷ This settlement also belongs to the horizon of the Gyoma- and Újhartyán-type settlements.⁹⁸ In this case, the excavations were conducted in a relatively large area, but the recovered archaeological material (both the Roman exports and the Barbarian finds) shows a striking chronological homogeneity, and the settlement lacks any superpositions. This means, that this site is not the smaller part of a huge and long-standing settlement (as in the case of Gyoma 133 and Újhartyán), but instead, a small, short-lived settlement.⁹⁹ According to the recovered *terra sigillata* finds, it was inhabited in the period between cca. 180–230.¹⁰⁰ The characteristic Dacian pottery is represented by hand-made conical cups and by large granary pots, decorated with finger impressions,¹⁰¹ however, their presence was interpreted by the excavators as the 'results of

centuries-old cultural influence'.¹⁰² The abandonment of the settlement in the 230s could be in relation with the expedition of Maximinus Thrax in 236–238.

3. Conclusions

Some of the epigraphic sources mentioning Dacians could be referring equally well to the *Cotini*, as to any other population of Dacian origin or elements, but the cognomen *devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus*, appearing in the titula-ture of Maximinus Thrax in 236 certainly did not refer to the *Cotini*, nor to the *Carpi*. The cognomen can not be interpreted as a reference to the *Carpi*, as there are serious geographical and chronological discrepancies and contradictions between the accounts of our different historical and archaeological sources. It could not be referring to the *Cotini* either, as they were received and settled in Pannonia inferior after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁰³ The only remaining possibility is that the cognomen *devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus* refers to another Dacian population (or a population with very significant Dacian elements), which lived in the Great Hungarian Plain. This is implied by the epigraphic sources of Maximinus' campaign – the rapid succession in the receipt of his cognomina *Sarmaticus maximus* and *Dacicus maximus* in 236, and the imperial epithetons of the Lower Pannonian military units all point out, that the only direction of the expedition was towards the Great Hungarian Plain. (*Pl. 1.*) The Dacian people referred to by the cognomen can be identified with the Dacian population whose archaeological traces could be found on some early Sarmatian settlements in the period after the Northern Wars of Marcus Aurelius. Conclusively, we can say, that a Dacian population must be reckoned with in the late 2nd–3rd century in the Sarmatian Barbaricum, despite their archaeological traces being scarce.

⁹⁰ Vaday 1996, 157.

⁹¹ Vaday 1996, 78–79, 157.

⁹² Cassius Dio, LXXIII, 3, 2–3.

⁹³ Vaday 1996, 157; Nagy 2009, 204–205.

⁹⁴ Vaday 1998, 548.

⁹⁵ Vaday – Szekeres 2001, 242–243, Fig. 29, 3; Fig. 20, 7.

⁹⁶ Vaday – Szekeres 2001, 238.

⁹⁷ Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 85.

⁹⁸ Vaday 1998, 548–549.

⁹⁹ Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 99.

¹⁰⁰ Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 93.

¹⁰¹ Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 95, Fig. 5, 5.

¹⁰² Rosta – Lichtenstein 2011, 95.

¹⁰³ Kovács 2005b, 202.

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Rezumat

În secolul al III-lea în titulatura mai multor împărați romani apare *cognomen*-ul *devictarum gentium Dacicus Maximus*. Primul împărat cu această titulatură a fost Maximinus Thrax (235–238), cel care și-a luat acest *cognomen* în timpul luptelor împotriva sarmaților, în perioada 236–238. Există opinii divergente privind identificarea populației menționate în titulatura *Dacicus Maximus*, precum și în alte surse epigrafice databile în sec. II–III, care îi amintesc pe daci. Pe baza analizei surselor scrise se poate afirma că atât *cognomen*-ul purtat de împăratul Maximinus Thrax, cât și, probabil, sursele scrise se referă la o populație dacică din Câmpia Panonică, care a ajuns în această zonă locuită de sarmați cel mai târziu după războaiele marcomanice purtate de Marcus Aurelius (166–180). Prezența dacilor în zona amintită poate fi susținută ipotetic prin materialele arheologice specifice populației dacice (ceramică, metalurgia fierului), prezente în inventarul câtorva situri sarmatice timpurii (Gyoma 133, Újhartyán, Kiskunhalas).

Kivonat

A Kr. u. 3. században több katonacászárra titulájában is felbukkan a *cognomen devictarum gentium Dacicus maximus*, közülük elsőként Maximinus Thrax (235–238) császárában, aki 236–238 között zajló, az alföldi szarmaták ellen folytatott háborúja során vette fel a győzelmi nevet. A kutatás véleménye megoszlik azt illetően, hogy a *Dacicus maximus* *cognomen*, valamint több más, Kr. u. 2–3. századra keltezhető, dákokat említő felirat (pl. RIU 590) mely népességre vonatkozik. A rendelkezésre álló írott és szubliterális források vizsgálata alapján kijelenthető, hogy Maximinus Thrax *cognomen devictarum gentium* és valószínűleg az egyéb feliratos említések egy olyan alföldi dák néptörödékre vonatkoznak, akik legkésőbb Marcus Aurelius északi háborúi (166–180) után sodródtak a szarmata szállásterületre. Az alföldi dákok jelenlétére utaló további hipotetikus bizonyíték lehet néhány korai (180k–230k) szarmata település és településrészlet (Gyoma 133, Újhartyán, Kiskunhalas), ahol dák népességhez köthető régészeti leletanyaggal is számolhatunk (ún. dák kerámia, vaskohászatra utaló emlékek, ipari fázis).

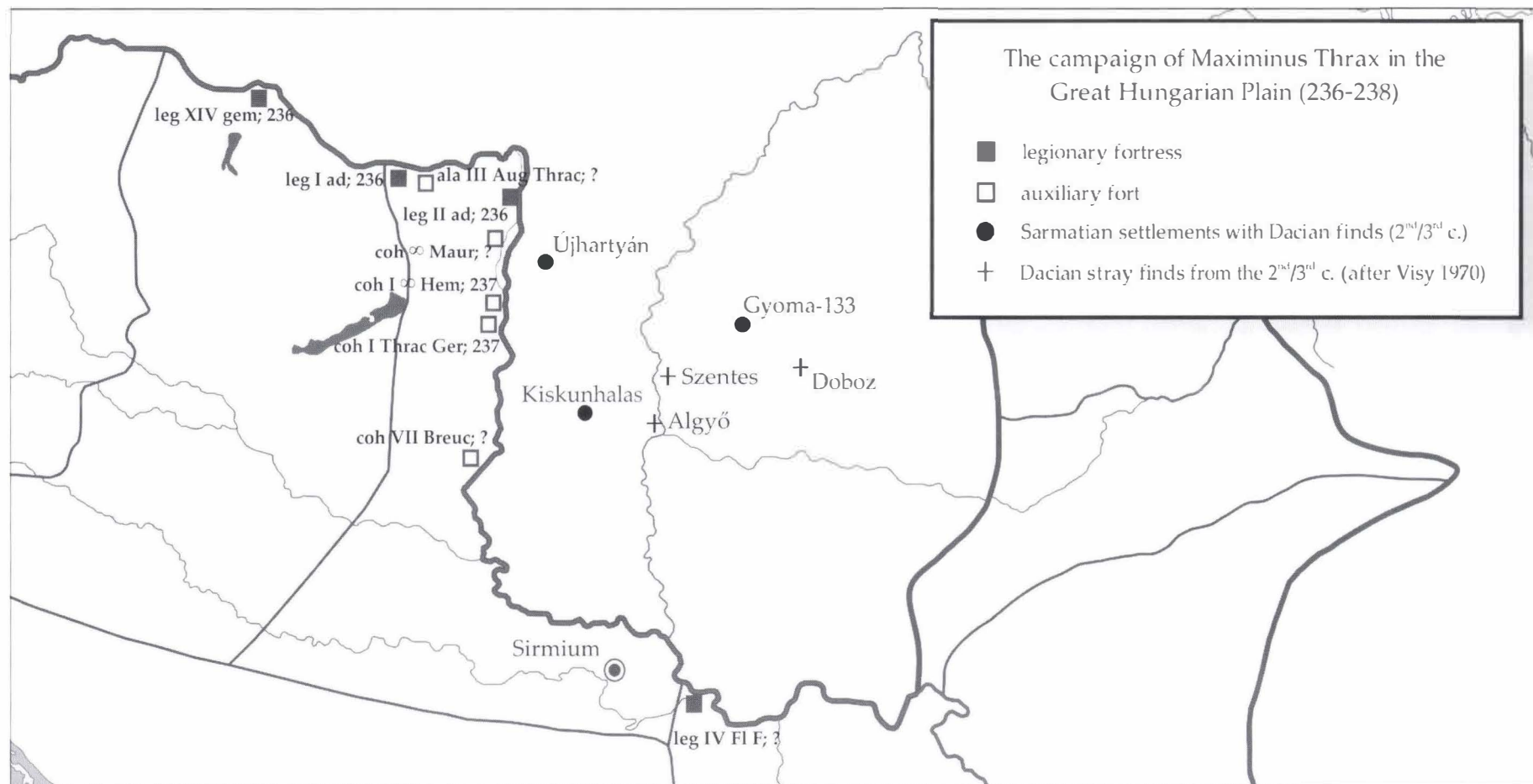


Plate 1. The expedition of Maximinus Thrax in the Great Hungarian Plain

FAMILY FUNERARY MONUMENTS IN ROMAN DACIA

ÁGOTA FERENCZ-MÁTÉFI

Keywords: Roman, grave, rite, tumulus, ring, graveyard

Cuvinte cheie: roman, mormânt, rit, tumul, ring, clădire funerară

Kulcsszavak: római, sír, rítus, tumulusz, kőgyűrű, temetkezési épület

The family funerary monuments in Roman Dacia know a wide variety. In the actual phase of the research, more than 805 graveyards, tumuli, rings and stone groundworks have been published in the archeological literature. In this paper stands a morphological analysis, a study of their rite, and the quest of the Mala-Kopašnica-Sase type graves. The main question is, whether these structures were really the cenotaph of an entire family, or there are some sepulcher types, that were individually used. By the statistics one trend seems to excel: never appeared more than four grave in a family funerary monument, only in graveyards, but if it did, it can be considered to be extremely rare.

The curiosity about family funerary monuments was awakened when the first structures were found, and despite there were some who tried to give a summary, today a revise is required. New questions must be answered on the basis of new view-points. Generally said with every published family funerary monument a different view-point system appears as default. In this paper stands the result of a detailed morphological analysis, a study of rite, and the quest of the Mala-Kopašnica-Sase type graves. We believe it is important to have a better understanding of family funerary monuments, to propose a view-point system, that covers all the existent structures and at the same time to have an easier way to find analogies in the future.

At the basis of this research stand all the publications about family funerary monuments in Roman Dacia, an investigation that at the end can provide us quantified data. With the method of creating statistics, some particularities will be shown, some trends will excel. In morphological point of view family funerary monuments covers more forms. This paper tries to present all the present forms in Roman Dacia. The forms covered by the term family funerary monuments are: graveyards, rings, and *tumuli*, some stone groundwork can be also related to family funerary monuments. In Dacia at 20 settlements 29 sites more than 805 family funerary monuments have been identified. For more than half of it we don't have enough information to compare, whether they were robbed or not yet excavated, or discovered

with other methods. For example at *Ampelum*,¹ *Cașolț*² and *Calbor*³ the soil-heap above the tumuli was so well preserved, that these were easily identified, even the linear structure of the cemetery, while only a few were researched with archaeological methods. At *Alburnus Maior-Tăul Secuilor* four graveyards and five rings were discovered with the help of geophysics.⁴ Another five graveyards are known from inscriptions.⁵ These, the unpublished and the still not discovered structures can change the results concluded in this stage of the research.

The background of the research

The first tumuli and family funerary monuments were registered in the late 19th century by Béla Lukács and Gábor Téglás. From the earlier period other traveller's descriptions are also available, but G. Téglás and B. Lukács were the first, who made archeological research in the field. They registered first the roman cemeteries at *Ampelum* (*Zlatna-Poduri/Boteș*), made the first archeological excavations and registered several previously

¹ Floca 1941a; Floca 1941b; Lukács 1879a; Lukács 1879b; Pescaru et al. 2004; Téglás 1890.

² Floca 1941a; Macrea 1957; Macrea 1959; Macrea-Berciu 1955; Macrea et al. 1959; Protase 1971.

³ Macrea 1957; Macrea et al. 1959.

⁴ Scurtu 2004.

⁵ Diaconescu 2003, 288–292.

robbed graves.⁶ Today at *Ampelum* two cemeteries are known, 60 family funerary monuments, from which 15 are tumular structures, 6 with rings, and two graveyards were found, but the most of them have not yet been researched.⁷

The second wave of interest for this kind of burials can be observed in the interwar period. Octavian Floca was the first, who tried to give a summary of family funerary monuments in Dacia.⁸ Marius Moga, Constantin Daicoviciu and Octavian Floca excavated in Roman cemeteries, for instance their team uncovered the so called 'Aurelius' Mausoleum' at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa-La Cireș*. At this site lies the Eastern cemetery of the ancient city, where three family funerary monuments have been identified: two graveyards and the 'Aurelius' Mausoleum', which is a ring of carved stone blocks and a *tumulus* inside.⁹ In the Western cemetery of *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa-Valea Drașcovului* two graveyards are known.¹⁰ Four presumed graveyards are known from inscriptions.¹¹

After the Second World War the excavations at *Cașolț-Dealul Bradului* took place, where Mihail Macrea and his colleagues uncovered 76 tumuli of more than 300 existent tumuli in that cemetery.¹² Very similar to it seems to be the cemetery at *Calbor-Făgetul Calborului*, where the same collective excavated 8 tumuli of 50.¹³ At *Cinciș-La Țelina*, a very special burial rite was registered, where inside the graveyard three rings were found, one of them was a tumular structure. Around the graveyard, in rows appear 8 more rings, five of them with a soil-heap in the middle. At *Porolissum-Dealul Ursoieș* the first family funerary monuments were excavated, today a total of 7 are known of them here. Three graveyards and four rings, one of them possibly was tumular.¹⁴

In the 1970's ethnical questions became more accentuated. At the beginning of this period, in 1968 Miliutin Garașanin publishes his theory about the Mala-Kopašnica-Sase type burials, which was expounded by Mircea Babeș for the Romanian researchers.¹⁵ By this theory, the shape of the burial pits can indicate the ethnical origin of the dead.

The burials at *Ighiu-Dealul Butuci* were discovered in this period, where 22 tumular graves were researched.¹⁶ At *Micia* (Vețel) a portion of a ring with two graves was registered.¹⁷ At *Romula* (Reșca) in two cemeteries 11 tumuli were identified.¹⁸ At *Streisângeorgiu-Terasa 1* a stone groundwork was excavated, probably the fundament of an *aedicula*, and later an inscription of a presumed graveyard were discovered in the wall of the local church.¹⁹ At *Muncelu-La Petrenești* a rectangular graveyard was excavated; there was one cremational grave inside.²⁰ More than 30 tumular graves were found at *Iaz-Dâmb*.²¹

In the 1990's only short reports appeared in the archeological repertory of Brașov and of Harghita county. One statement is known that at *Porumbenii Mici-Marginea Cetății* a tumular grave was found, dated to the Roman period,²² and another tumular grave on *Viscri*.²³

A new wave of interest borne with Paul Damian's excavations in *Alburnus Maior* (Roșia Montana), where five cemeteries and two burial zones were identified, in total 287 rings and family funerary monuments were published in his and his colleagues' reports.²⁴ At *Roșia Montană-Țarina/Kapolna* 7 graveyards and six rings were registered. At *Roșia Montană-Jig/Piciorag* five rings were researched; one of them was a tumular structure. At *Roșia Montană-Tăul Cornei* very special burials were found, one graveyard, which hosted two rings and two stone groundworks inside, 78 rings, from which only one had a visible tumular shape, but 32 of them were covered with a stone layer, and 20 other stone settings. At *Roșia Montană-Hop/Găuri* four

⁶ Lukács 1879a, 17–18; Lukács 1879b, 350–355; Téglás 1890, 20–36.

⁷ Floca 1941a, 55–109; Floca 1941b, 160–173; Pescaru et al. 2004.

⁸ Floca 1941a, 55–109.

⁹ Floca – Daicoviciu 1937, 1–23; Floca 1941a, 55–60; Diaconescu 2003, 302; Piso et al. 2002; Marcu et al. 2003; Marcu et al. 2004; Marcu et al. 2005; Piso et al. 2006; Băeștean et al. 2007; Piso et al. 2008; Piso et al. 2009.

¹⁰ Daicoviciu et al. 1974–1975, 229–231; Diaconescu 2003, 285.

¹¹ Diaconescu 2003, 288–291; IDR III–2, 369, 370, 371, 379, 411.

¹² Macrea – Berciu 1955, 581–626; Macrea 1957, 119–154; Macrea 1959, 407–443; Macrea et al. 1959, 403–417.

¹³ Macrea 1957, 141–143; Macrea et al. 1959, 414.

¹⁴ Floca – Valea 1965, 173–182; Rusu 1974–1975, 351–352.

¹⁵ Moga 1950, 131–135; Macrea et al. 1961, 361–390; Gudea 1989, 152; Alföldy-Găzdac et al. 2007, 10; Bajusz 2008.

¹⁶ Babeș 1970b, 727–730.

¹⁷ Protase 1971, 92–94.

¹⁸ Floca 1968, 121–123; Andrițoiu 2006, 70, 76, 96–97.

¹⁹ Babeș 1970a, 168–169; Leahu 1975, 192–207; Sămărgăhan 2003, 177–178.

²⁰ Eskenasy 1977, 603–609; Diaconescu 2003, 291–292.

²¹ Rusu 1983, 291–294.

²² Medeleteș – Bughilan 1987, 137; Luca 2004, 82; Luca 2010, 141.

²³ Kavruk 2000, 164.

²⁴ Costea 1996, 145.

simple graveyards and nine rings were discovered, one of them a large, carved stone monument was set with *tumulus* too. At Roşia Montană–Valea Nanului two *tumuli* were found; one of them had a ring. Roşia Montană–Carpeni site may also hide a large Roman cemetery, but yet it is a small burial zone. Four rings were excavated here, but possibly some more tumular structures are in the area. The largest necropolis of family funerary monuments of *Alburnus Maior* lies at Roşia Montană–Tăul Secuilor. 139 rings were uncovered here, some of them had a tumular structure, and rarely these were covered with pebbles and cobbles. Three *tumuli* were found as well; these were covered with stones, but had no rings around them.

At other sites rings and family funerary monuments have been also uncovered: Abrud, Bocşa, Brădeni, Ticvanu Mic and Ciocadia. At Abrud–Valea Selişteii three *tumuli* were found, two of them not yet excavated. The third had a diameter of 470 cm and four cremational graves. Its mound was covered with a stone layer.²⁵ At Bocşa–Valea Moraviţei tumular structures are mentioned. At Brădeni–Dealul Bradului a tumular Roman cemetery was discovered.²⁶ We don't know much about the tumular structure from Ticvanu Mic–Budoviţa, just the location of it (RAN code: 54341.01). At Ciocadia–Codrişoare a ring was discovered north from a *villa rustica*. It was built of river stones, and it hosted one cremational grave.²⁷

The numbers: definitions and statistics

In the comparison of graveyards, rings and *tumuli* only 491 entries can be calculated in lack of information (Fig. 1). The most numerous group is the rings' with 265 entries, followed by the group of *tumuli*, 170 objects, and finally the graveyards with 31 structures. A stone groundwork generally is a 10-20 cm thick stone layer, which can be the foundation of a larger tombstone or *aedicula*, or the mound of a flattened out *tumulus*. It is frequently present with rings, in five cases with *tumulus*, but 25 independent cases are also known.

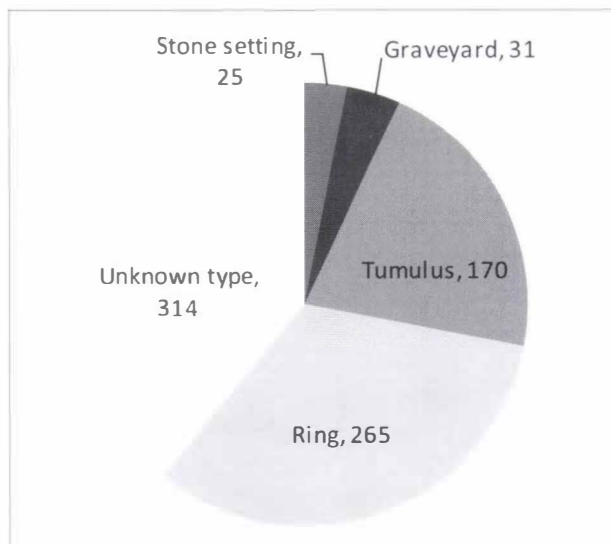


Fig. 1. Ratio of the different family funerary monument types

The graveyard is a low walled building with one or more chambers, with or without an entrance. In some cases the wall was built on a foundation, and covered with clay or mortar. Inside the graveyard one or more graves were buried. Sometimes they could have been in use for a longer period. For example at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* two building phases of a graveyard can be observed, with two platforms, one of them for an *aedicula*, and with three graves inside.²⁸ This is one of the most spectacular graveyards in Dacia, the most graveyards are more poorly worked, for sure not higher than the last layer of stones found, these are sometimes worked stone blocks, but usually the wall above or the whole wall was built of simple river stones, without mortar.

We have no proof of the existence of mausoleums in Dacia, which would be a funerary building covered with roof.

Rings can be round or rectangular of carved stones or of river-stones in one or more layers, sometimes with foundation, occasionally with platform for statue or inscription. In many cases it appears together with a mound, which can be covered with pebbles and cobbles, but sometimes the mound is not perceptible, only the stone layer. A rare version is, when more concentric rings are present, and the narrowest ring hosts one urn. All of the variants of this type can be found at the above mentioned cemeteries at *Alburnus Maior*.

The *tumulus* is a soil-heap above maximum three graves, only one case is known, where four graves are present, the fourth subsequently

²⁵ Crăciun 2001; Crăciun et al. 2002b; Damian 2002; Damian et al. 2003a; Damian et al. 2003b; Damian et al. 2004a; Damian et al. 2004b; Damian et al. 2005a; Damian et al. 2005b; Damian et al. 2006a; Damian et al. 2006b; Damian et al. 2007; Moga et al. 2002; Roman et al. 2002; Scurtu 2004; Simion et al. 2003; Simion et al. 2004.

²⁶ Crăciun et al. 2002a.

²⁷ Luca 2010, 43.

²⁸ Luca – Pinter 2003, 67–68.

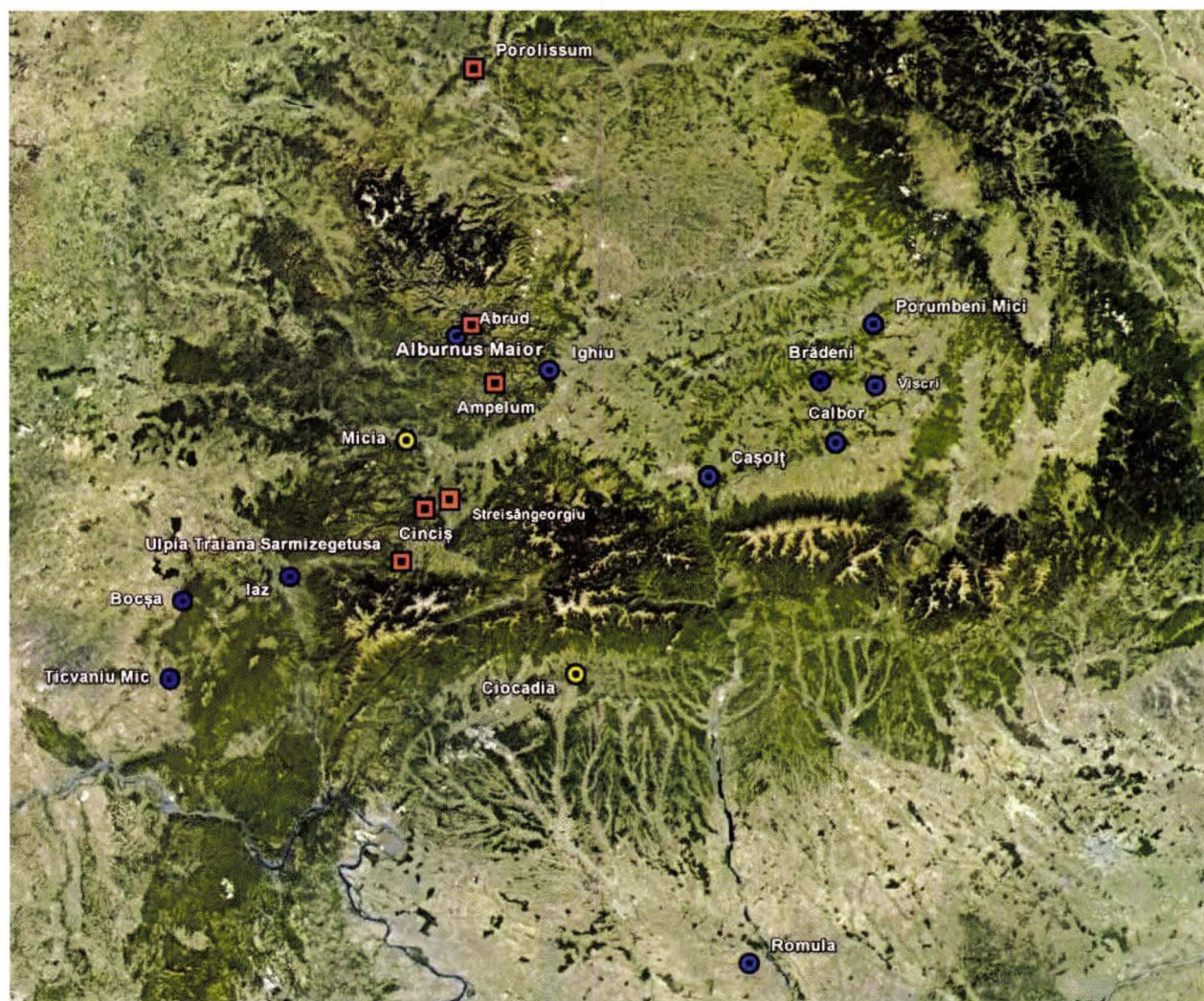


Fig. 2. Sites with different family funerary monument types.
(orange: mixed cemeteries; blue: tumular cemeteries; yellow: graves with rings)

added.²⁹ *Tumuli* in some cemeteries are well organized in rows, some researchers see the 'family character' of the graves in it, or as the sign of social organization of a society. Rarely a stone layer covers the mound, only five examples of this kind of burial can be found in Dacia.

We cannot ignore these cemeteries' placements on the map (Fig. 2). A roughly North-South oriented line is showing the track of the mixed cemeteries, with a concentration of them at the gold exploitation area, namely at *Alburnus Maior*. The largest tumular cemeteries can be found along the Southern limit of *Dacia Superior*. Despite there are more rings, than *tumuli*, the *tumuli* are better spread. It is also clear, that graveyards tend to appear in the neighborhood of rings (*Alburnus Maior*, *Ampelum*, *Cinciș*, *Porolissum*, *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*). Two individual graves with rings are the exceptions at *Ciocadia* and at *Micia*. At *Streisângeorgiu* the

existence of a graveyard is uncertain. At *Alburnus Maior* and at *Cinciș* two special graveyards were excavated. Here rings were found inside the graveyard.³⁰

Very few *tumuli* were found in a mixed cemetery: at *Alburnus Maior* only three, at *Ampelum* 13 more. This means, that in mixed cemeteries, for the most part graveyards, rings and stone groundworks can be found, and that *tumuli* tend to appear in homogenous tumular cemeteries. Inscription, tombstone, or even a fundament is very rare to be found attached to *tumuli*, 2 times only. Another particularity is that in five *busti* from *Cașolț* the deceased was laid in a crumpled position on the pyre. This phenomenon usually does not appear in Roman cemeteries, and in none of the family funerary monuments from Dacia, others, than the five mentioned above.³¹

²⁹ Marinoiu – Hortopan 2007.

³⁰ Daicoviciu et al. 1974–1975, 229–231.

³¹ Crăciun et al. 2002a.

Graves in quest

In the 491 family funerary monuments there must be at least 547 graves. If no information is given, at least one unknown grave was counted. Even like this the quest of the additional graves is clear. Only in graveyards were found more graves, than one grave per monument, in 31 identified graveyards 88 graves are counted (Fig. 3). The most graveyards contain 2, 3, sometimes 4 graves, but rarely more. At *Porolisum* for example a graveyard had 11 graves,³² but the most graves in a graveyard were found at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. Here a portion of a large, good quality funerary monument was discovered, with 20 graves, with platform for a large tombstone, or inscription, and possibly this graveyard was completed with wooden fence or hedged in.³³

In rings generally one grave was found, in the 265 monuments there are only three exceptions: the ring from *Micia* and two rings from *Alburnus Maior*. One of them got a diameter of 7 m, and three staired graves of *bustum* type.³⁴ The other one is 9 m in diameter, and comprises two *busti*, both staired graves.³⁵ The ring at *Micia* is approximately 5–6 m in diameter, and two sepulchres were found inside.³⁶

It seems that in tumular monuments likewise only one person was buried. There are two exceptions. At *Cașolț* in one of the *tumuli* two *busti* were found, seems that it was the grave of mother and child.³⁷ At *Romula* in the largest *tumulus* of the cemetery (18 m x 15,5 m) at least three graves were found, in brick *sarcophagus* a *bustum*, an inhumation and another grave was buried. No additional information was provided about this last one.³⁸

At many graves only the fact of cremation was mentioned, but fortunately some graves were identified as *bustum* or *ustrinum*. This means that 85% of the graves in the family funerary monuments of Dacia follow the cremational rite, while 7% of the graves follow the rite of inhumation (Fig. 4.).

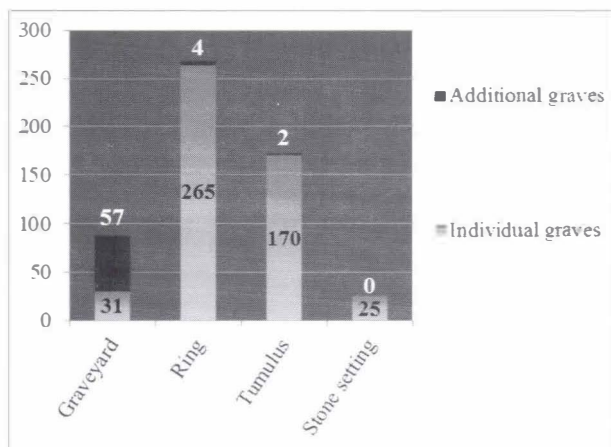


Fig. 3. Additional graves in the different types of monuments

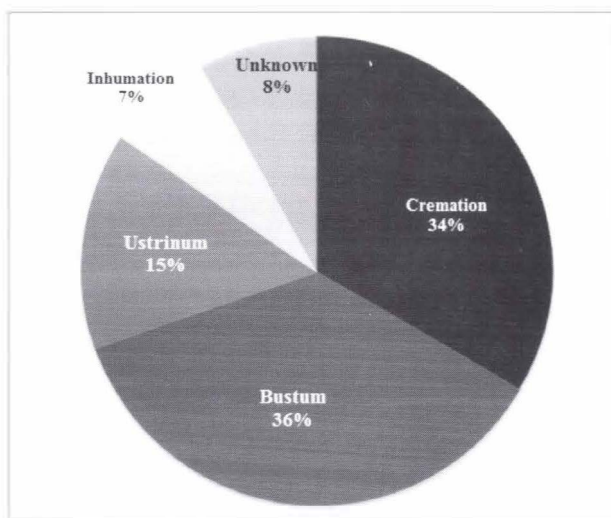


Fig. 4. Grave rite in family funerary monuments (all)

The quest of the Mala-Kopašnica-Sase type burials is also interesting. By this theory the graves by their shape can belong to type A, B, C or D.³⁹ Examples will be discussed above.

Type A is a long-shaped pit with rounded corners, or with oval ending, many times burnt out. Some believe it got an Illyrian provenience. Type B is the staired grave type, sometimes pitched with stones, and occasionally in Dacia in its inner pit brick *sarcophagus* was found. Babeș says it is an originally Greek burial form, which gets to Dacia by the hand of Trachians.⁴⁰ Type C can be rounded or oval, every size and depth. This is the most discussable form, but it is frequently present in the neighbourhood of the previous two types.⁴¹ Type D is a pit paved with flat stones or in many cases a stone-box without a pit.

³² Damian et al. 2003a, 61; Floca – Valea 1965, 173.

³³ Macrea 1957, 124, 127–129; Macrea 1959, 407–409, 413–415.

³⁴ Macrea et al. 1961, 361–390.

³⁵ Piso et al. 2002; Marcu et al. 2003; Marcu et al. 2004; Marcu et al. 2005; Piso et al. 2006; Băeștean et al. 2007; Piso et al. 2008; Piso et al. 2009.

³⁶ Damian et al. 2004a.

³⁷ Simion et al. 2003, 105–106; Simion et al. 2004.

³⁸ Floca 1968, 121–123; Andrițoiu 2006, 96–97.

³⁹ Macrea 1959, 413–415.

⁴⁰ Leahu 1975, 200–207.

⁴¹ Babeș 1970b, 727–730.

It is attributed to Celtic people, represented in Dacia for example by the cemetery at Cașolț, but here in the type D graves no Celtic pottery was found, roman pottery appears instead.⁴² We would like to add the group of *sarcophagus*, built of bricks, or carved out of stone blocks, noted as type E in the table below.

In this table the number of graves is shown by shape and rite. No inhumation or *bustum* can occur in an urn, and the unknown rite with unknown shape does not allow any new information. The total number of graves refers to the number of individual graves, that we have some information about, like at least the shape or the rite of them. Unfortunately the largest numbers in the table appear in the unknown shaped cremational graves, in most of the cases the publications does not allow us enough information about these features; in the future these can change the actual standings in the other categories.

There are very few inhumations, but the majority of them were laid to rest in a *sarcophagus*. Inhumations were found at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*,⁴³ *Porolissum*⁴⁴ and at *Romula*,⁴⁵ but *sarcophagi* were discovered only at *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* and *Romula*. The inhumations from *Porolissum* and from *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* occurred in graveyards, with one exception, which was found in the so called ‘*Aurelius*’ Mausoleum’. This is a ring, but unique in Dacia, built with maximum effort and care, even the grave’s lid was carved of marble. In the *sarcophagi* from *Romula* one *bustum*, two inhumation and three unknown grave were registered, all of them in *tumuli*. This means that in the actual phase of the research, here lies the only tumular cemetery in which inhumation or *sarcophagus* was found.

Likewise it is not surprising, that the existent four graves in urn follows the *ustrinum* rite.

But quite interesting is the low number of them, and the fact, that all these urns were found in the same cemetery at *Alburnus Maior–Tăul Cornei*.⁴⁶

The shape and rite sometimes fall short of the expectations, for example Babeș believes, that the burnt marks on the edge of the type A pits are the results of a ritual purification.⁴⁷ This theory cannot be confirmed squarely by the fact, that *ustrinum* type graves are present in the largest number in type A pits, because we have no information if these graves had burnt marks or not. Burnt marks can be also caused by *in-situ* cremation of the dead, in type A 78 *busti* were identified.

The rite of *busti* appeared at almost every pit type. In type B almost all the graves followed this rite, and in type D exclusively this rite appears. Type D can be associated exclusively with *tumuli* at the moment; those 25 graves were discovered at Cașolț⁴⁸ and Ighiu.⁴⁹

B type graves were discovered at *Alburnus Maior*, and at *Ampelum*. At *Ampelum* one grave was found, which represents the combination of staired grave with *tumulus*, no other B type grave was found in a *tumulus*.⁵⁰ The only *ustrinum* in a staired grave was found under a stone ground-work at *Alburnus Maior–Tăul Cornei*.⁵¹ The only graveyard, in which type B pits were found, is at *Alburnus Maior–Tăul Secuilor*, with three staired graves inside.⁵² This cemetery hosts the most graves of type B, 10 graves were identified. Generally staired graves in Dacia occurred most of the time in a simple ring built of river stones. Possibly there are more of these simple constructed forms in combination with this grave type in the *Alburnus Maior–Tăul Secuilor* cemetery, up to 127 graves more. These can be either type A or type B, unfortunately not precised.⁵³ There is a link between type B pits and *sarcophagi*, while in two

	A	B	C	D	E	urn	unknown	total
cremation	7		12		2		164	185
<i>bustum</i>	78	25	15	25	1		52	196
<i>ustrinum</i>	47	1	15		1	4	14	82
inhumation	1		2		5		1	9
unknown	5		1		3			9
total	138	26	45	25	12	4	231	481

⁴² Babeș 1970a, 196.
⁴³ Garașanin 1968, 28–30.
⁴⁴ Nemeti – Nemeti 2003, 411–435.
⁴⁵ Marcu et al. 2003; Piso et al. 2008.

⁴⁶ Gudea 1989; Macrea et al. 1961.
⁴⁷ Leahu 1975.
⁴⁸ Damian 2003a.
⁴⁹ Babeș 1970a, 195–197.
⁵⁰ Macrea 1957; Macrea 1959; Macrea et al. 1959.
⁵¹ Protase 1971.
⁵² Pescaru et al. 2004.
⁵³ Damian et al. 2003a.

cases the grave's inner pit was in fact a *sarcophagus* built of bricks, covered by an andesite lid. These two graves were found in a large tumular ring, which is the closest analogy for the 'Aurelius' Mausoleum, but not only their rite is different but their size too, this one is 9 meter in diameter, while the 'Aurelius' Mausoleum' is 21 meter in diameter.⁵⁴

Unfortunately the source-works does not always make us known the findings, but one thing is sure: pottery is the most common material in family funerary monuments. Most of them were storing vessels, or lamps. An interesting habit was noted at Cașolț,⁵⁵ Calbor⁵⁶ and *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*⁵⁷: in a large storing vessel a small one was placed, most of them were *Dreifußschalen*.

Glass objects are also mentioned, green and blue melon-beads and white or green *unguentaria* mostly. Many of them are visibly burnt.

The mentioned worked bone objects are: dice, comb, fragment of a disc, needle, and two hairpins.

Between metal objects iron is the most common, approximately 90%. These are nails, probably used at the pyre, frequently with burnt marks on them. A few articles of clothing were identified: there were four silver and 27 bronze fibulas among them. They were dated to the beginning of the 2nd century until the end of the 3rd century. Iron weapons and tools were found too. The very few gold objects are jewels: rings and earrings. Bracelet, pendant, *tutulus*, two mirrors and hairpins were also found, all of bronze. Seven iron combs were mentioned, with burnt marks on them exclusively from Cașolț.⁵⁸ 56 coins were found, these can be dated from the end of the 1st century, but most of them come from the 2nd century.

Afterword

The aim of this paper is to provide a better understanding of family funerary monuments of Roman Dacia by comparing their structures. It was also important to find the main forms, their general characteristics, than to present all of their particularities and differences too. We can pick

up on specific combination of elements, such as the rate of occurrence of *busti in tumuli*; the rate of occurrence of inhumations in graveyards; the trend of rings to have a tumular completion, or the trend of graveyards to have a *sarcophagus* and a tombstone.

The term of 'family funerary monument' in the light of the number of the graves refers mainly to graveyards, but considering the particularities in other forms, shows us that ancient societies strongly connected to their rites and traditions.

There is so much more to study regarding to family funerary monuments, as we are still at the beginning of the research. It is very likely that some data will be precised by new discoveries, but hopefully this will provide us a just picture and a more polished view-point system.

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⁵⁶ Simion et al. 2003, 105–106; Simion et al. 2004.

⁵⁷ Floca 1941a; Macrea 1957; Macrea 1959; Macrea – Berciu 1955; Macrea et al. 1959; Protase 1971.

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Rezumat

În literatura arheologică a Daciei romane au fost identificate și publicate până acum peste 805 de unități funerare: incinte funerare, tumuli, ringuri sau clădiri funerare. Articolul de față propune analiza lor comparativă din punct de vedere morfologic și al ritului funerar, referindu-se în același timp la problematica mormintelor de tip Mala-Kopašnica-Sase. Datele statistice înlesnesc formularea răspunsului la întrebarea dacă aceste clădiri erau construite pentru o întreagă familie, ori pentru o singură persoană. Doar în categoria incintelor funerare se pot evidenția un număr de peste patru morminte. La tumuli și ringuri foarte rar găsim mai mult decât un singur mormânt.

Kivonat

A római Daciából eddig több mint 805 sírkertet, tumuluszt, kögyűrűt és kő felépítményt ismerünk. Jelen tanulmány a morfológiai értékelésük mellett, a temetkezési rítus szempontjából vizsgálja ezeket, illetve a Mala-Kopašnica-Sase-típusú sírok kérdését is tárgyalja. Vajon ezek a sír építmények valóban egy egész család nyugalóhelyéül szolgáltak, vagy vannak olyan típusok, amelyeket egyetlen személy számára készítettek? A statisztikai adatok tanúsága szerint négyenél több sírral csupán a sírkertek kategóriájában számolhatunk, a többi típus esetében csak elvétve bukkan fel egyenél több sír.

CONSIDERAȚII PRIVIND BISERICILE CE CONFIGUREAZĂ CRUCEA ÎN PLANUL ȘI STRUCTURA LOR SPAȚIALĂ. CAZUL UNOR MONUMENTE DIN EVUL MEDIU TIMPURIU, RECENT DESCOPERITE ÎN BAZINUL CARPATIC

GONDOLATOK A KERESZTET ALAPRAJZUKBAN, ILLETVE TÉRSZERKEZETÜKBEN MEGJELENÍTŐ TEMPLOMOKRÓL, KÜLÖNÖS TEKINTETTEL NÉHÁNY, A KÖZELMÚLTBAN FELTÁRT, KÁRPÁT-MEDENCEI KORAI KÖZÉPKORI EMLÉKRE

MIKLÓS TAKÁCS

Keywords: early Arpadian religious architecture of Hungary, cross-shaped ground plan, cross-domed square structure, East or West, Alba Iulia

Cuvinte cheie: arhitectura ecleziastică a Ungariei, epoca Arpadiană timpurie, plan în cruce, configurație spațială în cruce greacă cu cupolă, Orient sau Occident, Alba Iulia

Kulcsszavak: a kora Árpád-kori Magyarország egyházi építészete, keresztalaprajz, keresztkupolás térszerkezet, Kelet vagy Nyugat, Gyulafehérvár

În lucrarea prezentă supunem atenției o categorie particulară, mai puțin studiată, a arhitecturii ecleziastice a Ungariei în epoca Arpadiană timpurie: bisericile care au configurația spațială în cruce, bisericile cu plan tetraconc, respectiv cele în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. Toate acestea în ideea și în încercarea de a putea interpreta câteva exemple recent descoperite. În cazul celor trei tipuri de planimetrie și configurație spațială menționate a trebuit să ajungem la următoarea observație: deși originea lor o putem găsi în arhitectura paleocreștină a zonei estice a Mediteranei, în privința Evului Mediu timpuriu nu se pot califica ca fiind caracteristice exclusiv bisericii orientale. Astfel biserica cu plan în cruce a fost cunoscută suficient de bine în perioada carolingiană și ottoniană în Europa Centrală și Occidentală. Iar sistemul planimetric tetraconc, respectiv cel în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc a fost agreat nu numai în Imperiul bizantin ci și în Italia. În temeiul constatării dispersiei de asemenea anvergură a prototipurilor, trebuie afirmat, că doar pe baza tipului clădirii nu poate fi identificată caracterul oriental sau occidental, și mai puțin identitatea confesională, a bisericilor construite în perioada de naștere a Ungariei Arpadiene. Pentru argumentarea observației de mai sus este suficient să trimitem la biserica, construită în stil bizantin, al mănăstirii benedictine de la Kaposszentjakab, sau la biserica mănăstirii ortodoxe, construită în stil nord-italian, din Visegrád. Astfel, în cazul bisericii cu plan în cruce și/sau în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, recent descoperită la Alba Iulia, nu merită, sau mai precis, nu poate fi folosită configurația spațială a bisericii pentru determinarea afilierii confesionale.

A dolgozatban a korai Árpád-kori Magyarország egyházi építészetének egy sajátos és ritkán elemzett részét: a keresztalaprajzú, a négykonchás, illetve a keresztkupolás térszerkezetű templomokat vizsgáljuk néhány újonnan közölt példa értelmezése érdekében. Mindhárom alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti típus esetében arra a megállapításra kellett jutnunk, hogy bár a kiindulópont mindhárom épülettípus esetében a Mediterráneum keleti részének ókeresztény építészete, a korai középkor vonatkozásában mégsem minősíthetők a keleti egyház sajátjának. Így a kereszt alaprajzú templom igencsak ismert volt a Karoling- és Ottó-kori Nyugat- és Közép-Európában, a négykonchás, illetve keresztkupolás térszerkezet pedig az első ezredforduló idején nemcsak a Bizánci Birodalom különböző részein, hanem Itáliában is nagy közkeveltségnek örvendett. Az előképek ilyen megoszlása alapján ki kell mondani, hogy pusztán az épület típusa alapján nem lehet kikövetkeztetni az államalapítás-kori Magyarország egy-egy ilyen templomának a keleti vagy nyugati jellegét, még kevésbé a konfesszionális hovatartozását. Ez utóbbi következtetés alátámasztására elegendő a bizánci minta alapján épített kaposszentjakabi bencés monostortemplomra vagy az észak-itáliai minta alapján épített visegrádi, bazilita monostortemplomra utalni. Így az újonnan feltárt gyulafehérvári kereszt alaprajzú, és/vagy keresztkupolás templom esetében sem érdemes, sőt egyértelműen: nem szabad a templom térszerkezetét a konfesszionális hovatartozás meghatározására felhasználni.

„Înainte de toate e bine să stabilim că centralitatea nu e o trăsătură ce aparține exclusiv arhitecturii bizantine.”

Béla Zsolt Szakács*

„Mindenekelőtt célszerű leszögezni, hogy a centralitás nem kizárólag a bizánci építészet sajátossága.”

Szakács Béla Zsolt*

Introducere. Reprezentarea crucii – în plan, respectiv în structura spațială – în arhitectura epocii paleocreștine și în cea a Evului Mediu timpuriu

În istoria arhitecturii, cercetarea bisericilor ce reprezintă crucea în planul și configurația lor spațială este una din temele preferate ale specialiștilor.¹ Prin urmare, în cadrul breslei există multe observații pe marginea subiectului în cauză, acestea fiind considerate locuri comune. La unele dintre ele trebuie să ne referim și în studiul nostru, deoarece nu pot fi evitate. Astfel, chiar constatarea din titlul introductiv al prezentului studiu pare a fi întrucâtva un loc comun: nevoia de a reprezenta crucea în arhitectură este atât de veche ca și arhitectura ecleziastică în sine. Această nevoie e urmarea logică a acelei interpretări teologice a crucii care a fost formulată de către sfinții părinți, încă din epoca paleocreștină.² Conform unei argumentări care poate ajunge până la Sf. Pavel,³ crucea nu e numai instrument de supliciu – simbol al patimilor și al morții lui Iisus Cristos, ci și simbolul victoriei asupra morții, și astfel al mântuirii omenirii.

Istoria arhitecturii oferă câteva date pe baza cărora se mai poate formula încă un argument în sprijinul frecvenței în reprezentarea crucii. Popularitatea reprezentării arhitecturale a crucii putea fi susținută de faptul că, începând cu secolele IV–V, acest simbol se putea integra deopotrivă în mai multe tipuri de structuri spațiale. Astfel, deja de peste un mileniu și jumătate, planul, respectiv structura spațială cruciformă se puteau referi la mai multe tipuri de clădiri. Avem așadar îndreptățirea să intuim că, deja în primele veacuri ale Evului Mediu, spațiile sacrale cruciforme puteau fi construite cu scopuri diferite, iar acest fapt stătea în spatele formării și dezvoltării paralele a diverselor configurații spațiale. Asemenea sisteme de planuri ori de structuri spațiale puteau avea clădiri sau părți de clădiri foarte mici, destinate doar unor activități de cult bine definite:

Bevezetés: a kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítése az ókeresztény kor és a korai középkor építészetében

A keresztet alaprajzukban, illetve térszerkezetükben megjelenítő templomok elemzése az építészettörténet kedvelt kutatási témája, amelyről már szakemberek sora fejtette ki véleményét.¹ Ennek következtében sok olyan megállapítással találkozni, amelyek szakmai körökben közhelyszerűnek számítanak. Ezek egy részére dolgozatunkban is utalnunk kell, megkerülhetetlenségük miatt. Tanulmányunk bevezető megállapítása is némiképp közhelyszerűnek tűnhet: a kereszt építészeti megjelenítése iránti igény olyan régi, mint a keresztény építészet maga. Ezen igény logikusan következik a keresztnek abból a teológiai értelmezéséből, amelyet már az ókeresztény korszak egyházatyái megfogalmaztak.² A Szt. Pál³ig visszavezethető érvelés szerint a kereszt nem csupán Jézus Krisztus kínszenvedésének és halálának, hanem egyben a halál felett aratott győzelmének és ez által az emberiség megváltásának is az eszköze.

Egy további érv is megfogalmazható a gyakoriság mellett, építészettörténeti adatok alapján. A kereszt építészeti megjelenítésének a népszerűségét az is fokozhatta, hogy azt – szintén már a 4–5. századtól – több térszerkezetbe is sikerült integrálni. Így a kereszt alakú alaprajz, ill. térszerkezet fogalma már több mint másfélszáz évvel ezelőtt épülettípusra vonatkoztatható. A különböző térszerkezetek kialakulásának és párhuzamos létezésének a hátterében joggal sejthetően az állhatott, hogy keresztet formázó szakrális terek már a középkor korai századaiban is több különböző céllal épülhettek. Ilyen alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti rendszerrel rendelkezettek egészen kisméretű, csak meghatározott kultikus cselekmények tartására alkalmas épületek – épületrészek: baptisteriumok, mártíriumok vagy mauzóleumok, másfelől pedig nagy alapterületű kolostortemplomok és székesegyházak is.

¹ La nivel general: Pevsner 1983, 61, 86, 196–200; cu sublinierea aspectelor bizantine: Krautheimer 1986, 39–282; Mango 1986, 36–92.

² Dinkler – Dinkler-von Schubert 1991, col. 1–10.

³ Poate cel mai frumos, în versetele 6–10, capitolul 2 al Epistolei către Filipeni.

* Szakács 2012, 7.

¹ Általános szinten: Pevsner 1983, 61, 86, 196–200; a bizánci vonatkozásokat kiemelve: Krautheimer 1986, 39–282; Mango 1986, 36–92.

² Dinkler – Dinkler-von Schubert 1991, 1–10. oszlop.

³ Talán legszebben a Filippieknek írt levél 2. fejezetének 6–10. versében.

* Szakács 2012, 7.

baptisterii, martirii sau mausolee, dar și biserici mănăstirești ori catedrale de mari dimensiuni. În cazul celor din urmă, spațiul cruciform era întregit cu alte elemente de plan, din cauza nevoii de spații pentru pregătirea activităților liturgice. Într-o primă abordare, vom încerca să analizăm inventarul clădirilor din Evul Mediu timpuriu, până la cumpăna dintre mileniul I și II. Analiza va fi făcută din perspectiva bisericilor ce apar regulat în marile sinteze de istoria arhitecturii, iar scopul ei este mai ales ilustrarea acestei dualități funcționale pe care am conturat-o mai sus.

Diferențele funcționale sau în ordine de mărime sunt bine ilustrate de exemplele paleocreștine, de la micile construcții dedicate unor scopuri speciale, până la bisericile de dimensiuni monumentale. Cum enumerarea lor completă ar depăși cadrul lucrării noastre, ne oprim doar asupra câtorva monumente. În cazul baptisteriilor paleocreștine, găsim mai multe exemple pentru așa-zisul tetraconc, unde la cele patru fețe ale unui spațiu central cu plan pătrat se alătură patru nișe mici. De pildă, baptisteriul S. Vitale din Riva.⁴ O soluție frecventă e și cazul în care nu baptisteriul în totalitatea sa, ci un element central al său, bazinul baptismal are plan pătrat.⁵ Ba chiar, în rare cazuri, apare și situația în care în interiorul baptisteriului cu plan cruciform se realizează un bazin baptismal cu plan în cruce.⁶ Printre martiriile cu plan în cruce, poate cel mai frumos exemplu este Sf. Byblas⁷ din Antiochia-Kaoussie. Dacă trecem la cel de-al treilea grup al clădirilor mici, respectiv la mausolee, cel mai cunoscut exemplu paleocreștin – pentru o clădire cu plan de dimensiuni mici, cruciform, cu rol de capelă funerară – este Mausoleul Gallei Placidia din Ravenna⁸, de o binemeritată faimă internațională.

Dintre bisericile cu plan întins, trebuie neapărat să pomenim de Biserica Sf. Ioan⁹ din Efes, precum și de Sf. Mina¹⁰ din Abu Mina. Ambele biserici au structură bazilicală, forma de cruce fiind desenată de interpunerea transeptului,

Ez utóbbiak esetében pedig a kereszt alaprajzú tér már rend szerint kiegészült további alaprajzi elemekkel, a liturgikus cselekmények előkészítésére szolgáló helyiségek iránti igény miatt. Első megközelítésben a nagy építészettörténeti összefoglalásokban rendszeresen szereplő templomok alapján igyekszünk áttekinteni a korai középkori épületállományt az I. és a II. évezred fordulójáig, elsősorban a fentebb vázolt funkcionális kettősség szemléltetése érdekében.

Jól illusztrálják a funkcionális, illetve nagyságrendi különbségeket az egyes ókeresztény példák: a speciális célokat szolgáló kis épületektől a monumentális méretű templomokig. Részletes felsorolásuk szétfeszítené e dolgozat kereteit, így csak néhány műemlékre emlékeztetünk. Az ókeresztény baptisteriumok esetében több példát is találni az ún. tetrakonchosra, azon négykaréjos térszerkezetre, amikor egy központi, négyzet alaprajzú tér négy oldalához négy kis fülke csatlakozik. Egyetlen példaként itt a rivai S. Vitale baptisteriumára utalunk.⁴ Gyakori megoldás továbbá, hogy nem a baptisterium egésze, hanem annak központi eleme, a keresztelőmedence rendelkezik négyzet alaprajzzal.⁵ Sőt egy-egy ritka esetben az is előfordul, hogy a kereszt alaprajzú baptisteriumon belül alakítanak ki kereszt alaprajzú keresztelőmedencét.⁶ A kereszt alaprajzú mártíriumok közül az Antiochia-kaoussiéi Szt. Byblas⁷ talán a legszebb példa. Áttérve a kis épületek harmadik csoportjára, a mauzóleumokra: a méltán világhírű, ravennai Galla Placidia-mauzóleum⁸ a sírkápolnaként szolgáló, kis alapterületű, kereszt alaprajzú épület talán legismertebb ókeresztény példája.

A nagy alapterületű templomok közül az ephezoszi Szt. János-templomról⁹ valamint az Abu Mina-i Szt. Ménászról¹⁰ kell mindenképp megemlékezni. Mindkét templom bazilikális elrendezésű, a keresztalakot a hosszázal azonos szélességű keresztház közbe iktatása rajzolta ki. Továbbá, már az ókeresztény építészetben is szép számmal találni példát a keresztalak mintegy

⁴ Krautheimer 1986, fig. 139–140.

⁵ Astfel de exemplu, în baptisteriul din Mastichari, Grecia: Krautheimer 1986, fig. 60.

⁶ Astfel de exemplu, în Croația, în cadrul complexului de clădiri din antichitatea târzie, cu hramul Sv. Marko, adusă la lumina zilei în insula Krk/Veglia: Krešimir – Branko 2009, 1077, figură nenumărată (de la 1075 până la 1087)

⁷ Krautheimer 1986, fig. 34.; Mango 1986, fig. 50, 66.

⁸ Krautheimer 1986, 181–182, fig. 144–145.; Mango 1986, fig. 75, 97.

⁹ Krautheimer 1986, 107–108, fig. 58–59; Mango 1986, fig. 91, 120.

¹⁰ Krautheimer 1986, 97, 110–112, fig. 64–65.

⁴ Krautheimer 1986, 139–140. ábra.

⁵ Így pl. a görögországi Mastichariban álló keresztelőkápolnában: Krautheimer 1986, 60. ábra.

⁶ Így pl. Horvátországban a Krk/Veglia szigetén kibontott Sv. Marko nevű, késő antik épületkomplexumon belül: Regan – Nadilo 2009a, 1077, számozatlan ábra (től-ig 1075–1087)

⁷ Krautheimer 1986, 34. ábra; Mango 1986, 50, 66. ábra.

⁸ Krautheimer 1986, 181–182, 144–145. ábra; Mango 1986, 75, 97. ábra.

⁹ Krautheimer 1986, 107–108, 58–59. ábra; Mango 1986, 91, 120. ábra.

¹⁰ Krautheimer 1986, 97, 110–112, 64–65. ábra.

având lățimea egală cu nava longitudinală. Apoi, deja în arhitectura paleocreștină avem multiple exemple de reprezentare a formei crucii, de ex. în cazul unor rotonde, prin cele patru apside dispuse în forma unei cruci.¹¹ În final, trebuie să amintim și de cazul rar, când planul cruciform este angajat nu în câte-o clădire, ci în tot complexul arhitectural creștin. Cel mai frumos exemplu pentru acest caz este centrul de pelerinaj de la Qalat Simaan, din Siria.¹² Aici, în jurul pilonului ce a servit ca loc al vieții sfântului care a dat numele întregului complex, Sf. Simion Stâlpmnicul, în ultimul deceniu al secolului al V-lea au fost construite patru basilici în formă de cruce.

Chiar și această scurtă și incompletă enumerare este suficientă pentru a evidenția faptul că majoritatea exemplelor cruciforme, din secolele IV–V, se află pe teritoriul Imperiului Roman Oriental. Frecvența lor în jumătatea orientală a Imperiului poate nu are doar cauze teologice, cum este cultul crucii ce se extindea treptat în partea elenofonă a Imperiului.¹³ Avem motive să vedem în această împărțire specifică și faptul cunoscut, că partea occidentală a Imperiului a intrat în crize tot mai acute, iar în 476 încetează a mai exista din punct de vedere juridic.

Nici în arhitectura ecleziastică din secolul al VI-lea nu a scăzut, dimpotrivă, a crescut cerința de a reprezenta crucea în plan, respectiv în configurația spațială. Și acum, bisericile ce întrupau crucea în planul ori în structura spațială au fost, în majoritatea lor, ridicate în partea orientală a Mediteranei, pe teritoriul Imperiului Bizantin. Bogăția materialului bizantin se explică mai ales prin faptul că Imperiul a atins primul său vârf în timpul domniei împăratului Iustinian (527–565). Din punctul nostru de vedere, considerăm fericit faptul că cel mai mare împărat al perioadei bizantine timpurii sprijinea intens construirea de clădiri sacrale, într-un mod care uneori depășea resursele avute la dispoziție.¹⁴ În privința ordinii de mărime a bisericilor ce reprezentau crucea în planul și structura lor spațială, și în arhitectura acestei perioade s-a păstrat dualitatea specifică, descrisă în contextul secolelor IV–V. Observăm în continuare că aceste soluții caracterizau unele spații sacrale mici, cu destinație specială, cum ar fi baptisteriile și mausoleele, dar și biserici reprezentative, cu o mare suprafață a planului. În sprijinul

jelésszerű megjelenítésére, pl. egyes rotundák esetében, a négy, kereszt alakban elhelyezett apszis által.¹¹ Végezetül arról is meg kell emlékezni, hogy egyes ritka esetekben a kereszt alaprajzot nem egy-egy épület, hanem az egész keresztény épületkomplexum vette fel. Ennek a szíriai Qalat Szímaanban felépített zárandokközpont a legszebb példája.¹² Itt ugyanis, a névadó szent, Oszlopos Szent Simeon életének teréül szolgáló oszlop körül négy bazilikát építettek fel, kereszt alakban, az 5. század utolsó két évtizedében.

Szűkre szabott és ennek következtében hézagos felsorolásunk alapján is nyilvánvaló, hogy a kereszt alaprajzú templomok 4–5. századi példáinak a többsége a néhai Keletrómai birodalom területén található. A keleti birodalomrészben való gyakoriság talán nemcsak teológiai okokkal, a keresztnek a görög nyelvű egyházrészben egyre nagyobb mértékben kibontakozó kultuszával magyarázható.¹³ Joggal sejthetően annak is lehetett e sajátos megoszlásban szerepe, hogy a nyugati birodalomrész – közismert módon – a 400-as évek elejétől egyre súlyosabb válságba került, majd pedig 476-ban jogilag is megszűnt.

A 6. század egyházi építészetében sem csökkent, sőt éppen ellenkezőleg: nőtt a kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítése iránti igény. A keresztet alaprajzukban, illetve térszerkezetükben megjelenítő templomok többsége ismét a Mediterráneum keleti felében, a Bizánci birodalom területén épült. A bizánci emléktárhalmaz gazdagsága elsősorban azzal magyarázható, hogy a birodalom, Iustinianus császár (527–565) uralkodásának idején eljutott első csúcsára. Szempontunkból szerencsés körülmény, hogy a korabizánci kor legnagyobb császára igencsak támogatta a szakrális épületek emelését, sokszor a rendelkezésre álló erőforrások jelentős mértékben meghaladó módon.¹⁴ A 6. század építészetében is megmaradt a keresztet alaprajzukban, illetve térszerkezetükben megjelenítő templomoknak a 4–5. század vonatkozásában már leírt, sajátos, mondhatni nagyságrendi kettőssége. Továbbra is megfigyelhető, hogy keresztet formázó alaprajzzal, illetve belső térrel egyfelől egészen kis, speciális rendeltetésű szakrális terek, így baptisteriumok és mauzóleumok, másfelől viszont nagy alapterületű, reprezentatív templomok épültek.

¹¹ Astfel de exemplu în faza de construire I. a rotunde Anastasis din Ierusalim: Krautheimer 1986, fig. 62, 27(B).

¹² Krautheimer 1986, 112, 145–151, fig. 100–107; Mango 1986, fig. 48, 50, 59–62.

¹³ Dinkler – Dinkler-von Schubert 1991, col. 206–208.

¹⁴ Haury (red.) 1964, 5–186.

¹¹ Így pl. a jeruzsálemi Anasztázis-rotunda I. építési fázisában: Krautheimer 1986, 62, 27(B) ábra.

¹² Krautheimer 1986, 112, 145–151, 100–107. ábra; Mango 1986, 48, 50, 59–62. ábra.

¹³ Dinkler – Dinkler-von Schubert 1991, 206–208. oszlop.

¹⁴ Haury (szerk.) 1964, 5–186.

acestei observații este trimiterea la clădirile ecleziastice ce urmează, desigur, fără să epuizez exemplele posibile. Dintre clădirile cu planul de dimensiuni restrânse, țin să amintesc două monumente importante ale unui sit arheologic: biserica cu planul cruciform, respectiv baptisteriul cvadrilob, cu plan pătrat din centrul episcopal Iustiniana Prima, construit pe locul satului unde s-a născut marele împărat, azi cunoscut sub denumirea de Caričin Grad¹⁵ (Serbia). Iar dintre bisericile cu suprafața mare a planului, amintim în primul rând o clădire care astăzi nu mai există nici ea, dar este foarte des citată: Biserica din Constantinopol cu hramul Sfinții Apostoli.¹⁶ Biserica sfințită în 550, conform numeroaselor analize cu aceleași rezultate, este un monument-cheie ce nu poate fi neglijat, în pofida informațiilor lacunare rămase despre ea. Biserica este imposibil de ocolit datorită configurației sale spațiale – constând din navă longitudinală și transept aranjate în cruce, acoperită cu cinci cupole –, care bănuim că a exercitat o puternică influență atât asupra arhitecturii bizantine, cât și asupra celei occidentale, de mai târziu. Istoricii arhitecturii care tratează problematica au în vedere două (unii chiar trei¹⁷) clădiri ale căror structură spațială imita Biserica Sfinții Apostoli. Pe una din ele, Biserica Sf. Ioan din Efes,¹⁸ am pomenit-o deja mai sus, acum este important să subliniem doar faptul că, la mijlocul secolului al VI-lea, această biserică a fost acoperită cu cinci cupole așezate în cruce – probabil, o influență constantinopolitană. Iar despre San Marco din Veneția¹⁹ vom vorbi în continuare.

Imperiul Bizantin a trebuit să se confrunte la sfârșitul secolului al VI-lea, respectiv la începutul secolului al VII-lea cu un șir întreg de crize. În urma înfrângerilor suferite în războaiele de la frontierele de nord și de răsărit, Imperiul a pierdut majoritatea teritoriilor europene și din Orientul Apropiat,²⁰ iar disputa izbucnită în jurul icoanelor, care a atins și numeroase alte probleme ale ortodoxiei, a zguduit aproape fatal chiar și curtea imperială.²¹ Criza internă și externă ar fi trebuit să ofere suficiente motive pentru

Az elmondottak alátámasztásául az alábbi egyházi épületekre szeretnénk utalni, a teljességre ez esetben sem törekedve. A kis alapterületű épületek közül egy régészeti lelőhely két fontos emlékére, a nagy császár szülőfalujának helyén felépült Iustiniana Primában, mai nevén Caričin Gradban¹⁵ (Szerbia) létesített püspöki központ kereszt alaprajzú templomára, illetve a négyzet alaprajzú tömegbe bevont négykaréjos baptisteriumára szeretnénk emlékeztetni. A nagy alapterületű templomok közül pedig első helyen egy ma már szintén nem létező, mégis sokszor idézett épületet: a konstantinápolyi Szt. Apostolok titulusú templomot¹⁶ kell említenünk. Az 550-ben felszentelt Apostolok-templom – számos elemzés egybehangzó eredménye szerint – megkerülhetetlen kulcsemlék, a rá vonatkozó adatok hiányos volta ellenére is. E templom kereszt alakban elrendezett hosszaházból és keresztaházból álló, öt kupolával fedett térszerkezete ugyanis – joggal sejthetően – igen nagy hatást gyakorolt nemcsak az egykorú bizánci, hanem a későbbi, nyugati egyházi építészetre is. Az adott problematikával foglalkozó építészettörténészek két (sőt egyesek három¹⁷) olyan épületet tartanak számon, amelyek térszerkezete az Apostolok-templomot másolta. Egyikükre: az ephezoszi Szt. János-templomra¹⁸ fentebb már utaltunk, itt csak annyit emelnénk ki, hogy e templomot a 6. század közepén – feltehetően konstantinápolyi hatásra – öt, kereszt alakban elrendezett kupolával fedték le. A velencei S. Marcóról¹⁹ pedig alább fogunk szólni.

A Bizánci birodalomnak válságok sorával kellett szembe néznie a 6. század végén, illetve a 7. század elején. Az északi, illetve keleti határok mentén lezajlott vesztés háborúk következtében a birodalom elvesztette európai, illetve közel-keleti területeinek a többségét,²⁰ a szentképek szerepéről kipattant, valójában azonban az ortodoxia számos további kérdését is érintő vita pedig magát a császári udvart is megrendítette, szinte végzetes mértékben.²¹

A külső és belső válságnak elegendő okot kellett volna szolgáltatnia a szakrális építkezés

¹⁵ Krautheimer 1986, fig. 262–263, 236 B și C.; Mango 1986, fig. 26, 28, 23. Din bibliografia de specialitate recentă, vezi: Bavant – Ivanišević 2006, 27 – 40.

¹⁶ Krautheimer 1986, fig. 69, 70, 75, 195; Mango 1986, 31, 34, 46; Restle 1989–1990, col. 455–459, fig. 42–43.

¹⁷ Conant 1987, 289.

¹⁸ Krautheimer 1986, fig. 107–108, 58–59; Mango 1986, fig. 91, 120.

¹⁹ Krautheimer 1986, fig. 352–353, 367–370; Mango 1986, fig. 176, 240–241.

²⁰ Ostrogorsky 1965, 83–85, 99–101.

²¹ Ostrogorsky 1965, 151–186.

¹⁵ Krautheimer 1986, 262–263, 236 B és C ábra; Mango 1986, 26, 28, 23. ábra. Az új szakirodalomból lásd: Bavant – Ivanišević 2006, 27–40.

¹⁶ Krautheimer 1986, 6970, 75, 195. ábra; Mango 1986, 31, 34, 46; Restle 1989–1990, 455–459. oszlop, 42–43. ábra.

¹⁷ Conant 1987, 289.

¹⁸ Krautheimer 1986, 107–108, 58–59. ábra; Mango 1986, 91, 120. ábra.

¹⁹ Krautheimer 1986, 352–353, 367–370. ábra; Mango 1986, 176, 240–241. ábra.

²⁰ Ostrogorsky 1965, 83–85, 99–101.

²¹ Ostrogorsky 1965, 151–186.

epuizarea și dispariția arhitecturii sacrale, cel puțin așa o sugerează o primă și superficială analiză a datelor. O asemenea abordare pare a fi întărită de o remarcă fără îndoială justă: în secolele VII–VIII, numărul construcțiilor a scăzut foarte mult, chiar și în capitala imperială, Constantinopol. Totodată, e adevărat și faptul că la aceste lucrări s-au născut soluții noi de structură spațială, care în secolele ulterioare au caracterizat cel mai mult arhitectura Imperiului Bizantin. Ba o importantă parte a lor a supraviețuit și prăbușirii Imperiului, din 1453, și definește până azi arta ecleziastică a unor biserici ortodoxe/pravoslavnice. Dintre inovațiile produse în secolele de criză, tematica prezentei lucrări ne obligă să reținem îndeosebi configurația spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc.²²

Una dintre „eternele dispute” ale istoriei arhitecturii bizantine se referă la formarea sistemului planimetric în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc.²³ Analiza controverselor ar depăși cadrul studiului nostru, dar vom supune atenției câteva aspecte care ar înlesni abordarea monumentelor din Ungaria. În primul rând precizăm că, în opinia noastră, disputa a alunecat prea mult spre identificarea primei biserici de acest tip.²⁴ Asta în timp ce puțin specialiști sunt interesați de cercetarea condițiilor spirituale ale înrădăcinării sistemului planimetric în discuție.²⁵ Apoi, este interesant de observat că, în faza cea mai timpurie a formării structurii spațiale menționate, în zona Mării Egee au fost construite mai multe biserici la care acest tip de structură – în locul spațiului devenit ulterior obișnuit, semănând cu nava longitudinală a bazilicii cu trei nave – închide spațiul unei biserici cu plan în cruce. Cupola care închide spațiul cu plan în cruce, precum și bolțile cilindrice ce i se alătură sunt elemente de structură pentru care Koimesis tis Theotokou²⁶ din Skripu și Katapoliani din Paros²⁷ își au locul lor în sintezele mai bune ale arhitecturii bizantine. (Pentru evitarea confuziilor precizăm: este cert că biserica din Skripu și cea din Paros – în pofida structurii lor spațiale speciale, „de tranziție” – nu sunt cele mai timpurii exemple ale acestei configurații.²⁸)

elhalásához, legalábbis az adatok felületes áttekintése alapján. Egy ilyen megközelítést látszik erősíteni egy minden kétségen felül, tényszerűen igaz megfigyelés arról, hogy az építkezések száma a 7–8. században nagymértékben visszaesett, még a birodalmi fővárosban, Konstantinápolyban is. Ugyanakkor azonban az is tény, hogy e kevés építkezés során olyan új térszerkezeti megoldások születtek, amelyek a későbbi évszázadokban a leginkább jellemezték a Bizánci birodalom építészetét. Sőt jelentős részük a birodalom 1453-as összeomlását is túlélte, és máig meghatározza az egyes ortodox/pravoszláv egyházak szakrális művészetét. A válságos évszázadok idején felbukkant újítások közül jelen dolgozatunkban a keresztkupolás térszerkezetet²² kell kiemelnünk.

A bizánci építészettörténet egyik „örök” vitája a keresztkupolás térszerkezet kialakulása tárgyában folyó eszmecsere.²³ Áttekintése szétfeszítené jelen dolgozatunk kereteit, így csak egy-egy olyan vonatkozást emelnénk ki, amely a magyarországi emléktanyag értelmezését is segítheti. Első helyen arra utalnánk, hogy nézetünk szerint a vita túlságosan is az első ilyen térszerkezetű templom kiderítésének az irányába ment el.²⁴ Miközben csak néhány szakember szokott kitérni a keresztkupolás térszerkezet meghonosodásának a szellemi háttérre.²⁵ Érdekes továbbá arra is felfigyelni, hogy a keresztkupolás térszerkezet kialakulásának a legkorábbi fázisában több olyan templom is épült az Égeikumban, ahol a keresztkupolás térszerkezet – a későbbiekben szokásossá váló, alaprajzában a háromhajós bazilika hosszaházához hasonló tér helyett – kereszt alaprajzú templom terét zárja. A kereszt alaprajzú teret lezáró kupola és a hozzá csatlakozó dongaszár egy-egy olyan térszerkezeti elem, amely miatt a szkripoui Koimézis téz Theotokounak²⁶ valamint a párosi Katapolianinak²⁷ biztos helye van a bizánci építészet jobb összefoglalásaiban. (Csak a lehetséges félreértések elkerülése végett: a szkripoui, illetve párosi templomról, sajátos, mondhatni „átmeneti” térszerkezetük ellenére is bizonyos az, hogy nem bennük keresendő a keresztkupolás térszerkezet legkorábbi példája.²⁸)

²² Schmuck 1991, col. 355–374.

²³ Unele aspecte ale acestei dispute sunt prezentate de: Schmuck 1991, col. 362–374.

²⁴ Schmuck 1991, 362–374, și în special col. 365–366.

²⁵ Excepție rară: Matthews 1997, 27–31.

²⁶ Dintre numeroasele analize ale bisericii vezi: Mango 1986, 122, fig. 168, 169; Krautheimer 1986, 313–317, fig. 275–277.

²⁷ Orlandos 1965, 159–168; Mango 1986, 92, fig. 122; Schmuck 1991, col. 568–570, fig. 18a–b.

²⁸ Schmuck 1991, col. 355–374.

²² Schmuck 1991, 355–374. oszlop.

²³ E vita egyes pontjait ismerteti: Schmuck 1991, 362–374. oszlop.

²⁴ Schmuck 1991, 362–374, és különösen 365–366. oszlop.

²⁵ Egy ritka kivétel: Matthews 1997, 27–31.

²⁶ A templom számos elemzéséből lásd: Mango 1986, 122, 168, 169. ábra; Krautheimer 1986, 313–317, 275–277. ábra.

²⁷ Orlandos 1965, 159–168; Mango 1986, 92, 122. ábra; Schmuck 1991, 568–570. oszlop, 18a–b. ábra.

²⁸ Schmuck 1991, 355–374. oszlop.

După ce ne-am oprit puțin asupra exemplelor din Bizanț, trecerea în revistă a bisericilor din Evul Mediu timpuriu care reprezintă crucea în planul și în structura lor spațială trebuie să conțină și scurte referiri la monumentele din Caucaz. În literatura de specialitate consacrată istoriei artei e un loc comun observația că, începând de la sfârșitul secolului al VI-lea, în unele țări din Caucaz, respectiv în Armenia și Gruzia, s-a desfășurat o activitate constructivă fără precedent. Am depăși limitele lucrării noastre dacă am încerca o inventariere, oricât de schematică, a bibliografiei aferente. Tot așa, ne-ar duce departe prezentarea antecedentelor din care unii cercetători încearcă să deducă arhitectura statelor din Caucaz. Ne rămâne doar să subliniem: rolul arhitecturii bizantine e dincolo de orice îndoială, chiar și pentru majoritatea acelor cercetători care accentuează aspectele iranienne.²⁹ Revenind la tema lucrării noastre: planul tetraconc al bisericilor din Avan³⁰ ori din Vagharsabat³¹ se poate explica ca un răspuns la nevoia de reprezentare a crucii în planul sau structura spațială, la fel și cele patru arcade din interiorul rotunde din Zvartnoț,³² legate între ele cu arc în plin cintru.

După inventarierea schematică a fondului de clădiri din Bizanț și Caucaz, concentrată pe clădiri legate de realizarea în plan respectiv în structura spațială a crucii, să vedem acum câteva exemple din Europa de Vest, din Evul Mediu timpuriu. Înainte de identificarea unor clădiri, trebuie să amintim și în acest caz de câteva evenimente fundamentale care au marcat hotărâtor și ridicarea de construcții. Pe teritoriul Imperiului Roman de Vest, a cărei existență a încetat în 476, s-au desfășurat alte procese decât cele din Bizanț.³³ Începutul secolului al VI-lea a fost caracterizat de consolidarea puterii elitelor militare³⁴ care-și stabileau acum locul în societate. Pe teritoriul fostului Imperiu Roman de Vest au luat ființă o mulțime de regate germanice. În timp ce exponenții noii structuri de putere au intrat în conflict cu Bizanțul, fără îndoială acești regi și suitele lor s-au străduit să preia anumite

A bizānci után a kaukázusi emlékyagra kell röviden utalni a keresztet alaprajzukban, illetve térszerkezetükben megjelenítő, koraközépkori templomok áttekintése során. Az építészettörténeti szakirodalomban közhelyszerűnek számít annak a rögzítése, hogy egyes kaukázusi országokban, így elsősorban Örményországban és Grúziában a 6. század végétől olyan építészeti tevékenység bontakozott ki, amelyre joggal illik a párját ritkító jelző. Dolgozatunk kereteit szétfeszítené az örményországi és grúziai szakrális építészetről szóló, könyvtárnyi szakirodalom mégoly vázlatos áttekintése. Ugyanígy távolra vezetne annak ismertetése, milyen előzményekből igyekeznek levezetni az egyes kutatók a kaukázusi államok építészetét. Csak annyit emelnénk ki, hogy a bizānci építészet szerepe vitán felüli, még az iráni vonatkozásokat hangsúlyozó kutatók többsége számára is.²⁹ Átérve dolgozatunk témájára: a kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítése iránti igénnyel magyarázható az avani,³⁰ vagy a vagharsabati³¹ templom négykonchás alaprajza, valamint az is, hogy a zvartnoci rotunda³² belső terében négy, egymáshoz félkörívben csatlakozó árkád állt.

A bizānci és a kaukázusi emlékyagr igencsak vázlatos és csak a kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megvalósításához kapcsolódó épületekre koncentráló áttekintésünk után lássunk néhány, dolgozatunk tematikájához kapcsolódó nyugat-európai, korai középkori példát. Az egyes épületek felemlítése előtt ez esetben is szólnunk kell az eseménytörténet néhány olyan sarokeleméről, amelyek az építési tevékenységet is alapvető módon meghatározták. A 476-ban megszűnt Nyugatrómai birodalom területén – közismert módon – más irányú folyamatok zajlottak, mint Bizāncban.³³ A 6. század történetét az újonnan berendezkedő fegyverforgató elitek³⁴ hatalmának a konszolidációja jellemezte, a néhai Nyugatrómai birodalom területén egy sor germán királyság alakult. Miközben az új hatalmi struktúra exponensei e törekvésükkel szükség-szerűen szembekerültek Bizāncsal, az sem lehet

²⁹ Krautheimer 1986, 321–330; Mango 1986, 108–112.

³⁰ Krautheimer 1986, 323–324. fig. 289; Mango 1986, 110–111, fig. 142–143.

³¹ Krautheimer 1986, 322–323. fig. 287; Mango 1986, fig. 147–149.

³² Krautheimer 1986, 323–324. fig. 288; Mango 1986, 111. fig. 144–146.

³³ O prezentare foarte bună a acestui proces, bazată pe coroborarea datelor istorice și arheologice, subliniind nu numai schimbările condițiilor economice, ci și a tehnicilor agrare: Randsborg 1991, 13–16, 40–159.

³⁴ Steuer 2010, 200–224.

²⁹ Krautheimer 1986, 321–330; Mango 1986, 108–112.

³⁰ Krautheimer 1986, 323–324, 289. ábra; Mango 1986, 110–111, 142–143. ábra.

³¹ Krautheimer 1986, 323–324, 288. ábra; Mango 1986, 111, 144–146. ábra.

³² Krautheimer 1986, 322–323, 287. ábra; Mango 1986, 147–149. ábra.

³³ A történeti és régészeti adatok egybevetése alapján, igen jól ábrázolja e folyamatot, hangsúlyozva nemcsak a gazdasági keretek, hanem a gazdálkodási módok változását is: Randsborg 1991, 13–16, 40–159.

³⁴ Steuer 2010, 200–224.

modele imperiale, fenomen consemnat în literatura de specialitate recentă prin termenul *Imitatio Imperii*. La fel de cert este și faptul că acest proces a fost ajutat de trecerea la creștinism, în acest sens depun mărturie multe exemple din istoria arhitecturii sacrale. Facem aici trimitere la câteva edificii eclesiastice care sunt legate și de reprezentarea crucii în plan, respectiv în structura spațială. De exemplu, în unul din centrele Regatului franc în curs de întemeiere, la Köln, baptisteriul – aflat lângă faza medieval-timpurie a domului – este transformat într-un spațiu cu plan în cruce, și avem motive să presupunem că acesta s-a produs nu în secolul al V-lea, ci în veacul al VI-lea.³⁵ Tot așa, nevoia de a reprezenta crucea în plan se poate citi pe baptisteriul din Poitiers,³⁶ un alt centru al Regatului franc. Clădirii din secolul al IV-lea, cu plan dreptunghiular, i-au fost adăugate în secolul al VII-lea câte o nișă din trei părți. În acest caz, efectul spațial al crucii nu putea fi redus nici de faptul că înălțimea interioară a celor trei nișe era mult mai mică, decât cea a clădirii inițiale.

Următoarele câteva exemple se leagă de regatul înființat de vizigoți în Peninsula Iberică, deoarece în acest spațiu geografic întâlnim modele de o frumusețe ieșită din comun ale dorinței manifestării crucii în arhitectură. Bisericile pe care le vom prezenta aparțin categoriei clădirilor eclesiastice mari și cu funcții complexe, și deși în cazul fiecăreia poate fi foarte bine sesizată dorința reprezentării crucii, acest scop a fost realizat prin introducerea de variate elemente de configurație spațială. Primul exemplu e la Terassa: complexul episcopal de la începutul Evului Mediu.³⁷ În cazul acestui complex de clădiri – aflat în localitatea unde își are sediul Episcopia din Egara, databilă în diferitele sale părți în secolele VII–XI –, absida cu plan triconc poate fi observată la două biserici, cele cu hramul S. Maria și S. Pere. Avem motive să presupunem că acestea au fost create cu scopul de a reprezenta în plan crucea. Este o explicație ce poate fi întărită de faptul că a treia biserică din complex, cu hramul S. Miguel, are spațiu cu plan în cruce greacă, unde realizarea bolții sugerează forma crucii. Următorul exemplu este o perlă a arhitecturii iberice din Evul Mediu timpuriu: São Fructuoso de Montélios,³⁸ din apropierea orașului Braga din Portugalia. Este o biserică cu plan de cruce greacă înscrisă, care e amintită în istoria arhitecturii nu doar pentru structura sa

vită, hogy e királyok és kíséreteik igyekeztek át is venni bizonyos birodalmi mintákat, amint ezt az adott folyamatnak az újabb szakirodalomban elterjedt neve, az *imitatio Imperii* jelzi. Az is kétségen felüli tény, hogy e folyamatot igencsak segítette a keresztény vallás felvétele, és így a szakrális építészet történetében is vannak beszédes példái. Néhány olyan egyházi épületre szeretnénk itt emlékeztetni, amelyek a kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítésével is összefüggnek. Arra például, hogy az alakulófélben levő frank királyság egyik központjában, Kölnben a Dóm koraközépkori fázisa mellett álló baptisteriumot kereszt alaprajzúvá építik át, joggal sejthetően nem az 5. hanem már a 6. században.³⁵ Szintén a kereszt alaprajzi megjelenítése iránti igény olvasható le a frank királyság egy másik központjában, Poitiers-ben álló baptisteriumról³⁶ is. A 4. századi, téglalap alakú épülethez ugyanis a 7. században három oldalról egy-egy fali fülkét csatlakoztattak. A kereszt térhatását ez esetben az sem csökkenthette, hogy a három kis fülke belmagassága jóval alacsonyabb volt, mint az eredeti épületé.

Következő néhány példánk a vizigótok által az Ibériai-félszigeten alapított királysághoz kötődik, mert e földrajzi tájon különösen szép 7–8. századi példákat találni a kereszt megjelenítése iránti igénynek. Az alább ismertetendő templomok a nagy és komplex funkciójú egyházi épületek kategóriájába tartoznak, és bár mindegyikük esetében jól megfogható a kereszt megjelenítése iránti igény, e célt változatos térszerkezeti elemek beiktatásával sikerült elérni. Első helyen Terrassára, és az itt álló, koraközépkori püspöki komplexumra kell utalnunk.³⁷ Az egarai püspökség székhelyén álló, különböző részleteiben a 7–11. századra keltezhető épületkomplexum esetében ugyanis két templom: a S. Maria és a S. Pere-titulusú templomokon is megfigyelhető a háromkonchás szentélyfej. Ezeket, joggal sejthetően, a kereszt alaprajzi megjelenítése okán alakították ki. E gondolatkört erősíti, hogy a komplexum harmadik, S. Miguel-titulusú temploma kilencosztású térrel rendelkezik, ahol a boltozat kivitelezése sugallja a keresztalakot. Következő példánk az Ibériai-félsziget koraközépkori építészetének egyik gyöngyszeme a portugáliai Braga városának közelében álló São Fructuoso de Montélios.³⁸ Egy olyan görögkereszt

³⁵ Krings – Will 2009.

³⁶ Corboz – Stierlin 1996, 16–19.

³⁷ Barral i Altet 1981, 66, 67, 68–70.

³⁸ Corboz – Stierlin 1996, 16, 15, plan nenumerotat.

³⁵ Krings – Will 2009.

³⁶ Corboz – Stierlin 1996, 16–19.

³⁷ Barral i Altet 1981, 66, 67, 68–70.

³⁸ Corboz – Stierlin 1996, 16, 15, számozatlan alaprajz.

spațială, ci și pentru absidele sale speciale, create în cele trei brațe ale crucii, pentru arcadele din ele, precum și pentru stilul clasicizant al coloanelor și capitulurilor. A treia biserică din epoca vizigotă cu planul în cruce, de o frumusețe clasică, este S. Pedro de la Nave,³⁹ ridicată la marginea orașului Zamora. În cazul acestei biserici, planul în cruce a fost deja îmbogățit cu diferite spații adăugate, conform cerințelor activităților liturgice. Dincolo de planul său, această biserică se evidențiază și prin sculpturile sale în piatră, mai ales în contextul cercetării unor ornamente care apar pe bronzurile din perioada avară târzie [din Ungaria, nota traducătorului].

Încheiem enumerarea bisericilor evidențiate și la nivelul istoriei universale a artei cu trimiterea la biserica din Germigny des Prés.⁴⁰ Biserica, numită „oratoriul lui Theodulf” (trimitere la numele ctitorului), are sistemul planimetric în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc și poate fi datată mult mai exact decât majoritatea construcțiilor din Evul Mediu timpuriu, datorită unei inscripții de pe mozaicul din cupolă, care stabilește anul edificării în 806. Configurația spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc a bisericii din Germigny des Prés e destul de singulară în arhitectura epocii carolingiene. Acest aspect a dus la apariția ideii că structura bisericii provine din Armenia.⁴¹ Despre acest lucru nu putem însă spune decât că este o idee nedemonstrabilă: presupusa origine armeană a lui Theodulf, episcop de Orléans, nu este susținută de nici un izvor scris. În locul pomenirii originilor armenesti, nedemonstrabile, ne-am afla mult mai aproape de adevăr dacă reținem că, la începutul secolului al IX-lea, în imperiul Carolingian trăiau înalte fețe bisericești, pentru care reprezentarea crucii în configurația spațială a însemnat un lucru important.

Dacă gândim într-o perspectivă mai amplă, atunci existența acestor biserici medievale iberiene, pe care le-am pomenit, respectiv a acesteia din Franța demonstrează clar că spații cu plan în cruce au fost construite nu numai în teritoriile creștinătății orientale. Este suficientă citirea datelor referitoare la cele mai cunoscute și des citate biserici din Evul Mediu timpuriu, pentru a face precizarea: reprezentarea crucii a fost o necesitate arhitecturală caracteristică creștinătății universale, deja în perioada discutată.

alaprajú templom, amelyet az építészettörténet nem csupán térszerkezete, hanem a három keresztzárban kialakított, sajátos alaprajzú apszisa, az ezekben elhelyezett árkádívek, valamint az árkádokat hordozó oszlopok és oszlopfők klasszicizáló stílusa miatt szokott számon tartani. Az Ibériai-félsziget harmadik, vizigót-kori, klasszikus szépségű, kereszt alaprajzú temploma a Zamorra határában felépült S. Pedro de la Nave.³⁹ E templom esetében a kereszt alaprajz már bővült különböző, hozzáadott helyiségekkel, a liturgikus cselekmények igényeinek megfelelően. E templomot, alaprajzán túl kőfaragványai miatt is érdemes számon tartani, különösen a későavar-kori bronzművesség egyes ornamenseinek vizsgálata során.

Az egyetemes építészettörténet által is számon tartott templomok felsorolását a Germigny des Prés-i templomra⁴⁰ történő utalással zárjuk. Az alapító személye miatt Theodulf-oratóriumnak is elnevezett templom keresztkupolás térszerkezetű, és a koraközépkor átlagánál jóval jobban keltezhető. Annak következtében, hogy a kupolát díszítő mozaikon egy felirat is olvasható, amely az építkezést 806-ra keltezi. A Germigny des Prés-i templom keresztkupolás térszerkezete meglehetősen társtalan a Karoling-kor építészetében. E körülmény következtében merülhetett fel az Örményországból történő származtatás.⁴¹ Ez azonban nem több egy igazolhatatlan ötletnél. Annak következtében, hogy az építető Theodulf orleans-i püspök állítólagos örmény gyökereit nem támasztja alá írott forrás. A bizonyíthatatlan örmény gyökerek felemlegetése helyett jóval közelebb járhatunk a valósághoz, ha azzal számolunk, hogy a 9. század elején, a Karoling birodalomban éltek olyan főpapok, akik a kereszt térszerkezetként történő ábrázolását fontosnak tartották.

Kicsit nagyobb távlatokban elmélkedve: az előzőekben hivatkozott több ibériai-félszigeti, illetve a most utalt, franciaországi, koraközépkori templom létezése azt is nyilvánvalóvá teszi, hogy kereszt alaprajzú terek nemcsak a keleti kereszténység területén épültek. Elegendő a legismertebb és legtöbbször idézett, koraközépkori templomok adatainak az átböngészése annak a kimondásához, hogy a kereszt megjelenítése az egyetemes kereszténységre jellemző építészeti igény volt, már a vizsgált időszakban is.

³⁹ Corboz – Stierlin 1996, 16, 26–33, fotográfii și planuri nenumerate.

⁴⁰ Corboz – Stierlin 1996.

⁴¹ Atroshenko – Collins 1981, 21.

³⁹ Corboz – Stierlin 1996, 16, 26–33, számozatlan fotók és alaprajzok.

⁴⁰ Corboz – Stierlin 1996.

⁴¹ Atroshenko – Collins 1981, 21.

Reprezentarea crucii în plan, respectiv în structura spațială, în arhitectura medievală timpurie din Peninsula Balcanică

Dacă vrem să ajungem cât mai aproape de adevăr în analiza bisericilor din Evul Mediu timpuriu care reprezintă crucea în planul sau în structura lor spațială, atunci nu trebuie să ne oprim doar asupra bisericilor celebre, din albumele despre istoria arhitecturii, ci să ne extindem atenția și asupra unor construcții ecleziastice, considerate mai mult sau mai puțin justificat de importanță minoră, și în cazul cărora dificultatea cercetării începe, de multe ori, chiar din etapa adunării datelor de bază. Pentru început prezentăm biserici din Evul Mediu timpuriu, cu plan și configurație spațială în cruce, din Peninsula Balcanică, apoi din Italia și din Europa Centrală.

O corectă apreciere a arhitecturii sacrale medievale timpurii din Balcani poate fi realizată numai dacă cunoaștem istoria politică de odinioară a zonei, măcar în elementele sale fundamentale. Pentru argumentarea aserțiunii precedente, este suficient să amintim tendința generală, conform căreia persoanele sau comunitățile care ctitoresc bisericile joacă de obicei un oarecare rol într-o structură politică dată. După prăbușirea limesului dunărean, domnia Bizanțului în Peninsula Balcanică s-a retras pe o fâșie îngustă, pe litoralul Mărilor Adriatică, Ionică și Egee, precum și în insulele acestora.⁴² În interiorul peninsulei, grupurile slave proaspăt sosite au creat structuri de dominație efemere, denumite, cu termen bizantin, „sclavinii”.⁴³ Acest *status quo* politic special a fost răsturnat de mutarea bulgarilor în Balcani, după 671. Ei au creat în partea de nord-est a Balcanilor un puternic centru de putere, în continuă expansiune în secolele VIII–IX, extinzându-și puterea într-o parte însemnată din centrul peninsulei, ba și asupra unor zone din sudul Bazinului Carpatic.⁴⁴ Astfel, de la începutul secolului al IX-lea, Primul Stat Bulgar a devenit cel mai puternic factor politic al spațiului balcanic, statut pe care l-a putut menține până în ultima treime a secolului al X-lea. Iar în 865, după ce domnitorul Boris I a trecut la creștinism,⁴⁵ curtea bulgară și unii reprezentanți ai elitei

A kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítése a Balkán-félsziget koraközépkori építészetében

A Kárpát-medence koraközépkori, a keresztet alaprajzukban vagy térszerkezetükben megjelenítő templomainak az értelmezéséhez azonban akkor juthatunk közelebb, ha nem csupán az építészettörténeti albumokban szereplő, méltán világhírű templomokat vesszük számba, hanem olyan, kisebb jelentőségüként, jól-rosszul számon tartott szakrális épületekre is kiterjesztjük figyelmünket, ahol már sokszor az alapadatok összegyűjtése is nehézségekbe ütközik. Előbb a Balkán-félszigetről, utána pedig Itáliából és Közép-Európából mutatjuk be a keresztet alaprajzukban, illetve térszerkezetükben megjelenítő, koraközépkori templomokat.

A Balkán-félsziget koraközépkori szakrális építészetét akkor tudjuk pontosan értékelni, ha legalább alapjaiban ismerjük a térség egykorú politikai történetét. E kijelentés alátámasztásául elegendő arra az általános tendenciára utalni, hogy a templomokat építtető személyek vagy közösségek rend szerint valamilyen szereppel bírnak egy-egy adott politikai struktúrában. Bizánc uralma a Balkán-félszigeten az Adriai-, Ión-, illetve Égei-tenger melletti keskeny part-menti sávra, illetve e tengerek szigetvilágára szorult vissza a dunai limes 7. század eleji összeomlása után.⁴² A félsziget belsejében az újonnan beköltöző szláv csoportok efemer uralmi képleteket – bizánci kifejezéssel élve – szklaviníákat alakítottak ki.⁴³ E sajátos politikai *status quo* a dunai bolgárok 671 utáni Balkánra költözése borította fel. Ők egy erős és folyamatosan terjeszkedő hatalmi központot hoztak létre a Balkán északkeleti részén, uralmukat a 8–9. század folyamán kiterjesztve a félsziget középső harmadának jelentős részére, sőt a Kárpát-medence egyes déli területeire is.⁴⁴

Így a 9. század elejétől az I. bolgár állam lett a balkáni térség legerősebb politikai tényezőjévé, és e státusát egészen a 10. század utolsó harmadáig meg tudta tartani. Miután pedig 865-ben I. Boris fejedelem a kereszténységet felvette,⁴⁵ a bolgár

⁴² Ostrogorsky 1965, 83–85, 99–101.

⁴³ A analizat aceste formațiuni politice în limba franceză Popović 1980. Mai vezi la Stadtmüller 1978, 274.

⁴⁴ O rezumare a istoriei bulgarilor în Evul Mediu, în limba engleză: Lang 1976. Dintre cercetătorii maghiari a analizat problematica, în limba franceză: Székely 1981, 7–32.

⁴⁵ Acest proces a fost analizat în limba maghiară: Magyar

⁴² Ostrogorsky 1965, 83–85, 99–101.

⁴³ Francia nyelven elemezte e politikai képleteket Popović 1980. Lásd még: Stadtmüller 1980, 274.

⁴⁴ A koraközépkori bolgár történelmet angol nyelven összefoglalta: Lang 1976. A magyar kutatók közül franciául elemezte e kérdéskört: Székely 1981, 7–32.

⁴⁵ E folyamatot magyar nyelven elemezte: Magyar 1982, 839–879.

au ctitorit numeroase biserici, respectiv mănăstiri. Deși Primul Stat Bulgar a fost doborât în 971 de către împăratul Ioan Tzimiskes (969–976),⁴⁶ în Macedonia, în partea de sud-est a spațiului politic bulgar a apărut un stat-urmaș bulgăresc,⁴⁷ care a putut fi distrus definitiv doar de împăratul Basileios II (976–1025), în 1018. Peninsula Balcanică a ajuns din nou sub dominație bizantină. Acest fapt a produs schimbări și în arhitectura sacrală: ctitorii bisericilor și a mănăstirilor proveneau și ei din anturajul mai restrâns sau mai larg al curții imperiale.

Numărul mare de publicații despre fondul de clădiri existente permite o privire de ansamblu asupra arhitecturii sacrale din Evul Mediu timpuriu a Peninsulei Balcanice. Despre arhitectura medievală timpurie a Dalmatiei, de la capătul vestic al regiunii, au apărut sinteze începând din ultima treime a secolului al XIX-lea, scrise de câte un cercetător austriac și englez,⁴⁸ în limbi de circulație internațională; de la începutul secolului al XX-lea, și de cercetători croați.⁴⁹ Primele informații despre fondul de clădiri cu referiri la bulgari evidențiau bisericile din Macedonia și au apărut deja la cumpăna dintre veacurile XIX–XX.⁵⁰ Iar informații despre structura cu plan în cruce, respectiv în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc au fost oferite pentru prima dată de către Nikola Mavrodinov, în 1931.⁵¹

În zonă, cercetarea arhitecturii din Evul Mediu timpuriu a fost până azi influențată de faptul că atât istoricii de arhitectură croați cât și

udvar és egyes főemberek számos templomot, illetve kolostort alapítottak. Az I. bolgár államot Ióannész Tzimiszkész (969–976) császár 971-ben ugyan meg tudta dönteni,⁴⁶ de Macedóniában, a bolgár uralmi terület délnyugati részén egy olyan bolgár utódállam jött létre,⁴⁷ amelyet csak II. Bazileiosz császár (976–1025) tudott végleg felszámolni 1018-ban. A Balkán-félsziget ismét bizánci uralom alá került. Ez a szakrális építészetben is váltást hozott: ismét a birodalmi udvar szűkebb, illetve tágabb környezetéből kerültek ki az egyes templomok, illetve kolostorok alapítói.

A Balkán-félsziget koraközépkori, szakrális építészetének áttekintéséhez kedvező körülményeket teremt az emléktanyag közöltségének a régió átlagánál nagyobb mértéke. A régió nyugati szélén elterülő Dalmácia koraközépkori építészetről a 19. század utolsó harmadától jelentek meg összefoglalások, előbb egy-egy osztrák, illetve angol kutató tollából,⁴⁸ világnyelveken, majd pedig a 20. század elejétől horvát kutatók részéről is.⁴⁹ A bolgárokhöz köthető emléktanyagról is már a 19–20. század fordulóján megjelentek az első ismertetések, a macedóniai templomok hangsúlyos szerepeltetésével.⁵⁰ A kereszt alaprajzú, illetve a keresztkupolástérszerkezetrevonatkozóismeretanyagot pedig Nikola Mavrodinov foglalta össze első ízben, 1931-ben.⁵¹

A vizsgált térség koraközépkori építészetének a kutatását máig meghatározta az, hogy mind a horvát, mind pedig a bolgár építészettörténészek a kezdetektől fogva egy-egy nemzeti narratíva jegyében igyekeztek értelmezni az egyes

1982, 839–879.

⁴⁶ Evenimentele din anul 971 au fost recent analizate de Pirivatrić – Ferjančić 1997, 50–52.

⁴⁷ O prezentare, chiar schematică, a disputei despre caracterul statului macedonean, dintre istoriografia bulgară și macedoneană, ne-ar purta departe de tema prezentei lucrări. Trebuie totuși să menționăm, pentru o limpezire a temei, că Samuil și frații săi au resuscitat la viață, în Macedonia de Vest, instituțiile de putere ale statului bulgar, astfel, sursele contemporane bizantine consideră domnia lui Samuil drept reorganizarea Bulgariei (vezi Pirivatrić 1997, 133–144). Mai mult, pentru privitorul din exterior nu pare demonstrată existența unei etnii „slave macedonene”, la cumpăna dintre veacurile X–XI. Nu se poate accepta corectitudinea unei poziții care încearcă să „concentreze” în cele câteva decenii ale domniei lui Samuil istoria medievală a etniei lor, de către istoricii macedoneni, etnie ce există fără îndoială în secolul al XX-lea. Drept încheiere, nici în acest caz nu e fast să proiectăm în Evul Mediu timpuriu harta etnică și politică din secolele XIX–XX a acestei regiuni. Pentru o analiză a istoriografiei Macedoniei vezi: Grothusen 1967, 42–43; precum și Herling 1991, 399–402. Această istoriografie este caracterizată scurt, în limba maghiară, de Kertész 1992, 6–7.

⁴⁸ Eitelberger von Edelberg 1884; Jackson 1887.

⁴⁹ Astfel de ex. Iveković 1910.

⁵⁰ Kondakov 1909.

⁵¹ Mavrodinov 1931.

⁴⁶ A közelmúltban részletesen elemezte a 971-es év eseményeit: Pirivatrić – Ferjančić 1997, 50–52.

⁴⁷ A dolgozat témájától távolra vezetne a macedóniai szláv állam jellegéről a bolgár és a macedón történetírás közötti vitának mégoly vázlatos áttekintése is. Annnyit azonban a tisztán látás érdekében meg kell jegyezni, hogy Sámuel és fivérei a bolgár állam hatalmi intézményeit élesztették újra Nyugat-Macedóniában, így a korabeli, bizánci források Sámuel uralmát Bulgária újjászervezésének tekintik. (Lásd erről: Pirivatrić 1997, 133–144). Sőt, a kívülálló számára aligha tűnik bizonyítottnak az önálló „macedóniai szláv” etnikum létezése a 10–11. század fordulóján. Nem lehet helyesnek tartani azt, hogy Sámuel uralkodásának néhány évtizedébe igyekezzenek etnikumuk középkori történetét „sűríteni” a 20. században már kétségen felül létező macedón nép történetései. Végezetül, ez esetben sem ajánlatos visszavetíteni a korai középkorba a térség 19–20. századi etnikai és politikai térképét. A macedóniai történetírás értékeléséhez lásd: Grothusen 1967, 42–43; valamint Herling 1991, 399–402. Magyar nyelven jellemzi röviden e történelemszemléletet: Kertész 1992, 6–7.

⁴⁸ Eitelberger von Edelberg 1884; Jackson 1887.

⁴⁹ Így pl. Iveković 1910.

⁵⁰ Kondakov 1909.

⁵¹ Mavrodinov 1931.

cei bulgari s-au străduit de la început să analizeze monumentele în cadrul unei narațiuni naționale, creând astfel noțiunile de artă paleocroată, respectiv paleobulgară. În cazul lucrării lui Mavrodinov, încă din titlu apare noțiunea de „țări bulgare”. Cu sensul că, în diferitele faze ale Evului Mediu, „Bulgaria” era o noțiune ce făcea trimitere la un teritoriu mult mai mare decât cel cuprins între frontierele stabilite în 1913 și 1919. Acest fapt explică de ce în vecinătatea apuseană a Bulgariei – în fosta Iugoslavie, respectiv în Serbia – au apărut mai multe sinteze⁵² care oferă un tur de forță „contra-Mavrodinov” asupra arhitecturii din Evul Mediu timpuriu a Balcanilor: bisericile din Balcanii centrali, analizate deja de către Mavrodinov, sunt așezate în cadrul celor două state bulgărești, în contextul unei narațiuni naționale sârbești. Sinteza publicată în 2007 despre clădirile din Evul Mediu timpuriu de pe „Litoralul Sârbesc”⁵³ (adică Muntenegru și Albania de Nord) se remarcă printr-o mult mai mare părtinire decât sintezele amintite. Drept urmare, valoarea lucrării se reduce doar la calitatea de a fi o colecție de ilustrații, în cazul nostru de planuri. În zona balcanică nu există decât o singură colecție în domeniu în care acest criteriu „național”, anacronic, se manifestă la un nivel minimal: setul sintezelor de istoria arhitecturii, dedicate unor regiuni, mai precis lexiconul Reallexikon der Byzantinischen Kunst.⁵⁴ Pentru verificarea bibliografiei mai sus pomenite, această sursă trebuie, mai exact ar trebui folosită. Din păcate însă, au apărut doar aproximativ două treimi din volumurile acestui lexicon, astfel verificarea se poate efectua doar în cazul regiunilor al căror nume preced în ordinea alfabetică litera O.

Pe baza volumului de date din lucrările citate se poate ajunge la concluzia că necesitatea reprezentării arhitecturale a crucii poate fi precis demonstrată în numeroase regiuni ale Peninsulei Balcanice, deși biserici cu asemenea planuri și structură spațială nu au fost construite în număr cu adevărat mare. În legătură cu tema originii, dincolo de amintitele povești/narațiuni naționale, ar trebui să avem în vedere și faptul că planul și structura spațială ce reprezintă crucea au avut în Balcani antecedente în perioada timpurie a

mămălece, megalkotva az óhorvát, illetve az óbolgár művészet fogalmát. Így Mavrodinov műve esetében már a címben is a „bolgár országok” kitétel szerepel. Arra utalva, hogy Bulgária fogalma a középkor különböző fázisai-ban jóval nagyobb területet foglalt magában, mint azt az 1913-ban és 1919-ben megvont határok kijelölték. E körülmény teszi érthetővé azt, miért készült Bulgária nyugati szomszédságában, a néhai Jugoszláviában, és ezen belül is Szerbiában több olyan összefoglalás,⁵² amely, mintegy „ellen-Mavrodinovként” tekinti át a Balkán középső harmadának koraközépkori építészetét, a szerb nemzeti narratíva kontextusába helyezve a Közép-Balkán, részben Mavrodinov által már a két bolgár állam keretei között értelmezett templomait. Az előzőekben utalt összefoglalásoknál is nagyságrendekkel nagyobb elfoglaltság jellemzi a „szerb tengermellék” (értsd Montenegro és Észak-Albánia) koraközépkori emlékenyagáról szóló, 2007-ben megjelent, egyébiránt igencsak adatgazdag összefoglalást.⁵³ E körülmény következtében a hivatkozott munkát csak és kizárólag mint illusztrációk, esetünkben alaprajzok gyűjteményét érdemes használni. A balkáni térségben csak egyetlen egy olyan összefoglalás-sorozat található: a Reallexikon der Byzantinischen Kunst c. lexikon egyes regionális építészettörténeti áttekintéseinek sora,⁵⁴ ahol a fentebb utalt, anakronisztikusan „nemzeti” szempont csak minimális szinten érvényesül. E forrást kell, pontosabban kellene a fenti szakirodalomnak mintegy az ellenőrzéséhez felhasználni. Sajnos azonban e lexikonnak eddig csak mintegy a két harmada jelent meg, így az ellenőrzés csak olyan régiók esetében végezhető el, amelyek a betűrendben az O-betű előtt állnak.

A felsorolt munkák adatállománya alapján megfogalmazható egy olyan következtetés, hogy a kereszt építészeti megjelenítése iránti igény minden kétségen felül kimutatható a Balkán-félsziget számos régiójának korai középkori építészetében, bár ilyen alaprajzzal, illetve térszerkezettel bíró templomok nem épültek igazán nagy számban. Az eredet kérdéséhez pedig, a fentebb már utalt nemzeti narratívákön túl azt is érdemes lenne figyelembe venni, hogy a keresztet

⁵² Deroko 1985; Nenadović 1980.

⁵³ Janković 2007.

⁵⁴ Koder 1971, col. 1100–1189; Mano-Zisi 1976, col. 687–717; Pallas 1966, col. 951–966; Pallas 1968, col. 207–334; Pallas 1990, col. 746–811; Pelekanides 1978, col. 1190–1224; Peschlow 1993, col. 651–715; Restle 1966a, rândurile 156–158; Restle 1966b, col. 389–421; Soustal et al. 1995, col. 982–1215; Travlos 1966, col. 349–389; Triantaphyllopoulos 1982, col. 1–64.

⁵² Deroko 1985, Nenadović 1980.

⁵³ Janković 2007.

⁵⁴ Koder 1971, 1100–1189. oszlop; Mano-Zisi 1976, 687–717. oszlop; Pallas 1966, 951–966. oszlop; Pallas 1968, 207–334. oszlop; Pallas 1990, 746–811. oszlop; Pelekanides 1978, 1190–1224. oszlop; Peschlow 1993, 651–715. oszlop; Restle 1966a, 156–158. sor; Restle 1966b, 389–421. oszlop; Soustal et al. 1995. 982–1215. oszlop; Travlos 1966, 349–389. oszlop; Triantaphyllopoulos 1982, 1–64. oszlop.

Bizanțului, fapt confirmat de planul unei biserici⁵⁵ dezvelite în centrul episcopal din deja amintita Iustiniana Prima – azi Caričin Grad. Prin urmare, adevărata problemă nu se formulează în contextul ambițiilor de legitimare a statelor naționale din secolul al XX-lea, ci din perspectiva întrebării: cum și când elitele grupurilor slave și turco-bulgare, stabilite în spațiul balcanic la trecerea dintre veacurile VI–VII, au îmbrățișat creștinismul?

Dificultățile întâmpinate la reconstituirea procesului creștinării sunt bine ilustrate de Biserica Sf. Petru și Pavel, aflată la marginea localității Trebinje – Čičevo.⁵⁶ (Pl. 1/1) Complexul, considerat în literatura de specialitate drept o singură biserică, poate fi privit ca un frumos exemplu al procesului de creștinare schițat mai sus, motivul fiind situarea sa la intersecția narațiunilor naționale, dacă o putem numi așa. În acel loc, un membru al elitei conducătoare a principatului de Diocleia/Duklja a ctitorit o biserică. Un conducător al unei entități politice în formare, care se poate considera predecesor al statului sârbesc medieval, format în secolul al XII-lea, doar în sensul conturării sale teritoriale, nu și culturale.⁵⁷ Spre deosebire de orientarea bisericească a statului sârbesc de mai târziu, elita locală, fondatoarea principatului Diocleia/Duklja, a îmbrățișat ramura occidentală a creștinismului. Revenind la istoria arhitecturii, reținem că în perioada bizantină timpurie a fost ridicată la Čičevo o biserică cu cor cu trei abside, care cu siguranță nu a supraviețuit furtunilor provocate de popoarele migratoare. Apoi, tot aici, în secolele IX–XI, un membru al noii elite, a cărui identitate a rămas necunoscută, a construit o biserică având plan în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. Realizarea spațiului acestei biserici este specifică, în spațiul său interior, în locul celor patru piloane obișnuite se găsesc patru ziduri scurte, în unghi drept, care desenează o formă de cruce.⁵⁸

Desigur, arhitectura Principatului de Diocleia constituie excepția, deoarece majorității covârșitoare a monumentelor ecleziastice din Evul

megjelenítő alaprajznak, illetve térszerkezetnek a Balkánon voltak korabizánci előzményei, amint ezt a már utalt Iustiniana Prima – mai nevén Caričin Grad – püspöki központjában feltárt egyik templom alaprajza mutatja.⁵⁵ A valódi kérdés tehát nem a 20. századi nemzetállamok legitimációs törekvéseinek a vonzatában fogalmazható meg, hanem annak figyelembe vételével, hogy hogyan és mikor vették fel a kereszténységet a balkáni térségben a 6–7. század fordulója után megtelepedett szláv (vagy csak idézőjelek között „szláv”) csoportok, illetve a bolgár-törökök vezető rétege.

Jól szemlélteti a kereszténység felvételének rekonstrukciója során tapasztalható nehézségeket a Trebinje–Čičevo határában álló, Szt. Péter és Pál-titulusú templom (1. t. 1.).⁵⁶ A szakirodalom által egyetlen templomként számon tartott épületkomplexum annak okán tekinthető a fentebb csak utalásszerű rövidséggel vázolt, megkeresztelési folyamat szép példájának, mert az mintegy félúton áll az egyes nemzeti narratívák között. Az adott helyszínen a koraközépkori diocleiai/dukjlai fejedelemség vezető rétegének egyik tagja emelt templomot. Egy olyan formálódó politikai entitás egyik vezetője, amely csak területi vonatkozásban tekinthető a 12. században megalakult, középkori szerb állam egyik előzményének, kulturálisan azonban nem.⁵⁷ Mert – ellentétben a későbbi szerb állam egyházi igazodásával – a Diocleia/Duklja életre hívó helyi elit a kereszténység nyugati ágát vette fel. Visszatérve az építészettörténethez: a čičevoi helyszínen a korabizánci időkben egy háromkonchás szentélyfejjel rendelkező templomot emeltek, amely minden bizonnyal nem élte túl a népvándorlás viharait. Majd pedig ugyanitt a 9–11. században egy keresztkupolás templomot építettett a fent már utalt új hatalmi elit egyik, név szerint nem ismert tagja. E templom téralkotása sajátos, mert belső terében, a szokásos négy tám helyett négy rövid, derékszögű fal áll, és ezek egy keresztalakot rajzolnak ki.⁵⁸

A Diocleiai Fejedelemség építésze természetesen kivétel, hiszen a Balkán-félsziget koraközépkori egyházi műemlékeinek a

⁵⁵ Krautheimer 1986, 274, fig. 236B.

⁵⁶ Popović 1973, 313–346; Deroko 1985, 37; Kovačević 1967, 332–334, fig. 37; Janković 2007, 84, fig. 63. De reținut, acest sit a apărut în bibliografia de specialitate cu mai multe denumiri. Pentru așezare se obișnuiește folosirea toponimului Trebinje, respectiv Čičevo kod Trebinja, iar situl este denumit Petrova crkva, Sv. Petar i Pavle, respectiv S. Pietro in Campo.

⁵⁷ Istoria acestei formațiuni politice speciale a fost tratată pe scurt de Ćirković 1973, 40–43; Budak 1986, 125–139; Živković 2002, 420, 425–428, 432–434.

⁵⁸ Janković 2007, 84, fig. 63.

⁵⁵ Krautheimer 1986, 274, 236 B ábra.

⁵⁶ Popović 1973, 313–346; Deroko 1985, 37; Kovačević 1967, 332–334, 37. ábra; Janković 2007, 84, 63. ábra. E lelőhely elemzése során folyamatosan szem előtt kell tartani, hogy az a szakirodalomban számos néven szerepelt már. A település nevéként Trebinje illetve Čičevo kod Trebinja is használatos, a lelőhely neve pedig Petrova crkva, Sv. Petar i Pavle, illetve S. Pietro in Campo formában.

⁵⁷ E sajátos politikai képlet történetét röviden áttekintette Ćirković 1973, 40–43; Budak 1986, 125–139; Živković 2002, 420, 425–428, 432–434.

⁵⁸ Janković 2007, 84, 63. ábra.

Mediu timpuriu din Peninsula Balcanică se poate conecta cu ușurință o narațiune națională. Motivul constă în faptul că o importantă parte a clădirilor din epocă poate fi legată de Primul Stat Bulgar. Enumerarea lor trebuie s-o începem cu micul martiriu cu plan în cruce, reconstituit de Pavel Gheorghiev.⁵⁹ (*Pl. 2/1*) O clădire care, din păcate, s-a păstrat doar în fundație, ivită de sub absida Catedralei arhiepiscopale din Pliska, construită la sfârșitul secolului al IX-lea. Astfel, avem motive să credem că este vorba de fundația primei clădiri eclesiastice creștine din Bulgaria creștinată în 865. Fragmentele păstrate ale fundațiilor depun mărturie că biserica avea un plan cu totul special, care poate fi descris ca un tip intermediar între tetraconc și biserică cu plan în cruce, la care brațele crucii sunt închise cu un segment de cerc. Funcția clădirii a fost identificată de către Pavel Gheorghiev, care a publicat un studiu despre ea, drept martiriu, iar asta înseamnă că autorul a interpretat clădirea ca fiind un loc de cult în care se oficiază nu toate momentele liturghiei creștine, ci numai o funcție specială, cultul unui martir creștin. Martiriul din Preslav are o situație specială, pentru că la puțin timp după edificare a fost demolat, din cauza construirii catedralei arhiepiscopale, astfel, clădirea nu putea fi un model de urmat, nici măcar în cadrul centrelor rezidențiale bulgărești. Tipul de plan, care poate fi considerat o variantă intermediară între biserică cu plan în cruce și tetraconc, a dispărut și el din arhitectura balcanică din Evul Mediu timpuriu.

Spre deosebire de acest caz, în arhitectura medievală timpurie din partea de est și centrală a spațiului balcanic, găsim mai multe exemple pentru un adevărat tri- ori tetraconc. Adică biserici la care spațiul central cu plan pătrat i se alătură, pe trei sau patru părți, câte o absidă. Dintre aceste două soluții, varianta cu trei abside a devenit mai frecventă. Din rândul triconcurilor ridicate pe teritoriul Primului Stat Bulgar fac parte: biserica nr. 28 din Pliska⁶⁰, precum și trei monumente foarte importante ale statului-urmaș Macedonia, respectiv Sv. Naum,⁶¹ plus prima fază a Bisericii Sv. Panteleimon⁶² din orașul Ochrida/Ohrid, (*Pl. 1/2,3*) respectiv triconcul din Gorica,⁶³ dezvelit în hotarul orașului. (*Pl. 1/8*) Dar relațiile arhitecturale ale bisericilor tri- și cvadri-lobate mici pot fi văzute corect numai dacă avem

túlnyomó többségéhez könnyen hozzárendelhető egy nemzeti narrativa. Mivel az emléktárgyak jelentős hányada az I. bolgár államhoz köthető, felsorolásukat a Pavel Georgiev által rekonstruált, kisméretű, kereszt alaprajzú pliskai mártíriummal kell kezdenünk. (*2. t. 1.*)⁵⁹ Egy olyan, sajnos csak alapfalainak részleteiben megmaradt épülettel, amely a 9. század végén felépült pliskai érseki székesegyház szentélye alatt került napvilágra, így – joggal sejthetően – a 865-ben kereszténnyé vált Bulgária első keresztény egyházi épülete volt. Alapfalainak megmaradt részletei alapján e templomnak igencsak sajátos volt az alaprajza. Olyan, a tetrakonchosz és a kereszt alaprajzú templom közötti, átmeneti típusként lehet leírni az adott épületet, amelynél az egyes kereszt-szarakat ívszeletek zárják. Az épület funkcióját közölje Pavel Georgiev mártíriumként határozta meg. Meghatározása arra utal, hogy egy olyan kultuszhelyként értelmezte, amely nem a keresztény liturgia minden cselekményének a tartására, hanem csak egy speciális funkció, egy keresztény mártír kultuszának a fenntartására szolgált. A preslavi mártírium sajátosága, hogy megépülése után igen hamar le is bontották, az érseki székesegyház építése miatt, így az nem válhatott követendő mintává, még a bolgár rezidenális központokon belül sem. A kereszt alaprajzú templom és a tetrakonchosz közötti átmenetnek minősíthető alaprajzi típus is eltűnt a koraközépkori Balkán építészetéből.

Ezzel szemben viszont a balkáni térség keleti és központi részének koraközépkori építészetében több példát is találni a valódi tri- vagy tetrakonchoszra, azaz három-, illetve négykaréjos térszerkezetre. Olyan templomokra tehát, ahol a központi, négyzet alaprajzú tér három- vagy négy oldalához egy-egy apszis, tehát félkör alaprajzú tér csatlakozik. A két megoldás közül a háromkaréjos vált gyakoribbá. Az I. bolgár állam területén felépített trikonchoszok sorába tartozik a pliskai 28. templom,⁶⁰ továbbá az I. bolgár állam macedóniai utódállamának három, igen fontos műemléke az Ochrida/Ohrid városában álló, Sv. Naum,⁶¹ ill. Sv. Pantelejmon-templom⁶² I. építési fázisa, (*1. t. 2, 3.*) valamint a városka határában kibontott, goricaí⁶³ trikonchosz (*1. t. 8.*).

A három- illetve négykaréjos kis templomok építészeti kapcsolatait azonban csak akkor látjuk

⁵⁹ Georgiev 1993.

⁶⁰ Čilingirov 1978, 33, figura de stânga jos.

⁶¹ Nenadović 1980, 19, fig. 78; Fingarova et al. 2009–2011, col. 197–198, fig. 14.

⁶² Fingarova et al. 2009–2011, col. 201–202, fig. 14.

⁶³ Fingarova et al. 2009–2011, col. 197–198, fig. 13.

⁵⁹ Georgiev 1993.

⁶⁰ Čilingirov 1978, 33, bal alsó ábra.

⁶¹ Nenadović 1980, 19, 178. kép; Fingarova et al. 2009–2011, 197–198. oszlop, 14. ábra.

⁶² Fingarova et al. 2009–2011, 201–202. oszlop, 14. ábra.

⁶³ Fingarova et al. 2009–2011, 197–198. oszlop, 13. ábra.

în vedere faptul că o parte din aceste clădiri nu provine din Primul Stat Bulgar, ci din perioada restaurației bizantine ce i-a urmat. Acestui grup aparține, de pildă, tetraconcul din Peristerai, (Pl. 1/10) ori cel din Veljusa. (Pl. 1/9) Ag. Andreas⁶⁴ din Peristera ocupă un loc special în istoria arhitecturii bizantine, spațiul său central, cu plan pătrat, a fost lărgit nu doar cu câte o absidă, ci cu câte un triconc.

În pofida acestor exemple, nu capela cu plan triconc ori tetraconc a devenit cel mai răspândit tip de clădire al arhitecturii Evului Mediu timpuriu din spațiul balcanic, ci clădirea cu plan în cruce. (Pl. 2/2–14) Vorbim de clădiri de dimensiuni mici (de maximum 10 m lungime!), cu reprezentarea crucii în planul lor, monocelulare, cu câte-o absidă de dimensiuni mici, cu nava cu închidere dreaptă pe fața apuseană și cu două spații de forma unei nișe scurte, la fel cu închidere dreaptă, care se alătură celor două fețe laterale ale navei. În majoritatea cazurilor, spațiul era acoperit cu o cupolă. Datorită fragmentării monumentelor păstrate, nu putem susține cu certitudine că pentru aceste biserici mici, cu planul în cruce, cupola constituia un component indispensabil.

Bisericile mici cu plan în cruce au fost remarcate încă din 1931 de Nikola Mavrodinov, de la el provine prima publicație despre bisericile din Boboševo și Sapareva Banja.⁶⁵ (Pl. 2/7,8) Dar abia în urma săpăturilor sistematice din ultimele decenii a devenit clar că acest tip de biserică nu era sporadic în Bulgaria medievală. Dintre centrele rezidențiale ale Primului Stat Bulgar, biserici cu asemenea plan au fost descoperite în număr mai mare la Veliki Preslav și în imediata vecinătate. Pe teritoriul acestui grup de așezări au fost scoase la suprafață fundațiile a cinci biserici asemănătoare. (Pl. 2/2–6) Trăsătura comună a planului lor e faptul că spațiul celor două nișe laterale, care creionează planul cruciform, a fost integrat în zidurile laterale, groase, ale micii nave. Astfel, deși în baza paramentului exterior aceste biserici pot părea clădiri cu o singură navă, structura spațială interioară demonstrează că în realitate ele au planul în cruce. În baza materialului din Preslav, pe bună dreptate ne putem întreba: oare și micile biserici cu plan în cruce ale Bulgariei „provinciale” pot proveni din același izvor? (Pl. 2/7–9) Independent de faptul că, în cazul unor monumente mai dificil databile, este legitim să presupunem o datare de după încetarea existenței Primului Stat Bulgar. Această idee poate fi importantă în

ât pontosan, ha figyelembe vesszük: az emlékananyag egy része nem az I. bolgár állam, hanem az azt követő bizánci restauráció időszakának emléke. E csoportba tartozik pl. a peristerai (1. t. 10.), vagy a veljusai (1. t. 9.) tetrakonchosz. A peristerai Ag. Andreas⁶⁴ sajátos helyet foglal el a bizánci építészet történetében: a központi, négyzet alaprajzú teret nem csupán egy-egy apszissal, hanem egy-egy trikonchosszal bővítették.

A felsorolt példák ellenére: nem a három-, illetve négykaréjos kápolna vált a balkáni térség koraközépkori építészetének a leggyakoribb épülettípusává, hanem a kereszt alaprajzú épület. (2. t. 2–14.) Olyan kisméretű (maximum 10 m hosszúságú!), a keresztet alaprajzukban megjelenítő, egysejtű épületekről van szó, amelyek egy-egy kis méretű apszisból, a belőle nyíló, nyugati oldalán egyenes lezárású hajóból, és a hajó két oldalához csatlakozó, két, rövid, szintén egyenes lezárású, fülkeszerű térből állnak. A kis templomok többségének kupola zárta a terét. Az emlékananyag töredékessége miatt azonban sajnos nem lehet biztonsággal érvelni amellest, hogy a kereszt alaprajzú templomok térszerkezetének a kupola elengedhetetlen része lett volna.

A kereszt alaprajzú kis templomokra már Nikola Mavrodinov figyelte 1931-ben, és tőle származik a boboševoi, és a Sapareva Banja-i templom első közlése. (2. t. 7, 8.)⁶⁵ Az utóbbi évtizedek nagy kiterjedésű ásatásai alapján vált csak világossá az, hogy az adott templomtípus nemcsak szórványosan volt ismert a középkori Bulgáriában. Az I. bolgár állam rezidenciális központjai közül Veliki Preslavban és közvetlen környékén került napvilágra nagyobb számban ilyen templom alaprajza. Összesen öt ilyen templom alapjait sikerült e településhalmaz területén kibontani. (2. t. 2–6.) Alaprajzuk hasonló vonása, hogy a kereszt alaprajzot kirajzoló két oldalfülke terét a kicsiny hosszhoz vastag oldalfalaiba integrálták. Így e templomok, bár külső falsíkjuk alapján egyhajós épületnek tűnhetnek, belső terük térszerkezete mégis azt tanúsítja, hogy valójában kereszt alaprajzúak. A preslavi emlékananyag alapján joggal vethető fel annak a lehetősége, hogy a „vidéki” Bulgária kereszt alaprajzú kis templomai is e forrásra vezethetők vissza. (2. t. 7–9.) Függetlenül attól, hogy egy-egy nehezen keltezhető emlék esetében joggal felvethető az I. bolgár állam megszűnése utáni időkre utaló keltezés. E felvetés a bojanai

⁶⁴ Mango 1986, 120, fig. 167.

⁶⁵ Mavrodinov 1931, 59, fig. 69; 60, fig. 71.

⁶⁴ Mango 1986, 120, 167. ábra.

⁶⁵ Mavrodinov 1931, 59, 69. ábra; 60, 71. ábra.

cazul bisericii nr. 1 – cea mai timpurie – de la mănăstirea Boiana,⁶⁶ (Pl. 2/9) clădirea fiind un monument emblematic al istoriei arhitecturii bulgare. Și în cazul acestei biserici, cele două nișe mici, cu închidere dreaptă, au fost integrate în volumul zidurilor groase laterale. Este de reținut, că din Bulgaria mai cunoaștem și biserica cu plan în cruce, la care și fațadele exterioare desenează forma crucii. Mica biserică din Botevo face parte din această categorie.⁶⁷ (Pl. 2/13)

O trăsătură caracteristică a arhitecturii de ev mediu timpuriu din Balcani este faptul că aceste clădiri cu suprafață mică, cu plan în cruce, apar și în treimea mijlocie a spațiului studiat, în localități care, conform hotarelor conturate în epoca modernă, se găsesc în Serbia, Macedonia, Muntenegru și Albania. Dar aceste locuri, în secolele IX–X, făceau încă parte din Primul Stat Bulgar. Fundații ale unor biserici mici, cu plan în cruce, au fost observate la Djunis din Serbia, Gornji Kozjak, Morodviz, Teranci și Žiganci din Macedonia, respectiv Marmaro în Albania.⁶⁸ (Pl. 2/15, 12, 10, 11, 14) Multe dintre bisericile enumerate au fost distruse sau transformate în secolele ulterioare, astfel, determinarea primei faze de construire a devenit posibilă prin cercetări arheologice, respectiv activități legate de protecția monumentelor. Din păcate, publicarea detaliată și riguroasă a acestor lucrări lipsește sistematic, așadar nu putem stabili în ce măsură aceste datări din secolele IX–XI sunt de încredere.

Ca a treia structură spațială amintim tipul de biserică în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, foarte populară și ea în arhitectura de ev mediu timpuriu, în treimea centrală și orientală a Peninsulei Balcanice. În secolul al X-lea frecvența ei se datorează faptului că acest tip de biserică a fost probabil cel mai răspândit în centrele rezidențiale bulgare: Pliska, Veliki Preslav, Madara etc.⁶⁹ Incertitudinea acestei observații provine din faptul că bisericile centrelor rezidențiale bulgare au fost distruse încă din veacurile Evului Mediu, iar din fundațiile lor, scoase la iveală prin săpături arheologice, deseori nu putem deduce cu siguranță dacă clădirea de odinioară avea sau nu patru bolți cilindrice în formă de cruce, respectiv cupolă. O incertitudine ilustrată de poate cea mai celebră biserică din Evul Mediu timpuriu, Catedrala din Ochrida/Ohrid

monastor I, azaz a legkorábbi temploma⁶⁶ (2. t. 9.) esetében bírhat fontossággal, lévén e templom a bolgár építészettörténet egyik emblematis mus műemléke. E templom esetében is a vastag oldalfalak tömegébe integrálták a hajóból nyíló két kis, egyenes lezárású fülkét. Megjegyzendő, hogy Bulgáriából olyan kereszt alaprajzú templom is ismert, amelynek külső falsíkjai is kirajzolják a keresztalakot. A botevoi kis templom tartozik e kategóriába.⁶⁷ (2. t. 13.)

A Balkán koraközépkori építészetének egyik sajátossága, hogy a fentebb leírt kis alapterületű, kereszt alaprajzú épületek a vizsgált térség középső harmadában is feltűnnek, olyan helységekben, amelyek az újkori terület-besorolás szerint már Szerbiában, Macedóniában, Montenegróban, illetve Albániában találhatók. Az adott helyszínek azonban a 9–10. században még az I. bolgár állam területébe tartoztak. Kisméretű, kereszt alaprajzú templom alapfalait a szerbiai Djunisban, a macedóniai Gornji Kozjakban, Morodvizben, Teranciban valamint Žiganciban, illetve az albániai Marmaróban sikerült megfigyelni.⁶⁸ (2. t. 15, 12, 10, 11, 14.) A felsorolt templomok jelentős hányadát a későbbi évszázadokban lerombolták, vagy átépítették, így első építési fázisuk meghatározása régészeti feltárásnak, illetve állagvédelmi munkálatoknak köszönhető. Sajnos azonban e munkálatok eredményeinek a részletes közlése rendszeresen elmarad, így nem vizsgálható, a 9–11. századi keltezések megbízhatóságának a mértéke.

Harmadik térszerkezetként a keresztkupolás templomtípust említjük, amely igencsak népszerű volt a Balkán-félsziget középső és keleti harmadának a koraközépkori építészetében. 10. századi gyakorisága első sorban annak köszönhető, hogy ez volt a bolgár rezidenciális központok: Pliska, Veliki Preslav, Madara, stb. egyik leggyakoribb, sőt talán éppen a leggyakoribb templomtípusa.⁶⁹ A megítélés bizonytalansága annak a következménye, hogy a bolgár rezidenciális központok templomai még a középkor évszázadaiban elpusztultak, a kiásott templomalapokból pedig elég gyakran nem lehet teljes bizonyossággal kikövetkeztetni, volt-e az egykori épületnek négy, kereszt alakban elrendezett dongaboltozata, illetve kupolája. Jól szemlélteti a bizonytalanságokat a térség talán leghíresebb, korai középkori temploma az ochridai/ohridi

⁶⁶ Čilingirov 1978, 64 (fig. nenumerotată)

⁶⁷ Stančev 1959, 70–75.

⁶⁸ Janković 2007, 150, fig. 166.

⁶⁹ Čilingirov 1978, 31–32; Čaneva-Dečevska 1980, 17–27.

⁶⁶ Čilingirov 1978, 64, számozatlan ábra.

⁶⁷ Stančev 1959, 70–75.

⁶⁸ Janković 2007, 150, 166. ábra.

⁶⁹ Čilingirov 1978, 31–32; Čaneva-Dečevska 1980, 17–27.

cu hramul Sv. Sofija.⁷⁰ (Pl. 4/3) Disputa⁷¹ despre încadrarea tipologică, precum și despre fazele sale de construcție a putut să se calmeze numai după ce în anii 1950 a început cercetarea arheologică și cea de istoria artei.⁷² Ținând cont de zidurile descoperite, trebuie să acceptăm că în prima fază de construire, Sv. Sofija a fost o biserică cu plan în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc – în pofida faptului că în epoca modernă, ea a devenit o bazilică cu trei nave, nava longitudinală fiind acoperită cu trei bolți cilindrice.⁷³ Amintita incertitudine, precum și „*embarras de richesse*” a materialului din Primul Stat Bulgar ne obligă să trimitem la bisericile considerate cele mai importante, mai precis la unele apărute în sintezele lui Krăstju Mijatev, Asen Čilingirov, sau Neli Čaneva-Dečevska.⁷⁴ Din acest grup fac parte mai multe clădiri ecleziastice ale centrului rezidențial din Pliska și Veliki Preslav (Bulgaria) (Pl. 4/1,2,4): biserică nr. 5 din Pliska,⁷⁵ biserică nr. 4 din Preslav,⁷⁶ precum și (rămânând la Preslav) biserică ce exista cândva lângă uzina de apă, plus cele două fundații de biserică descoperite recent lângă poarta sudică a cetății interioare.⁷⁷ O parte a celorlalte biserici legate de Primul Stat Bulgar a ieșit la iveală în imediata vecinătate a centrului din Veliki Preslav, de exemplu, biserică 1 și 2 din Avradaka.⁷⁸ Pentru noi, dintre bisericile în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc ale centrelor rezidențiale bulgare, pot fi considerate cele mai importante acelea, ale căror navă longitudinală estelată, adică planul lor se apropie de pătrat. Asemenea plan avea, de pildă, un rest de biserică din Preslav, cu numai două fundații de coloană, reconstituită totuși cu planimetrie în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc.⁷⁹ (Pl. 4/1)

În afara bisericilor în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc de la Pliska și Preslav,

Sv. Sofija-titulusú székesegyház⁷⁰ is. (4. t. 3.) E templom tipológiai besorolásáról, valamint egyes építési fázisairól folytatott disputa⁷¹ csak az után juthatott nyugvópontra, hogy az 1950-es években megindult a székesegyház régészeti-művészettörténeti kutatása.⁷² A munkálatok során kibontott falindítások miatt tényként kell elfogadni azt, hogy a Sv. Sofija I. építési fázisában keresztkupolás térrendszerű templom volt – annak ellenére, hogy az újkort háromhajós bazilikaként érte meg, tehát hosszaházát már három dongaboltozat fedi.⁷³ A vázolt bizonytalanság, illetve a bőség zavara miatt az I. bolgár állam emléktárából csak a legfontosabbnak tartott keresztkupolás templomokra, azaz a Krăstju Mijatev, Asen Čilingirov, illetve Neli Čaneva-Dečevska áttekintésében szereplő emlékekből utalunk néhányra.⁷⁴ E körbe tartozik a pliskai, illetve a Veliki Preslav-i (Bulg.) reziden-ciális központ több egyházi épülete (4. t. 1, 2, 4.): így a pliskai 5. számú,⁷⁵ vagy a preslavi 4. számú templom,⁷⁶ továbbá, Preslavnál maradvány: a vízmű mellett egykor álló templom, valamint a belső vár déli kapuja mellett a közelmúltban feltárt két templomalap.⁷⁷ Az I. bolgár államhoz kapcsolódó további templomok egy része a Veliki Preslav-i központ közvetlen közelében kerültek napvilágra, pl. az avradakai 1. és 2. templom.⁷⁸ Dolgozatunk témája miatt a bolgár reziden-ciális központok keresztkupolás templomai közül azok tekinthetők a legjelentősebbeknek, amelyek hosszaháza széles, alaprajzuk a négyzethez közelítő alakú. Ilyen alaprajza volt pl. az egyik preslavi, csupán két oszlopalappal rendelkező, mégis keresztkupolás térszerkezettel rekonstruált templommaradvány-nak.⁷⁹ (4. t. 1.)

A pliskai, illetve preslavi keresztkupolás templomokon kívül meg kell emlékezni azokról az épületekről is, amelyek a bolgár reziden-ciális

⁷⁰ Luările de poziție referitoare la această biserică ar putea constitui o bibliotecă întreagă. Prezentarea lor ar depăși limitele lucrării noastre, astfel, trimitem doar la o recentă sinteză, care cuprinde și literatura mai veche: Schellewald 1986.

⁷¹ Vezi prezentarea acestei dispute: Schellewald 1986, 10–23. ⁷² Primele rezultate ale acestor activități, în limba franceză: Koco 1956, 139–144.

⁷³ Un rezumat în limba germană a acestor rezultate: Schellewald 1986, 188–191.

⁷⁴ Mijatev 1974, 103–117; Čilingirov 1978, 31–32; Čaneva-Dečevska 1980, 17–27.

⁷⁵ Moutsopoulos 1989, 312, fig. 12.

⁷⁶ Kádár (Wessel) 1966, rândurile 810–811, fig. 7.

⁷⁷ Bonev 1992, 44–49; Pirovska 1995, 37–40.

⁷⁸ Mijatev 1974, 103–104, fig. 110, 111. Consideră că cele două biserici, păstrate numai la nivelul fundațiilor, aparțineau sistemului în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc.

⁷⁹ Tonev (red.principal) 1969, 95.

⁷⁰ Az e templomra vonatkozó, szinte könyvtárnyi megnyilatkozás áttekintése szétfeszítené a jelen dolgozat kereteit, így csak egyetlen új összefoglalásra érdemes utalni, amely részletesen áttekinti a korábbi szakirodalmat is: Schellewald 1986.

⁷¹ E vitát összefoglalta: Schellewald 1986, 10–23.

⁷² E munkálatok első eredményeit áttekinti francia nyelven: Koco 1956, 139–144.

⁷³ Német nyelven összefoglalta e kutatási eredményeket: Schellewald 1986, 188–191.

⁷⁴ Mijatev 1974, 103–117; Čilingirov 1978, 31–32; Čaneva-Dečevska 1980, 17–27.

⁷⁵ Moutsopoulos 1989, 312, 12. ábra.

⁷⁶ Kádár (Wessel) 1966, 810–811. sor, 7. ábra.

⁷⁷ Bonev 1992, 44–49; Pirovska 1995, 37–40.

⁷⁸ Mijatev 1974, 110, 111. ábra, 103–104. szerint keresztkupolás rendszerű volt a két, csak alapfalaiban megmaradt templom.

⁷⁹ Tonev (főszerk.) 1969, 95.

trebuie să amintim și pe acelea ctitorite departe de centrele rezidențiale, în unele cazuri nici măcar înainte de 971, adică în epoca existenței Primului Stat Bulgar, ci la cumpăna veacurilor X–XI, când în Macedonia a fost înființat un stat-urmas, special, sub conducerea autoproclamatului țar Samuil. De acest grup de biserici aparține amintita Sv. Sofia din Ochrida, precum și Ag. Ghermanos (Sv. Gherman) aflată pe malul lacului Prespa-Mică.⁸⁰ (Pl. 4/5) Această din urmă biserică trebuie să o evidențiem în mod special în contextul lucrării noastre, deoarece, în prima etapă de construire, planul navei longitudinale al clădirii se apropia de pătrat.⁸¹

Prin menționarea bisericii de la Prespa, am atras deja în tabloul lucrării noastre un monument pe care o însemnată parte a specialiștilor nu îl leagă de Primul Stat Bulgar sau de statul-urmas macedonean al acestuia. Abordarea lor se justifică prin faptul că structura spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc apare în Balcani într-un areal mult mai amplu decât extinderea Primului Stat Bulgar. Din literatura de specialitate putem afla date referitoare la aproape 50 (!) de biserici în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, care din diverse considerente, cu grad diferit de credibilitate, au fost date în secolele IX–XI ori VIII–XII.⁸² Am depăși limitele lucrării noastre prin realizarea catalogului acestor biserici și verificarea datărilor. Astfel, ne rămâne să enumerăm câteva biserici, mai frecvent citate, apoi vom evidenția câteva tendințe fundamentale. De pe teritoriul Greciei, din grupul amintitelor biserici fac parte ambele biserici⁸³ ale mănăstirii Hosios Lukas din Stiris, șase biserici din Atena printre care Kapnikarea,⁸⁴ Panagia Gorgoepekoos⁸⁵ și Ag. Elias,⁸⁶ apoi biserica mănăstirii Hosios Melentios de pe muntele Kitharion,⁸⁷ Panagia Panaxiotissa⁸⁸ din Gavrolimi, Ano Lampabo din Hlerin,⁸⁹ Panaghia ton Chalkeon,⁹⁰ din Thessaloniki; în Macedonia

központoktól távolabb létesültek, egyes esetekben már nem is 971 előtt, azaz az I. bolgár állam fennállásának idején, hanem a 10–11. század fordulóján, amikor Macedóniában e bolgár államnak egy sajátos utódállama létesült, egy Sámuel nevű, önjelölt cár vezetése alatt. E templomok körébe tartozik a már említett ochridai Sv. Sofija, valamint a Kis-Prespai tó partján álló Ag. Germanosz (=Sv. German) (4. t. 5.)⁸⁰ stb. Ez utóbbi, kisméretű templomot dolgozatunk témája miatt külön is ki kell emelnünk, hiszen a Szt. Germanosznak szentelt épület széles hosszágának alaprajza az I. építési fázisban a négyzethez közelített.⁸¹

A prespai templom említése által már egy olyan emléket is bevontunk áttekintésünkbe, amelyet a szakemberek egy jelentős része már nem köt az I. bolgár államhoz vagy annak macedóniai utódállamához. Megközelítésüket az indokolja, hogy a keresztkupolás térszerkezet a koraközépkori Balkánon az I. bolgár állam kiterjedésénél jóval szélesebb körben bukkan fel. Közel ötven(!) olyan keresztkupolás templom adatairól szerezhetünk tudomást a szakirodalomból, amelyet különböző indokok alapján, és különböző szintű megbízhatósággal a 9–11. vagy a 8–12. századra kelteztek.⁸² Jelen munkánk kereteit szétfeszítene e templomok pontos adattárának a megszerkesztése, és az egyes keltezések ellenőrzése. Így csak néhány gyakrabban idézett templomot sorolunk fel, majd pedig néhány alaptendenciát emelünk ki röviden. A mai Görögország területén a koraközépkori, keresztkupolás templomok körébe tartozik a méltán világhírű sztiriszi, Hosziosz Lukasz-monostor mindkét temploma⁸³, továbbá hat athéni templom, köztük a Kapnikarea⁸⁴, a Panagia Gorgoepekoos⁸⁵ és az Ag. Elias⁸⁶, továbbá a Kitharion-hegyi Hosziosz Melentiosz-kolostor temploma,⁸⁷ a gavrolimi Panagia Panaxiotissa⁸⁸, a hlerini Ano Lampabo⁸⁹, a thessaloniki Panaghia ton Chalkeon,⁹⁰ Macedóniában a drenovoi Bogorodičina crkva⁹¹, Albániában a dropulli

⁸⁰ Soustal et al. 1995, col. 1091–1092.

⁸¹ Subliniază în mod special aceste fenomene: Tonev 1969, 95.

⁸² Tratează sintetic această structură spațială, menționând amănunțit și exemple din Evul Mediu timpuriu: Schmuck 1991, col. 355–374.

⁸³ Krautheimer 1986, fig. 297; Mango 1986, 124, fig. 170–172.

⁸⁴ Travlos 1966, rândul 382, fig. 12.

⁸⁵ Travlos 1966, rândul 382, fig. 12; Mango 1986, fig. 202.

⁸⁶ Moutsopoulos 1989, 761, fig. 89.

⁸⁷ Koder 1971, col. 1149–1150, fig. 26.

⁸⁸ Hetherington 1991, 95.

⁸⁹ Moutsopoulos 1989, 761, fig. 90.

⁹⁰ Mango 1986, 120, fig. 165–166.

⁸⁰ Soustal et al. 1995, 1091–1092. oszlop.

⁸¹ Külön kiemeli e jellegzetességet: Tonev (főszerk.) 1969, 95.

⁸² Összefoglalóan értekezik e térszerkezetről, részletesen kitérve a korai középkori példákra is: Schmuck 1991, 355–374. oszlop.

⁸³ Krautheimer 1986, 297. ábra; Mango 1986, 124, 170–172. ábra.

⁸⁴ Travlos 1966, 382. sor, 12. ábra.

⁸⁵ Travlos 1966, 382. sor, 12. ábra; Mango 1986, 202. kép.

⁸⁶ Moutsopoulos 1989, 761, 89. ábra.

⁸⁷ Koder 1971, 1149–1150. oszlop, 26. ábra.

⁸⁸ Hetherington 1991, 95.

⁸⁹ Moutsopoulos 1989, 761, 90. ábra.

⁹⁰ Mango 1986, 120, 165–166. ábra.

⁹¹ Nenadović 1980, 115–116. a háromhajós bazilikák között

– Bogorodičina crkva⁹¹ din Drenovo, în Albania – Dropulli Eposkopi,⁹² din Dropull și Sh. Merisë⁹³ din Labova e Kryqit etc. În general, se poate afirma că în sudul Peninsulei Balcanice, bisericile clădite în secolele IX–XII cu sistem în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, oferă o imagine mai variată, decât cele din Primul Stat Bulgar. Afirmatia e susținută de diversitatea perechilor de pilaștri ce articulează nava longitudinală, frecvența aripilor de construcție ce îmbogățesc structura spațială și numărul mai mare de piese sculptate în piatră. Merită subliniat faptul că și în grupul acestor biserici s-au găsit unele care aveau nava longitudinală largă, cu plan ce se apropia de pătrat. Acestui grup aparține Ag. Apostoloi⁹⁴ din Atena, de renume mondială, (Pl. 4/6) având o datare puțin târzie din perspectiva temei noastre, fixată în secolele XI–XII. Apoi, trebuie să amintim și biserica ruină din Prčanj⁹⁵ (Munteneșu), pe malul golfului din Cattaro/Kotor, (Pl. 4/7) deoarece și aceasta avea configurație similară și plan ce se apropia de pătrat.

Cu menționarea bisericii din Prčanj am și trecut la marginea apuseană a Balcanilor, adică pe litoralul de răsărit al Mării Adriatice, într-un spațiu amintit deja, legat de biserica Sf. Petru și Pavel din Cičevo. Această regiune este în mod special bogată în biserici medieval-timpurii care reprezintă crucea în planul și în spațiul lor interior. Pentru a evita posibile confuzii, precizăm: capelele cu plan tri- și tetraconc, cele cu plan în cruce ori în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc din această zonă erau folosite încă din momentul construirii lor de comunități, care optaseră pentru varianta occidentală a creștinătății.

În legătură cu clădirile cu plan triconc și tetraconc, trebuie să subliniem în primul rând faptul că ele se găsesc atât la nord, în golful Kvarner/Quarnero, (Pl. 1/4–6) cât și în sud, în așa-zisul Litoral al Muntenegrului.⁹⁶ (Pl. 1/7) Din păcate, majoritatea clădirilor cu plan tri- și tetraconc s-au păstrat doar în fundație sau în stare modificată. De exemplu ruinele bisericii de la Krk/Veglia – Mala Luka, (Pl. 1/6) ori capela triconcă

Eposkopi,⁹² illetve a Labova e Kryqit-i Sh. Merisë,⁹³ stb. Általánosságban elmondható, hogy a Balkán déli részén a 9–12. századi felépült, kereszt-kupolás templomok térszerkezeti szempontból kicsit változatosabb képet mutatnak, mint az I. bolgár állam emlékműve. Erre utal a hosszázatos tagoló támpárok változatossága, a térszerkezetet bővítő épületszárnyak gyakorisága, valamint – végül, de nem utolsósorban – a kőfaragványok nagyobb száma is. Szintén dolgozatunk témája miatt érdemes kiemelni, hogy a templomok e csoportjában is akadt olyan, amelynek széles, alaprajzában a négyszeghez közelítő hosszázatos volt. Az ilyen templomok körébe tartozik a méltán világhírű athéni Ag. Apostoloi (4. t. 6.), dolgozatunk szempontjából talán kicsit kései, 11–12. századi keletkezéssel.⁹⁴ Második helyen a Cattarói/Kotori-öböl partjainál fekvő prčanji (Mont.) lelőhely templomára (4. t. 7.) kell utalni, mert ezen épület is kereszt-kupolás térszerkezettel és a négyszeghez közelítő alaprajzzal rendelkezett.⁹⁵

A prčanji templom említésével már át is tértünk a Balkán nyugati szélére, az Adriai tenger keleti partvidékére, egy olyan tájra, amelyre a čičevoi Szt. Péter és Pál-titulusú templom kapcsán fentebb már utaltunk. Az adott régió kifejezetten gazdag koraközépkori, a keresztet alaprajzukban, illetve belső terükben felmutató templomokban.

A lehetséges félreértések elkerülése érdekében: a dalmáciai régió három-, illetve négykaréjos kápolnáit, kereszt alaprajzú vagy kereszt-kupolás templomait már megépülésük idején is olyan közösségek használták, amelyek a kereszténység nyugati válfaját vették fel.

A három-, illetve négykaréjos épületekről első helyen az emelendő ki, hogy ilyen templomok vagy kápolnák megtalálhatók mind északon, a Quarnerói/Kvarneri-öbölben, (1. t. 4–6.) mind pedig délen, az ún. montenegrói tengerparton.⁹⁶ (1. t. 7.) Az észak-, illetve dél-dalmáciai tri-, illetve tetraconchoszok többsége sajnos csak alapfalában vagy igencsak átépített állapotban élte meg a jelenkort – lásd pl. a Krk/Veglia–Mala Luka-i templomalapot (1. t. 6.), vagy a ragúzai/dubrovnikai székesegyház 1. építési fázisához csatlakozó

⁹¹ Nenadović 1980, 115–116. O amintește printre bazilicile cu trei nave, însă în baza planului publicat de el (vezi tot acolo fig. 194) este evident că această biserică aparține tipului în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc.

⁹² Pallas 1968, rândurile 250–251, fig. 20–22.

⁹³ Meksi 1983, tab. 24.

⁹⁴ Travlos 1966, col. 380, imaginea 12, rândul superior, figura de margine dreapta.

⁹⁵ Bošković 1976, 78, fig. 11.

⁹⁶ Marasović 2008, 225, fig. 220; Deroko 1985, 42, fig. 12.

emliti, az általa közölt alaprajz (uo. 194. ábra) alapján azonban nyilvánvaló, hogy e templom a kereszt-kupolás típusba tartozik.

⁹² Pallas 1968, 250–251. sor, 20–22. ábra.

⁹³ Meksi 1983, 24. tábla.

⁹⁴ Travlos 1966, 380. oszlop, 12. kép, felső sor, jobb szélső ábra.

⁹⁵ Bošković 1976, 78, 11. ábra.

⁹⁶ Marasović 2008, 225, 220. ábra; Deroko 1985, 42, 12. kép.

alăturată primei faze de construire a catedralei din Dubrovnik/ Raguza. (*Pl. 4/8*) Fragmentarea fondului de clădiri conferă importanță capelei cu plan triconc, cu hramul Sv. Nikola din Nin⁹⁷ (*Pl. 1/5*) sau celei cu hramul Sv. Krševan, adică Sf. Grizogon,⁹⁸ (*Pl. 1/4*) din insula Krk/Veglia, deoarece în cazul lor se poate studia nu doar planul, ci și detaliile structurii spațiale.

În cazul celorlalte două tipuri de plan, trebuie să ne oprim în primul rând în zona de litoral a Mării Adriatice, unde avem de-a face cu cel puțin patru biserici cu plan în cruce și alte cel puțin patru cu plan în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. Despre prima biserică cu plan în cruce medieval timpuriu de pe teritoriul Dalmației s-a publicat un studiu încă din ultima treime a secolului al XIX-lea. Este vorba de biserică cu hramul Sf. Cruce, în lb. croată Sv. Križ,⁹⁹ (*Pl. 3/4*) din orașul Nin. Clădirea – cu plan de cruce grecească, cu două abside laterale la răsărit, cu bolți cilindrice peste brațele crucii și o cupolă peste careu – a devenit celebră nu doar datorită soluțiilor sale arhitecturale. Această biserică putea fi, începând din secolul al IX-lea, catedrala episcopului din Nin. Spre deosebire de biserică din Nin, puțini cunosc, chiar dintre istoricii de artă care se ocupă de epocă, biserică cu hramul Sv. Dunat din insula Krk/Veglia.¹⁰⁰ (*Pl. 3/5*) Structura spațială a bisericii de dimensiuni mici, aparent foarte simplă în baza modulului său de zidire, este de o complexitate specială: absidei sale cu închidere dreaptă i se adaugă o navă longitudinală de formă dreptunghiulară, din care, pe cele două părți laterale se deschide câte o nișă cu închidere dreaptă. O parte accentuată a structurii spațiale a bisericiuței este cupola, care acoperă toată nava longitudinală. În lipsa surselor scrise, doar pe baza unor observații stilistice, se obișnuiește ca biserică să fie datată în secolele IX și X. Oricât de specială ar fi formarea spațiului acestei biserici, poate are totuși o analogie. La marginea orașului Podgorița din Muntenegru s-au scos la suprafață fundațiile unei biserici asemănătoare celor descrise mai sus. (*Pl. 3/6*) Dar cum aici nu s-au păstrat elevații, nu știm dacă și la Podgorița a existat cupola de mari dimensiuni ce acoperea

négycaréjos kápolnát. (4. t. 8.) Az emlékanyag töredékessége teszi fontossá a nini Sv. Nikola-titulusú, (1. t. 5.)⁹⁷ valamint a Krk/Veglia szigeten álló, Sv. Krševan, azaz Szt. Grizogón-titulusú, (1. t. 4.)⁹⁸ háromkaréjos kápolnát, mert ezek esetében nemcsak az alaprajz, hanem a térszerkezet részletei is tanulmányozhatók.

A másik két alaprajzi típus esetében pedig az emelendő ki első helyen, hogy legalább négy kereszt alaprajzú, illetve további négy kereszt-kupolás templommal kell számolnunk az Adriai tenger keleti partvidékén. Már a 19. század utolsó harmadában közölték az első kereszt alaprajzú, korai középkori templomot Dalmácia területéről. A legelőbb közölt, és minden bizonnyal a legtöbbet idézett műemlék a Nin városában álló, Szt. Kereszt-titulusú templom, horvát nevén: Sv Križ.⁹⁹ (3. t. 4.) E görögkereszt alaprajzú, keleti oldalán két mellékszentéllyel is rendelkező, az egyes keresztoszarak felett dongaboltozatokkal, a négyzet felett pedig kupolával fedett templomot nemcsak építészeti megoldásai tették híressé. E templom lehetett a 9. századtól a nini püspök székesegyháza, és ennek révén fontos szerepe volt a formálódó Horvát Királyság vallási életében. A nini templommal ellentétben még a korszakkal foglalkozó építészettörténészek közül is csak kevesen ismerik a Krk (olaszosan Veglia) szigetén álló, Szt. Donát-titulusú templomot (3. t. 5.).¹⁰⁰ A kisméretű, és falazásának módja alapján végtelenül egyszerűnek elkönnyelendő templom térszerkezete sajátosan bonyolult: egyenes lezárású szentélyéhez téglalap alakú hosszház csatlakozik, amelynek mindkét oldalán egy-egy, szintén egyenes lezárású falfülke nyílik. A kis templom téralkotásának hangsúlyos része a kupola, amely az egész hosszházat lefedi. Írott források hiányában stíluskritikai alapon szokás e templomot a 9. és a 10. századra keltezni. Bármennyire is sajátos e templom téralkotása talán mégis rendelkezik egy párhuzammal. A montenegrói Podgorica határában sikerült feltárni egy, a fentiekben leírtakhoz hasonló templom alapfala. (3. t. 6.) Mivel azonban ez utóbbi esetben a felmenő falak nem maradtak meg, nem tudhatjuk megvolt-e Podgoricában is a teret lefedő,

⁹⁷ Pejaković – Gattin 1982, 72–73, 75, fotografii nenumerate; Marasović 2008, 225, fig. 220.

⁹⁸ Marasović 2008, 225, fig. 220; Regan – Nadilo 2009, 1184, plan nenumerotat.

⁹⁹ Pejaković – Gattin 1982, 78–83, fotografii nenumerate, 269–283; Marasović 2008, 227, fig. 227.

¹⁰⁰ Pejaković – Gattin 1982, 28–34, fotografii nenumerate; Regan – Nadilo 2009, 1182–1184, 1183 (plan nenumerotat)

⁹⁷ Pejaković – Gattin 1982, 72–73, 75, számozatlan fotók; Marasović 2008, 225, 220. ábra.

⁹⁸ Marasović 2008, 225, 220. ábra; Regan – Nadilo 2009b, 1184, számozatlan alaprajz.

⁹⁹ Pejaković – Gattin 1982, 78–83, számozatlan fotók, 269–283; Marasović 2008, 227. 227. ábra.

¹⁰⁰ Pejaković – Gattin 1982, 28–34, számozatlan fotók; Regan – Nadilo 2009b, 1182–1184, 1183 (számozatlan alaprajz)

spațiul, iar această absență constituie un obstacol de nedepășit în fața unei analize comparative.

Trecem acum în Dalmația pentru a evoca doar câteva cazuri de structuri spațiale în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc (*Pl. 4/7–9*) și începem cu precizarea că în aceste biserici liturgia creștină se făcea după ritul latin. Bisericile din Evul Mediu timpuriu din Dalmația, care intră în această categorie sunt: S. Lorenzo/Sv. Lovro din orașul Zara/Zadar,¹⁰¹ Sv. Mikula¹⁰² și Sv. Eufemija (*Pl. 4/9*) din Spalato/Split, respectiv prima fază de construire a catedralei din Raguza/Dubrovnik,¹⁰³ (*Pl. 4/8*) și nu în ultimul rând, biserica-ruină Sv. Toma din Prčanj, deja pomenită.¹⁰⁴ (*Pl. 4/7*) Despre datarea lor, reținem că, dintre monumentele enumerate, doar datarea din secolul al XI-lea a bisericii din Zara/Zadar este întrutotul sigură. În schimb, în cazul bisericilor în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc din Spalato/Split, Raguza/Dubrovnik și Prčanj, datarea lor rămâne una dintre problemele nerezolvate. În general, în literatura de specialitate găsim datarea propusă pentru secolul al IX-lea, dar fără prea multe argumente.

Tabloul monumentelor din secolele IX–XI din Balcani îl putem finaliza cu observația generală: reprezentarea crucii în plan a fost fără îndoială prezentă în arhitectura contemporană a zonei cercetate. Crucea putea fi vizualizată în plan și/sau în structura spațială cel puțin în trei feluri, pe zeci de biserici. Continuarea cercetărilor întâmpină însă mari dificultăți din cauza impasului la care se ajunge când se încearcă datarea monumentelor. De acest impas ne lovim chiar din momentul în care vrem să facem simpla operațiune de selectare a clădirilor ce pot fi luate în calcul.

Deși nu intră în tema lucrării noastre, merită să amintim câteva biserici mai târzii din Balcanii de nord, cu plan în cruce, a căror cercetare a avut impact asupra aprecierilor privind bisericile cu plan în cruce din Evul Mediu timpuriu. Mănăstirea benedictină din insula Mljet din Dalmația de Sud (*Pl. 3/7*) poate fi datată aproape cu certitudine într-o epocă ulterioară perioadei cercetate de noi, nu în secolul al XI-lea, ci chiar în secolul al XII-lea. Din cauza corului cu trei abside, această biserică cu plan în cruce păstrează, cu mare probabilitate, influența unor modele din

nagyméretű kupola, és e hiány a párhuzamos értékelés elé is áthidalhatatlan akadályt emel.

Áttérve a keresztkupolás térszerkezet dalmáciai példáira (4. t. 7–9.): dolgozatunk szabott keretei miatt csak röviden szeretnénk ezekre utalni, ismét kiemelve: e templomokban a latin rítus szerint folyt a keresztény liturgia. E típusba az alábbi, dalmáciai, koraközépkori templomok tartoznak: a Zára/Zadar városában álló S. Lorenzo/Sv. Lovro,¹⁰¹ a Spalato/Split városában álló Sv. Mikula,¹⁰² ill. Sv. Eufemija (4. t. 9.) a ragúzai/dubrovniki székesegyház I. építési fázisa,¹⁰³ (4. t. 8.) valamint – végül, de nem utolsó sorban – a már hivatkozott, prčanji Sv. Toma-titulusú romtemplom.¹⁰⁴ (4. t. 7.) A keltezésről csak annyit emelnénk ki, hogy a felsorolt műemlékek közül csupán a zárai/zadari templom 11. századi korhatározása teljesen biztos. Ezzel szemben: mind a spalato/spliti, mind a ragúzai/dubrovniki mind pedig a prčanji keresztkupolás templom esetében a keltezés jelenti az egyik, még nem teljesen megoldott problémát. A szakirodalomban általában a 9. századi keltezéssel találkozni, a datálásra szolgáló érvek részletesebb kifejtése nélkül.

A Balkán-félsziget 9–11. századi emlékeanyagának az áttekintését egy olyan általános megjegyzéssel zárhatjuk, hogy a kereszt alaprajzi megjelenítése igencsak jelen volt a vizsgált térség adott korú építészetében. A keresztet legalább három módon tudták alaprajzban és/vagy térszerkezetben láthatóvá tenni, templomok tucatjain. A további vizsgálódásoknak azonban szűk határokat szab az emléktanyag nehéz keltezhetősége. E gátló körülmény miatt a vizsgálatokba bevonható épületek körének pusztá lehatárolása is nehézségekbe ütközik.

Nem tartozik dolgozatunk témájához, mégis meg kell emlékeznünk néhány olyan későbbi, észak-balkáni, kereszt alaprajzú templomról, amelyek kutatása visszahatott a koraközépkori kereszt alaprajzú templomok megítélésére. A dél-dalmáciai Mljet szigetén felépült bencés monostor (3. t. 7.) nagy biztonsággal keltezhető az általunk vizsgált időszaknál későbbi korba, talán nem is a 11, hanem inkább a 12. századba. E kereszt alaprajzú templom a három apszisból álló szentélyfeje miatt joggal sejthetően itáliai előképek hatását őrzi.¹⁰⁵ A mljeti templom jelentőségét az is növeli, hogy az – Milka Čanak-Medić

¹⁰¹ Marasović 1990, 221 (imaginea 7)

¹⁰² Marasović 1990, 219 (imaginea 6)

¹⁰³ Peković 1995, 163–165. (imaginile 1, 2, 4)

¹⁰⁴ Bošković 1976, 78 (imaginea 11)

¹⁰¹ Marasović 1990, 221, 7. kép.

¹⁰² Marasović 1990, 219. 6. kép.

¹⁰³ Peković 1995, 163–165, 1, 2, 4. ábra.

¹⁰⁴ Bošković 1976, 78, 11. ábra.

¹⁰⁵ Čanak-Medić 1989, 147–167.

Italia.¹⁰⁵ Conform unei întemeiate argumentări¹⁰⁶ semnate de Milka Čanak-Medić, importanța bisericii din Mljet e sporită de faptul că ea putea fi prototipul mănăstirii ortodoxe din Studenița, ctitorită de primul domnitor al Serbiei Nemanide. Adică, biserica a fost puntea de legătură prin care elemente ale arhitecturii din Italia sudică puteau ajunge în Serbia medievală.

Este momentul să subliniem încă o dată că, în istoria arhitecturii sârbe, planul în cruce se bucură de o popularitate specială, deoarece și constructorii mănăstirii ortodoxe din Studenița – ctitorită în 1190 de către domnitorul Ștefan Nemanja (1168–1196), întemeietorul statului sârb medieval – s-au străduit să reprezinte în spațiu forma crucii: corului cu trei nave i-au adăugat o navă longitudinală neîmpărțită, acoperită cu o cupolă, iar spațiul navei longitudinale au lărgit-o cu câte-o concha laterală îngustă, cu închidere dreaptă. Dintre bisericile mănăstirilor ctitorite de către domnitorii sârbi în secolul al XIII-lea, astfel de planuri au avut Morača,¹⁰⁷ Studenica Hvostanska,¹⁰⁸ Žiča,¹⁰⁹ etc. Pe baza monumentelor menționate este cert că în tipul de plan descris mai sus s-a putut constata o importantă simplificare încă din secolul al XIII-lea: la bisericile construite de așa-zisa școală din Raška, în locul corului cu trei abside s-a ales soluția cu o absidă.

Acest tip de plan s-a menținut în epoca ce a urmat bătăliei pierdute de la Kosovo-Polje din 1389, în perioada încetării statului sârb medieval. Prăbușirea statului chiar a facilitat răspândirea spre nord a bisericilor cu plan cruciform. Elita politică și bisericească sârbă – care s-a mutat spre nord, lângă malurile de sud ale Dunării, acceptată mai târziu în regatul maghiar medieval, și-a adus cu ea și atracția pentru acest tip de plan. Astfel, procesul deplasării spre nord a conducătorilor sârbi poate fi urmărită și prin date ce țin de istoria arhitecturii: de pildă prin apariția pe malul Dunării, în secolul al XV-lea, a bisericilor cu plan cruciform. În cercul acestora intră nu doar bisericile mănăstirești, ridicate în apropierea malului de sud al Dunării,¹¹⁰ ci și biserica construită la limita sudică a Regatului Ungar, la Stari Slankamen¹¹¹ (Serbia), precum și biserica mănăstirii din Stari Rakovac,¹¹² în ținutul Srem

megalapozott érvelése szerint¹⁰⁶ – a nemanjida Szerbia első uralkodója által alapított studenica ortodox monostor templomának lehetett az előképe. Azaz, a mljeti templom volt az a közvetítő kapocs, amely által a dél-itáliai építészet egyes elemei a középkori Szerbiába is eljuthattak.

A szerb építészettörténetben – ismételjük meg a nagyobb nyomaték kedvéért – a kereszt alaprajz annak okán örvend különös népszerűségnek, hogy a középkori szerb államot megalapító Nemanja István szerb fejedelem (1168–1196) által 1190-ben alapított studenica ortodox monostor templomnak az építői is a keresztalak térbeli megjelenítésére törekedtek: a háromhajós szentélyfejhez egy osztatlan, kupolával is rendelkező hosszházat csatoltak, a hosszház terét pedig egy-egy egyenes lezárású, keskeny oldalkonchával bővítették. A szerb uralkodók által a 13. században alapított monostorok templomai közül ilyen alaprajzzal épült fel Morača,¹⁰⁷ Studenica Hvostanska,¹⁰⁸ Žiča¹⁰⁹, stb. A hivatkozott emlékek alapján bizonyos, hogy a fentebb leírt alaprajzi típusban már a 13. században egy jelentős egyszerűsödés volt tapasztalható: az un. raškai iskola által épített templomokon a háromszis szentélyfejet az egyapszis megoldás váltotta fel.

Az adott alaprajzi típus fennmaradt 1389, a vesztes Rigó-mezei csata utáni korban, a középkori szerb állam megszűnése idején, sőt az állami összeomlás igencsak segítette a kereszt alaprajzú templomok északi irányú terjedését. Magával vitte ezen alaprajzi típus iránti vonzódását az északra, a Duna déli partjai mellé költöző, majd pedig a középkori Magyar Királyságba is bebocsátást nyerő szerb politikai és egyházi elit. Így a szerb főemberek északra vándorlásának a folyamata építészettörténeti adatokkal is nyomon követhető: a kereszt alaprajzú templomok 15. századi, Duna-melléki feltűnése által. Az ilyen templomok körébe nemcsak a Duna déli partja közelében felépült számos, kisebb-nagyobb monostortemplom tartozik,¹¹⁰ hanem a korabeli Magyar királyság déli szélén, a Duna-Száva közén felépített szalánkeméni¹¹¹ (Stari Slankamen, Szer.) templom, valamint a szintén szerémségi Stari Rakovac¹¹² (Szer.), illetve a dél-bánáti Mesić¹¹³ (Szer.) monostortemploma is. Dolgozatunk

¹⁰⁵ Čanak-Medić 1989, 147–167.

¹⁰⁶ Čanak-Medić 1989, 163–166.

¹⁰⁷ Deroko 1985, 70.

¹⁰⁸ Janković 2007, 132–137.

¹⁰⁹ Deroko 1985, 68.

¹¹⁰ Deroko 1985, 191–239.

¹¹¹ Korać 1970, 25–46.

¹¹² Kulić 2000.

¹⁰⁶ Čanak-Medić 1989, 163–166.

¹⁰⁷ Deroko 1985, 70.

¹⁰⁸ Janković 2007, 132–137.

¹⁰⁹ Deroko 1985, 68.

¹¹⁰ Deroko 1985, 191–239.

¹¹¹ Korać 1970, 25–46.

¹¹² Kulić 2000.

¹¹³ Rackov 2002.

(Serbia), sau cel din Mesić în Banatul de Sud (Serbia).¹¹³ Din cauza limitelor temporale ale lucrării noastre, menționăm doar în treacăt că bisericile unui număr însemnat de mănăstiri din secolele XVI–XVIII, au fost construite conform acestei planimetrii, care a dobândit popularitate și în arhitectura bisericii ortodoxe române, începând cu secolul al XV-lea. Exemplele enumerate sumar sunt suficiente pentru a releva măsura în care s-a împletit acest tip de biserică cu plan în cruce cu arhitectura bisericii ortodoxe sârbe începând din secolul al XII-lea, până chiar în epoca modernă. Iar acest fapt îi stimulează pe unii istorici de arhitectură sârbi să identifice un context sârb și acolo unde nu există, adică în monumentele mai timpurii din regiunea nord-balcanică.

Tipuri de biserici ce reprezintă crucea în planul și în structura lor spațială, în arhitectura Evului Mediu timpuriu din Europa de Vest și Centrală

O privire panoramică asupra arhitecturii sacrale din Evul Mediu timpuriu, din Vestul și Centrul Europei, trebuie să înceapă cu precizarea unui fapt special și oarecum paradoxal, dacă urmărim dorința de reprezentare în planimetrie a crucii. Această nevoie, judecând după clădirile pe care le avem la dispoziție, a jucat un rol mult mai mic în arhitectura carolingiană respectiv ottoniană, decât în arhitectura Imperiului Bizantin. Pe de altă parte, nu se poate însă nega că această nevoie a fost în mod real prezentă. Ca și în Bizanț, în Evul Mediu timpuriu, și în Europa de Vest și Centrală se observă cele trei tipuri de plan și structuri spațiale, profund diferite, care au apărut în urma nevoii reprezentării arhitecturale a crucii, încă din perioada paleocreștină, respectiv în secolele VI–VII. Dintre ele, beneficiază de o atenție mai mare doar tipul de configurație spațială triconc și tetraconc. Structura spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc este considerată de istoricii de arhitectură din Europa Occidentală ca o trăsătură specifică Italiei de sub influență bizantină. Această abordare este întemeiată, în pofida excepțiilor, cum sunt bisericile mai sus citate, din Terassa, São Fructuoso de Montélios ori Germigny des Prés. Importanța celui de-al treilea tip de structură spațială, cel cu plan în cruce, a devenit evidentă abia în urma unei sinteze recente.¹¹⁴

időrendi határai miatt csak jelzésszerűen érdemes utalni arra, hogy számos későbbi, 16–18. századi szerb monostor temploma is ezen alaprajzi rendszer szerint épült, és ugyanezen alaprajzi rendszer a román ortodox egyház építészetében is nagy népszerűsége tett szert a 15. századtól.

A csak röviden utalt példák alapján is nyilvánvaló, milyen mértékig fonódott össze a kereszt alaprajzú templomtípus a szerb pravoszláv egyház építészetével a 12. századtól, mondhatni az újkorig. E tény pedig a szerb építészettörténetek egy részét – mondani sem kell, tévesen – arra sarkallja, hogy az észak-balkáni régió korábbi emléanyagában is a nem létező szerb kontextus kimutatására törekedjen.

A keresztet alaprajzukban, illetve térszerkezetükben megjelenítő templomtípusok Nyugat- és Közép-Európa koraközépkori építészetében

Egy sajátos, némiképp ön magának is ellentmondó tény rögzítésével kell indítani a nyugat-közép-európai térség koraközépkori szakrális építészetének áttekintését a kereszt alaprajzi ábrázolására irányuló igény vonatkozásában. Egyfelől ugyanis tény az, hogy ezen igény – a rendelkezésre álló épületek alapján ítélve – jóval kisebb szerepet játszott a Karoling-, illetve Ottó-kor építészetében, mint a Bizánci birodalom, illetve a szellemi hatása alatt álló, újdonsült, délkelet-, illetve kelet-európai államok építészetében. Másfelől viszont az sem kétséges, hogy ezen igény igenis kimutatható. E kijelentés olyannyira igaz, hogy – Bizánchoz hasonlóan – a korai középkori Nyugat-, illetve Közép-Európában is ugyanaz a három, egymástól nagymértékben különböző alaprajzi típus, illetve térszerkezet regisztrálható, amelyet a kereszt építészeti megjelenítésének az igénye hívott életre még az ókeresztény korban, illetve a 6–7. században. Közülük csak a három- illetve négykaréjos térszerkezetre irányul nagyobb mértékű figyelem. A keresztcupolás térszerkezetet a nyugat-európai építészettörténetészek egy, a bizánci befolyás alatt álló Itáliára jellemző sajátosként szokták kezelni. E megközelítés valós, a kivételek, így a fentebb már idézett terassai, São Fructuoso de Montélios-i, vagy Germigny des Prés-i templom ellenére is. Végezetül, a harmadik térszerkezet: a kereszt alaprajzú szakrális épületek jelentősége csak egy, a közelmúltban megírt összefoglalás¹¹⁴ nyomán vált nyilvánvalóvá.

¹¹³ Rackov 2002.

¹¹⁴ Untermann 1999, 56–64.

¹¹⁴ Untermann 1999, 56–64.

Să începem conturarea panoramei promise cu clădirile cu plan tri- sau tetraconc, acestea fiind cele mai cunoscute. De clădirile cu acest plan s-a ocupat un lung șir de istorici de arhitectură din Europa Occidentală. În general, s-a subliniat faptul că planul triconc și tetraconc este caracteristic clădirilor mai mici ale unor centre eclesiastice mai mari, care nu au fost utilizate pentru slujbe regulate, ci au îndeplinit funcții specifice, ca baptisterii ori capele (paraclise). Existența acestor clădiri poate fi evidențiată în Italia, Franța de Sud, în arhitectura ottoniană a Imperiului German, precum și în arhitectura Europei de Est. În Italia de Nord, acest tip se concentrează în Lombardia, dar analogii se găsesc și în Veneto. Acestei categorii îi aparțin, în Italia, capela Santa Croce din Bergamo¹¹⁵ și baptisteriile din Galliano,¹¹⁶ Mariano Comense¹¹⁷ și Concordia Saggitaria,¹¹⁸ (*Pl. 3/1*) precum și celebra San Satiro din Milano.¹¹⁹ Din Franța, de pe valea râului Rhône, trebuie să amintim capela cu hramul Saint Croix din Montmajour,¹²⁰ precum și capela de cimitir din Saint-Romain-Le-Puy.¹²¹ Dintre monumentele Imperiului German, merită să reținem baptisteriul din Avolsheim¹²² (Franța), tetraconcul descoperit prin săpăturile din Unterhaun,¹²³ precum și capela trilobată cu hramul Toți Sfinții de lângă domul din Regensburg.¹²⁴ (*Pl. 3/2*) Încercarea de a contura un tablou complet al analogiilor și prefigurărilor structurii spațiale menționate trebuie să aibă în vedere că sistemul planimetric triconc și tetraconc poate fi remarcat și în arhitectura Boemiei și Poloniei, state în curs de formare la momentul trecerii dintre milenii. Dintre exemplele din Boemia, facem trimitere la tetraconcul din Sázava¹²⁵ și Reporyje¹²⁶ de lângă Praga, iar pentru cele din Polonia, la „rotonda B”¹²⁷ din Wawel (Cracovia), precum și la capela

Kezdzük áttekintésünket a három- vagy négykaréjos épületekkel, ismertségük okán. Az ilyen alaprajzú épületekkel nyugat-európai építészettörténészek sora foglalkozott. Rendszerint kiemelve, hogy a tri-, illetve tetrakonchoszok nagyobb egyházi központok olyan kisebb épületei, amelyeket nem rendszeres misézésre használtak, hanem sajátos szerepköröket töltöttek be, így kápolnaként vagy baptisteriumként szolgáltak. Ilyen épületek kimutathatók Itáliában, Dél-Franciaországban, a Német-Római Birodalom Ottó-kori építészetében, valamint Kelet-Közép-Európa építészetében is. Észak-Itáliában az emlékanyag Lombardiában sűrűsödik, de Venetóban is akadni párhuzamra. E körbe tartozik Itáliában a bergamoi Santa Croce-titulusú kápolna,¹¹⁵ a galliano, ¹¹⁶ Mariano Comense-i,¹¹⁷ illetve a Concordia Saggitaria-i¹¹⁸ baptistero (3. t. 1.), valamint a méltán világhírű milánói San Satiro.¹¹⁹ Franciaországból, a Rhône-folyó völgyéből a montmajouri Saint Croix-titulusú kápolnára,¹²⁰ valamint a Saint-Romain-Le-Puy-i temetőkápolnára¹²¹ kell utalnunk. A Német Birodalom egykori területének műemlékei közül pedig az avolsheimi¹²² (Fr.) baptisteriumról, az unterhauni ásatással feltárt tetrakonchoszról,¹²³ valamint a regensburgi dóm melletti, háromkaréjos térszerkezetű, Mindszentek-titulusú kápolnáról¹²⁴ kell megemlékeznünk. (3. t. 2.)

Az adott térszerkezet párhuzamainak és előképeinek a gyűjtése akkor lehet teljes, ha figyelembe vesszük, hogy a tri-, illetve a tetrakonchosz kimutatható az ezredfordulón formálódó Cseh- és Lengyelország építészetében is. A csehországi példák közül a sazarvai¹²⁵ és a Prága melletti reporyjei¹²⁶ tetrakonchoszra, a lengyelországiak közül pedig a krakkói Wawelben álló „B rotundára”¹²⁷ valamint az

¹¹⁵ Poggiani Keller et al. 1992, 1, 2 (hartă); Moris – Pellegrini 2003.

¹¹⁶ Chierici 1978, 243; Kling 1995, 186–192; Szakács 2012, 8, a descris pe scurt, în maghiară, caracteristicile de configurație spațială ale clădirii.

¹¹⁷ Chierici 1978, 367; Kling 1995, 109–111, 230–234; Simone Zopf – Blockley 2005.

¹¹⁸ Mascarin et al. 2008.

¹¹⁹ Kubach – Elbern 1966, 32, fig. 9; Kubach 1975, 52.

¹²⁰ Laule – Laule 1996, 169 (plan respectiv fig. nenumărată)

¹²¹ Reynard 1995, 33, fig. 11.

¹²² Haug – Will 1970, 26; Jacobsen et al. 1991, 40 (fig. nenumărată)

¹²³ Untermann 1999, 57, fig. 2.

¹²⁴ Kubach 1975, 366, 427; Traeger 1980.

¹²⁵ Kralovszky 1984, 134, fig. 16.

¹²⁶ Kralovszky 1984, 133, fig. 15.

¹²⁷ Kralovszky 1984, 134, fig. 17.

¹¹⁵ Poggiani Keller et al. 1992, 1, 2, térkép; Moris – Pellegrini 2003.

¹¹⁶ Chierici 1978, 243; Kling 1995, 186–192. Az épület térszerkezeti sajátosságait röviden leírta magyar nyelven Szakács 2012, 8.

¹¹⁷ Chierici 1978, 367; Kling 1995, 109–111, 230–234; Simone Zopf – Blockley 2005.

¹¹⁸ Mascarin et al. 2008.

¹¹⁹ Kubach – Elbern 1966, 32, 9. ábra; Kubach 1975, 52.

¹²⁰ Laule – Laule 1996, 169, számozatlan alaprajz, ill. ábra.

¹²¹ Reynard 1995, 33, 11. ábra.

¹²² Haug – Will 1970, 26; Jacobsen et al. 1991, 40, számozatlan ábra.

¹²³ Untermann 1999, 57, 2. ábra.

¹²⁴ Kubach 1975, 366, 427; Traeger 1980.

¹²⁵ Kralovszky 1984, 134, 16. ábra.

¹²⁶ Kralovszky 1984, 133, 15. ábra 3.

¹²⁷ Kralovszky 1984, 134, 17. ábra 2.

palatului din Ostrov Lednicki.¹²⁸ Majoritatea bisericilor enumerate poate fi datată în perioada din jurul anului 1000, exceptând pe cel din secolul al XII-lea de la Reporyje, care indică și longevitatea acestei configurații spațiale. Existența în Europa Occidentală, Centrală și Est-Centrală a structurii tri-și cvadrilobate a fost înregistrată și de literatura de specialitate ungară, prin Alán Kralovánszky, care a prelucrat vestigiile bisericii cu hramul Sf. Petru și Pavel din Székesfehérvár.¹²⁹ (Despre biserica din Székesfehérvár vom vorbi în cadrul prezentării monumentelor din Ungaria.)

Spre deosebire de structura spațială tri- sau cvadrilobată, biserici având sistem planimetric în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc au fost într-adevăr construite mai frecvent în acele zone vest-europene care erau în legături intense cu Imperiul Bizantin. Asemenea teritorii se pot evidenția mai ales în Italia. Trebuie să fim însă rezervați atunci când ne apropiem de clădirile din Italia de Sud, care în epocă se aflau în subordinea Bizanțului, deoarece aceste teritorii, deși din punct de vedere al dreptului canonic se aflau în subordinea bisericii apusene, din perspectivă răspândirii structurilor spațiale bizantine ele pot fi considerate ca parte a „oikumene bizantin”, adică un fel de „interior de țară”. În acest cerc intră bisericile în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc: La Cattolica din Stilo,¹³⁰ (Pl. 4/10) San Marco din Rossano,¹³¹ S. Pietro din Otranto¹³² și altele din treimea de sud a Peninsulei Italice. Bisericile din Stilo, Rossano și Otranto trebuiau amintite deoarece fiecare avea navă longitudinală lată, apropiată de pătrat.

Spre deosebire de bisericile din Italia de Sud, considerăm că au suportat cu adevărat influență culturală mănăstirile benedictine din secolele XI-XII – realizate cu structură spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc – din regiunea Ancona (Italia Centrală):¹³³ Genga – San Claudio al Chienti, (Pl. 4/11) San Vittore delle Chiuse, Santa Maria delle Moie, precum și Sassoferrato–Santa Croce. Caracterul specific, „de tranziție”, al bisericilor din regiunea Anconei constă în faptul că, în puternic contrast cu

Ostrov Lednickiben felépült palotakápolnára¹²⁸ utalunk. A felsorolt templomok többsége az 1000 körüli időkre keltezhető, a 12. századi reporyjei kivételével, amely egyben az adott térszerkezet hosszú továbbélését is tanúsítja. A három-, illetve négykaréjos térszerkezet nyugat-, közép-, illetve kelet-közép-európai létezésének a tényét a magyar szakirodalom is évtizedekkel ezelőtt regisztrálta, a székesfehérvári, Szt. Péter és Pál-titulusú templom maradványait feldolgozó Kralovánszky Alán révén.¹²⁹ (A székesfehérvári templomról a magyarországi emléanyag ismertetése során szólunk.)

Keresztkupolás templomok – a három-, illetve négykaréjos térszerkezettel ellentétben – ténylegesen azokon a nyugat-európai területeken épültek gyakrabban, amelyek intenzív kapcsolatban álltak a Bizánci birodalommal. Ilyen területek elsősorban Itáliában mutathatók ki. Csak korlátozott mértékben érdemes hivatkozni Dél-Itália bizánci fennhatóság alatt álló területeinek emléanyagára, hiszen e területek – bár egyházjogilag a nyugati egyház fennhatósága alatt álltak – a bizánci térszerkezetek terjedése tekintetében mégis a bizánci oikomené részeként, azaz egy sajátos „belföldként” tartandók számon. E körbe tartozik a stiloi La Cattolica, (4. t. 10.)¹³⁰ a rossanoi San Marco,¹³¹ az otrantoi S. Pietro,¹³² és még több további keresztkupolás templom az Appennini-félsziget déli harmadából. A stiloi, rosanoi és az otrantoi templomot annak okán kellett kiemelni, hogy mindháromnak széles, a négyzethez közelítő alaprajzú volt a hosszháza.

A fentebb utalt, dél-itáliai templomokkal ellentétben már tényleg kultúrhatásként értékelendők a közép-itáliai anconai régió keresztkupolás térszerkezettel megépült, 11–12. századi, bencés monostorai:¹³³ Genga – San Claudio al Chienti, (4. t. 11.) San Vittore delle Chiuse, Santa Maria delle Moie, valamint Sassoferrato – Santa Croce. Az anconai régió templomainak sajátos „átmeneti” jellegét az jelzi, hogy – térszerkezetük bizantinizáló jellegével éles ellentétben – egyes részletformáik, valamint a nyílásaik, támpaikk kiképzése teljesen illeszkedik az itáliai

¹²⁸ Oswald et al. 1966, 247; Kralovánszky 1984, 134, fig. 17/3.

¹²⁹ Kralovánszky 1983, 80–84; Kralovánszky 1984, 121–122.

¹³⁰ Krautheimer 1986, 402, fig. 364. A rezumat, in limba maghiară, cele mai importante date ale acestei biserici: Török 1970, 117, 121 (fig. 22)

¹³¹ Krautheimer 1986, 402, 403. A rezumat, in limba maghiară, cele mai importante date ale acestei biserici: Török 1970, 117.

¹³² Krautheimer 1986, 402; Grazio 2010.

¹³³ A inventariat aceste clădiri, in limba maghiară: Buzás 2001, 49–50.

¹²⁸ Oswald et al. 1966–1971, 247; Kralovánszky 1984, 134, 17. ábra 3.

¹²⁹ Kralovánszky 1983, 80–84; Kralovánszky 1984, 121–122.

¹³⁰ Krautheimer 1986, 402, 364. ábra. Magyar nyelven foglalta össze e templom legfontosabb adatait Török 1970, 117, 121, 22. kép.

¹³¹ Krautheimer 1986, 402, 403. Magyar nyelven foglalta össze e templom legfontosabb adatait Török 1970, 117.

¹³² Krautheimer 1986, 402; Grazio 2010.

¹³³ Magyarul áttekintette ezeket az épületeket: Buzás 2001, 49–50.

caracterul bizantinizant al structurii lor spațiale, unele forme de detaliu precum și realizarea golurilor și pilaștrilor se armonizează deplin cu arhitectura romanică din Italia. Apoi, tot semn al prezenței culturii bizantine este și faptul că, în secolele IX–XI, în Venetia au fost construite numeroase biserici cu plan în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. Din acest grup fac parte bisericile San Giacomo (=Giacometto) di Rialto,¹³⁴ (Pl. 4/12) San Maurizio,¹³⁵ San Giovanni Elemosinario,¹³⁶ precum și Santa Maria Mater Domini,¹³⁷ transformate din păcate, parțial sau integral, în epoca premodernă. Din cauza transformărilor ulterioare, dintre bisericile enumerate, numai în cazul San Giacomo di Rialto putem studia, dincolo de plan, și suprastructura. Pe această biserică mică, în mod similar fazei 3. a celebrului S. Marco,¹³⁸ domină și în detalii elementele bizantine, respectiv bizantinizante.

Trecem la cel de-al treilea tip de plan, cu precizarea: în cercetarea istoriei arhitecturale din Europa, referitor la bisericile cu plan în cruce, se poate constata o dualitate particulară. Pe de o parte, e un loc comun în literatura de specialitate, în legătură cu faza 3, deja menționată, a bisericii San Marco din Venetia,¹³⁹ (Pl. 3/8) nu doar apariția în Italia de Nord a planului în cruce, ci chiar copierea în Venetia a unui prototip bizantin concret, structura spațială a bisericii Ag. Apostoloi din Constantinopol, în ultima treime a secolului al XI-lea. Pe de altă parte puțini cercetători observă, că și în arhitectura din secolele IX–XI a spațiului vest- și central-european există exemple pentru clădiri de dimensiuni mici, cu plan în cruce. Ba mult mai multe biserici mici sau capele cu plan în cruce au fost construite decât sugerează lipsa, să subliniem din nou, aparentă, constatată după o rapidă cercetare a literaturii de specialitate. Trebuia să așteptăm până la analiza lui Matthias Untermann apărută în 1999 ca să se nască o sinteză cuprinzătoare¹⁴⁰ a bisericilor cu asemenea plan, cu prezentarea a nu mai puțin decât zece biserici respectiv capele cu plan în cruce. (Pl. 5/1–11)

Baza analizei lui Matthias Untermann a fost problematica interpretării bisericii cu plan în cruce greacă, Kreuzkirche,¹⁴¹ (Pl. 5/1) descoper-

romanikába. Továbbá, szintén a bizánci kultúra jelenlétének a jele az, hogy Velencében számos keresztкуполás térszerkezetű templom épült a 9–11. században. Ezek sorába tartozik a koraújkorban sajnos részben vagy egészében átépített San Giacomo (=Giacometto) di Rialto,¹³⁴ (4. t. 12.) San Maurizio,¹³⁵ San Giovanni Elemosinario,¹³⁶ valamint a Santa Maria Mater Domini¹³⁷ titulusú templom. A későbbi átépítések miatt a felsorolt épületek közül csak a San Giacomo di Rialto esetében tanulmányozhatjuk az alaprajzon túl a felépítményt is. E kis templomon – a méltán világhírű S. Marco 3. építési fázisához¹³⁸ hasonlóan – a részletekben is a bizánci, illetve bizantinizáló elemek dominálnak.

Áttérve a harmadik alaprajzi típusra: a kereszt alaprajzú templomok vonatkozásában egy sajátos kettősség tapasztalható az európai építészettörténeti kutatásban. A szakirodalomban egyfelől szinte közhelynek számít, az előzőekben már röviden hivatkozott, velencei S. Marco, 3. építési fázisa¹³⁹ (3. t. 8.) miatt, amely nemcsak a keresztalaprajz észak-itáliai felbukkanása, hanem egy konkrét bizánci előkép, a konstantinápolyi Ag. Aposztoloi térszerkezetének velencei másolása a 11. század utolsó harmadában. Másfelől viszont csak kevés kutató szokott arra figyelni, hogy a nyugat-, illetve közép-európai térség 9–11. századi építészetében is van példa kisméretű, kereszt alaprajzú épületekre. Sőt, kereszt alaprajzú kis templomból vagy kápolnából jóval több épült, mint azt a szakirodalom futólagos átvizsgálása során tapasztalható – emeljük ki ismét: csak látszólagos – hiány sejtetni engedi. Egészen Matthias Untermann 1999-ben megjelentetett elemzéséig kellett várni ahhoz, hogy az ilyen alaprajzú templomokról összefoglaló áttekintés¹⁴⁰ szülessen, benne nem kevesebb, mint tíz kereszt alaprajzú templom, illetve kápolna ismertetésével. (5. t. 1–11.)

Matthias Untermann elemzésének alapját az Osnabrück határában, a Wallenhorst-Wittekindenberg nevű hegy tetején 1996-97-ben feltárt, görögkereszt alaprajzú templom,¹⁴¹ (5. t. 1.) a Kreuzkirche értelmezésének a problematikája jelentette. Untermann dolgozatát egy sajátos

¹³⁴ Dorigo 1983, 607, fig. 82.

¹³⁵ Dorigo 1983, 597, fig. 49.

¹³⁶ Dorigo 1983, 607, fig. 27.

¹³⁷ Dorigo 1983, 607, fig. 43.

¹³⁸ Mango 1986, 179, fig. 241.

¹³⁹ Dorigo 1997, 45 (fig. nenumerotată)

¹⁴⁰ Untermann 1999, 56–64.

¹⁴¹ Best 1999, 33–41.

¹³⁴ Dorigo 1983, 607, 82. ábra.

¹³⁵ Dorigo 1983, 597, 49. ábra.

¹³⁶ Dorigo 1983, 607, 27. ábra.

¹³⁷ Dorigo 1983, 607, 43. ábra.

¹³⁸ Mango 1986, 179, 241. ábra.

¹³⁹ Dorigo 1997, 45, számozatlan ábra.

¹⁴⁰ Untermann 1999, 56–64.

¹⁴¹ Best 1999, 33–41.

rită în 1996–1997 lângă Osnabrück, pe vârful muntelui Wallenhorst-Wittekindenberg. Lucrarea lui Untermann se caracterizează printr-o dualitate particulară.¹⁴² Pe când în interpretarea istorică a bisericuței de pe Wittekindenberg respectiv în identificarea celor înmormântați acolo a putut înainta foarte puțin – din lipsă de surse scrise – în cercetarea tipului de biserică cu plan în cruce din epoca carolingiană și ottoniană a reușit să facă observații fundamentale. Din păcate, în baza cercetărilor arheologice pur și simplu nu se poate determina dacă clădirea de dimensiuni mici, cu plan în cruce greacă se poate lega de un centru de putere, de o mănăstire cu o viață foarte scurtă din secolul al IX-lea, ori eventual e un monument al vremurilor de după mutarea mănăstirii. Iar fără deciderea acestei probleme nici mormintele scoase la iveală în spațiul închis de fundațiile descoperite nu se pot interpreta.

Adevărata valoare a lucrării lui Matthias Untermann nu provine din problemele de mai sus, nerezolvate, ci din modul cum a reușit să privească problematica bisericilor cu plan cruciform din Evul Mediu timpuriu în perspectivă vest- și est-europeană. Matthias Untermann deosebește trei categorii în sfera clădirilor sacrale cu plan în cruce, din evul mediu timpuriu din Europa de Vest și Centrală. Acestea sunt: 1. bisericile de cetăți, 2. clădiri ce completează complexul arhitectural al unor instituții ecleziastice mai mari, 3. capele ale căror sistem planimetric e consecința hramului lor, Sf. Cruce.¹⁴³ Dintre exemplele lui Untermann abia două clădiri cu plan în cruce, una din Cracovia,¹⁴⁴ (Pl. 5/4) și alta din Praga¹⁴⁵ (Pl. 5/6) se pot interpreta cu mare grad de posibilitate ca biserică de cetate. Din ambele nu s-au păstrat din păcate decât fundațiile, ceea ce limitează posibilitățile analizei structurii lor spațiale. Autorul oferă un singur exemplu sigur și pentru hramul Sf. Cruce, Heiligkreuzkapelle¹⁴⁶ din Trier (Pl. 5/2) (în cazul fundației de la Wittekindenberg o asemenea interpretare nu e decât o ipoteză). Capela din Trier pare clădirea poate cel mai bine păstrată dintre cele pomenite în lucrare, însă din păcate doar la prima privire. Clădirea a fost temeinic transformată deja în secolul al XII-lea, iar din cauza distrugerilor din 1944–1945 trebuia reconstruită aproape complet. Astfel în legătură cu edificarea ei în secolul al XI-lea este cert doar că în contrar planului său de azi, în cruce latină, avea plan

kettősség jellemzi.¹⁴² Miközben a wittenkindsbergi kis templom történeti értelmezésében, illetve az ott eltemetettek kilétének a kiderítésében – írott források hiányában – csak nagyon kis mértékben tudott előrelépni, alapvető megfigyeléseket tudott tenni a kereszt alaprajzú templomtípus Karoling- és Ottó-kori elterjedésének a vizsgálatában. Sajnos ugyanis a régészeti feltárások alapján egészen egyszerűen nem lehet eldönteni azt, vajon a kisméretű, görögkereszt alaprajzú épület egy 9. századi uralmi központhoz, egy 9. századi, igen rövid életű kolostorhoz köthető-e, vagy esetleg a kolostor áthelyezése utáni idők emléke-e. Pedig e kérdés eldöntése nélkül a feltárt alapfalak által körbe zárt térben kibontott sírok sem értelmezhetők.

Matthias Untermann dolgozatának valódi értékét nem a fentebb utalt, megoldatlan kérdések adják, hanem azon mód, ahogyan a koraközépkori, kereszt alaprajzú templomok problematikáját nyugat- és közép-európai távlatok között tudta szemlélni. Matthias Untermann három kategóriát különböztetett meg a nyugat- és közép-európai, koraközépkori, kereszt alaprajzú szakrális épületek körében. Ezek: 1. vártemplomok, 2. nagyobb egyházi intézmények épületkomplexumának kiegészítő épületei, 3. olyan kápolnák, amelyek alaprajzi rendszerüket Szt. Kereszt-patrocíniumuknak köszönhetik.¹⁴³ Az Untermann által felvonultatott példák közül alig két kereszt alaprajzú épület: egy-egy krakkói,¹⁴⁴ (5. t. 4.) illetve prágai¹⁴⁵ (5. t. 6.) kápolna értelmezhető nagy valószínűséggel vártemplomként. Mindkettőből sajnos csak az alapfalak maradtak meg, ami térszerkezetük elemzésének szűk határokat szab. A Szt. Kereszt-patrocíniumra is csak egy biztos példát tud a hivatkozott dolgozat szerzője: a trieri Heiligkreuzkapellét¹⁴⁶ (5. t. 2.) (a wittekindsbergi épületalap esetében egy ilyen értelmezés nem több egy feltételezésnél). A trieri kápolna a dolgozat talán legépebben megmaradt épületének tűnhet, sajnos csak első ránézésre. Ezt az épületet már a 12. században alaposan átépítették, az 1944–1945-ben elszenvedett sérülések miatt pedig szinte újjá kellett építeni. Így 11. századi épülről csak annyi biztos, hogy az, mai latinkeresztet formázó alaprajzával ellentétben, görögkereszt alakú volt. Az Untermann által tárgyalt kereszt alaprajzú templomok többsége a 2. kategóriába tartozik, és egyházi központok kápolnájaként

¹⁴² Untermann 1999, 56–64 și în mod special 56, 60.

¹⁴³ Untermann 1999, 60.

¹⁴⁴ Untermann 1999, fig. 15.

¹⁴⁵ Untermann 1999, fig. 16.

¹⁴⁶ Untermann 1999, fig. 1.

¹⁴² Untermann 1999, 56–64. és különösen 56, 60.

¹⁴³ Untermann 1999, 60.

¹⁴⁴ Untermann 1999, 15. ábra.

¹⁴⁵ Untermann 1999, 16. ábra

¹⁴⁶ Untermann 1999, 1. ábra.

de forma crucii grecești. Majoritatea bisericilor cu plan în cruce tratate de Untermann aparține celei de-a doua categorii, și sunt interpretabile ca și capele ori baptisterii ale centrelor ecleziastice. Merită să cunoaștem puțin mai amănunțit aceste capele și baptisterii. Însă cu mențiunea inițială: nu toate bisericile mici cu plan cruciform din spațiul vest- și central-european își găsesc locul în această clasificare, din cauza lipsei contextului de interpretare. Din clădirile cu destinație incertă face parte prima fază de construire a bisericii mănăstirești din Wieselburg din Austria Inferioară, reconstituită de Herta Ladenbauer-Orel,¹⁴⁷ (Pl. 5/3) precum și biserica S. Zeno din Bardolino, Italia de Nord (Pl. 3/3) nementionată de Untermann. O biserică cu arhitectură destul de simplă, a cărei singur detaliu decorativ este șirul coloanelor angajate ce articulează planul interior al zidurilor navei longitudinale.

Matthias Untermann amintește în total cinci biserici de dimensiuni mici cu plan cruciform din secolele IX–XI, care au fost ridicate în interiorul unor complexe arhitecturale ecleziastice. Pentru evitarea confuziilor posibile trebuie subliniat că Untermann numește această grupă „clădiri cu structură spațială centrală pe lângă biserici mănăstirești” („*Zentralbauten neben Klosterkirchen*”),¹⁴⁸ însă această definiție nu e riguroasă. Deoarece primul exemplu prezentat de el, cavoul domului din Halberstadt (Pl. 5/7) făcea parte dintr-o clădire ecleziastică cu rol de catedrală de la începutul secolului al IX-lea până la 1648, iar un alt exemplu, Beromünster¹⁴⁹ (Pl. 5/8) a fost întemeiat ca și „*capitulum collegiale*”.

Cel mai timpuriu exemplu dintre cele prezentate de Matthias Untermann este capela cu hramul Sf. Magnus și Sf. Cruce din St. Gallen, sfințită în 898, păstrată din păcate abia la nivelul fundațiilor.¹⁵⁰ În prima fază a construirii domului din Halberstadt, menționat mai sus, corul consta dintr-o singură absidă de dimensiuni mari, de ambele părți cu câte un turn cu plan circular și se conecta cu un transept perpendicular. Din cauza temei lucrării noastre se va acorda mare atenție faptului că absidei, dinspre răsărit, s-a alăturat un cavou de dimensiuni mici, cu plan cruciform, cu etaj, sfințit în 974, în axa principală longitudinală a catedralei.¹⁵¹ La această clădire mică cele patru brațe ale crucii sunt legate de o zonă centrală de dimensiuni relativ mari. Exemplul următor este

vagy baptisteriumaként értelmezhető. Érdemes e kápolnákkal és baptisteriumokkal kicsit részletesebben is megismernedni. Előtte kiemelve, hogy a nyugat-, illetve közép-európai térség nem minden kereszt alaprajzú kis temploma illeszthető be e felosztásba, a hiányzó értelmezési kontextus miatt. A bizonytalan rendeltetésű épületek közé tartozik az alsó-ausztriai Wieselburg monostor-templomának Herta Ladenbauer-Orel által rekonstruált I. építési fázisa,¹⁴⁷ (5. t. 3.) valamint az Untermann által nem említett, észak-itáliai Bardolino S. Zeno-titulusú temploma. (3. t. 3.) Ez utóbbi egy olyan, meglehetősen egyszerű építésű templom, amelynek egyetlen díszesebb részlete a hosszaház falainak belső síkját tagoló faloszlopok sora.

Matthias Untermann összesen öt olyan kisméretű, 9–11. századi, kereszt alaprajzú templomot említ, amelyek egyházi épületkomplexumokon belül épültek meg. A lehetséges félreértések elkerülése érdekében ki kell emelni, hogy Untermann e csoportot „kolostortemplomok melletti centrális térszerkezetű épületek” (*Zentralbauten neben Klosterkirchen*) névvel jegyzi,¹⁴⁸ e meghatározás azonban nem pontos. Hiszen az általa hivatkozott első példa a halberstadti dóm kriptája (5. t. 7.) egy olyan egyházi épület része volt, amely püspöki székesegyházként szolgált a 9. század elejétől 1648-ig, egy másik példáját, Beromünstert¹⁴⁹ (5. t. 8.) pedig társas káptalanként alapították.

A Matthias Untermann által idézett példák közül a legkorábbi a St. Gallen-i monostor 898-ban felszentelt, és sajnos csak alapfalaiiban megmaradt, Szt. Magnus és Szt. Kereszt-titulusú kápolnája.¹⁵⁰ A fentebb már utalt halberstadti dóm építésének első fázisában a szentélyfej egyetlen nagyméretű, apszidális szentélyből állt, mindkét oldalán egy-egy kerek alaprajzú toronnyal, és egy átfutó keresztházhoz csatlakozott. Dolgozatunk tematikája miatt nagy hangsúllyal kezelendő, hogy az apszishoz keletről egy kisméretű, kereszt alaprajzú, emeletes, 974-ben felszentelt kriptá is csatlakozott, a székesegyház hosszanti főtengelyében.¹⁵¹ E kis épületnél egy viszonylag nagyméretű középrészhez csatlakozik a négy keresztszár. A következő példa a schütterni monostortemplomtól nyugatra feltárt, görögkereszt alaprajzú

¹⁴⁷ Untermann 1999, fig. 12.

¹⁴⁸ Untermann 1999, 60.

¹⁴⁹ Untermann 1999, 60, fig. 13.

¹⁵⁰ Untermann 1999, 60.

¹⁵¹ Untermann 1999, fig. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Untermann 1999, 12. ábra.

¹⁴⁸ Untermann 1999, 60.

¹⁴⁹ Untermann 1999, 60, 13. ábra.

¹⁵⁰ Untermann 1999, 60.

¹⁵¹ Untermann 1999, 3. ábra.

capela descoperită la vest de biserică mănăstirească din Schüttern, cu plan în cruce greacă, cu datare în secolul al X-lea.¹⁵² (Pl. 5/9) Biserica colegială întemeiată în 1036 din Beromünster (Elveția) aduce concluzii și mai importante decât cele trei exemple precedente.¹⁵³ (Pl. 5/8) Aici, la vest de biserică bazilicală, în axul longitudinal al bisericii, a fost ridicată, foarte probabil în prima parte a secolului al XI-lea capela Sf. Petru. Iar în încheiere trebuie să menționăm capela Sf. Cruce sfințită în 1094, cu plan în cruce latină, având cor absidal în brațul de est al crucii, de la mănăstirea Sf. Pantaleon din Köln.¹⁵⁴ (Pl. 5/10) Această capelă a fost construită la est de biserică mănăstirii, lângă zidul sudic al corului cu trei abside.

Rezumând cele spuse: bisericile tratate pe scurt mai sus exemplifică bine faptul că într-adevăr se poate demonstra necesitatea reprezentării crucii în plan respectiv în configurația spațială în arhitectura ecleziastică a Europei de Vest și Centrale în secolele IX–XI, fiind totodată adevărat și faptul că această necesitate nu a jucat nicidecum un rol atât de central ca în Imperiul Bizantin și în teritoriile limitrofe. Fără îndoială, arhitectii epocii carolingiene și ottoniene au folosit prototipuri provenind din Imperiul Bizantin în cursul aplicării intenției reprezentării crucii în plan și/sau structură spațială. Ipoteza unei asemenea origini este justificată la bisericile mari cu plan cruciform, respectiv la tipul de biserică în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. Preluarea poate fi considerată mai reușită în cazul bisericii de dimensiuni mari, cu plan cruciform, deoarece sistemul planimetric/de structură spațială al fazei 3. a construirii S. Marco din Veneția (Pl. 3/8) și-a găsit calea și în arhitectura romanică din Franța.¹⁵⁵ Pe când – cum am menționat mai sus – planul în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc din Europa Centrală și de Vest, abia s-a răspândit altundeva decât în Italia, ori – cum vom vedea mai jos – în Ungaria Arpadiană. Cele două tipuri de structură spațială amintite nu pot rezolva în sine problema provenienței clădirilor cu plan tri- și tetraconc, de dimensiuni mici, precum și a capelelor cu plan în cruce. La exemplele din epoca carolingiană și ottoniană a acestor două tipuri planimetrice e justificat să contăm pe influența clădirilor ce au supraviețuit epocii migrațiilor, respectiv a arhitecturii din Italia, care nu numai mediau

kápolna, 10. századi keltezéssel.¹⁵² (5. t. 9.) Az előző három példánál is fontosabb tanulságokat hordoz az 1036-ban alapított beromünsteri (Svájc) társaskáptalan temploma.¹⁵³ (5. t. 8.) Itt a bazilikális térszerkezetű templomtól nyugatra, a templom hossz tengelyében épült meg a Szt. Péter-titulusú, kereszt alaprajzú kápolna, joggal sejthetően a 11. század első felében. Végül pedig utalni kell a kölni Szt. Pantaleon-titulusú monostor, 1094-ben felszentelt, latinkereszt alaprajzú, keleti kereszt-szárában apszidális szentélyrésszel rendelkező, Szt. Kereszt-titulusú kápolnájára.¹⁵⁴ (5. t. 10.) E kápolna a monostortemplom keleti oldalához, a háromapszisos szentélyfej déli záró fala mellé épült.

Az elmondottakat összefoglalva: az előzőekben csak röviden utalt templomok jól példázzák azt, hogy a kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítése iránti igény igenis kimutatható Nyugat- és Közép-Európa 9–11. századi szakrális építészetében, bár az is tény, hogy ezen igény korántsem játszott olyan központi szerepet, mint a Bizánci birodalomban és peremterületein. Az sem lehet kétséges, hogy a Karoling-, illetve Ottó-kor építészeti részint a Bizánci birodalomból származó előképeket használtak fel a kereszt alaprajzi és/vagy térszerkezeti megjelenítésére irányuló törekvés megvalósítása során. Egy ilyen származtatást különösen a nagyméretű, kereszt alaprajzú templomok, illetve a keresztkupolás templomtípus esetében jogos feltételezni. A nagyméretű, kereszt alaprajzú templom esetében tekinthető az átvétel sikeresebbnek, hiszen a velencei S. Marco 3. építési fázisának (3. t. 8.) alaprajzi/térszerkezeti rendszere a francia romanikába is utat talált.¹⁵⁵ Ezzel szemben viszont – mint fentebb utaltunk rá – a keresztkupolás térszerkezet Nyugat-, illetve Közép-Európában alig terjedt el máshol, mint Itáliában, vagy – amint erről alább lesz szó – az Árpád-kori Magyarországon. Az előzőekben említett két térszerkezet azonban önmagában nem alkalmas arra, hogy a kis alapterületű tri-, illetve tetrakonchoszok, valamint a kereszt alaprajzú kápolnák eredeztetését megoldja. E két alaprajzi típus Karoling- és Ottó-kori példái esetében érdemes számolni a népvándorlást átvészoló épületek, illetve a bizánci előképeket nemcsak közvetítő, hanem önálló kiindulópontként is szolgáló itáliai építészet hatásával.

¹⁵² Untermann 1999, fig. 14.

¹⁵³ Untermann 1999, 60, fig. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Untermann 1999, fig. 17.

¹⁵⁵ Périgereux – St-Front: Conant 1987, 289.

¹⁵² Untermann 1999, 14. ábra.

¹⁵³ Untermann 1999, 60, 13. ábra

¹⁵⁴ Untermann 1999, 17. ábra.

¹⁵⁵ Périgereux – St-Front: Conant 1987, 289.

prototipurile bizantine, ci serveau și ca punct de pornire de sine stătător.

Amintim doar de dragul completitudinii că dorința de înfățișare în plan și structură spațială a crucii în Europa Occidentală și Centrală reappare nu numai în arhitectura Renașterii, ci apare sporadic și în goticul central-european. Exemplu în acest sens este biserica cu plan tetraconc din secolul al XIII-lea de la Harleben de lângă Brandenburg.¹⁵⁶ (Pl. 5/11)

Monumente din Ungaria din epoca Arpadiană

Istoria arhitecturii Bazinului Carpatic în Evul Mediu timpuriu o putem înțelege numai dacă cunoaștem contextul de istorie politică. Secolul al IX-lea în Bazinul Carpatic a fost caracterizat de fărâmițare.¹⁵⁷ Aceasta a putut apărea din cauza faptului că Imperiul Carolingian respectiv Primul Stat Bulgar, ce au nimicit Kaganatul Avar la cumpăna veacurilor VIII–IX, au luat în posesiune doar microregiuni din acest spațiu. Ba chiar și Ludevit, respectiv Pribina și Kocel, care încercaseră slăbirea legăturilor cu Imperiul Carolingian, au reușit să domnească doar peste unele regiuni în spațiul dintre Sava și Dunăre, respectiv în Transdanubia de Sud-Vest.¹⁵⁸ Iar Principatul Moravian, crescut în umbra puterii carolingiene, a reușit să domine numai capătul de nord-vest al văii mijlocii a Dunării.¹⁵⁹ În contextul lucrării noastre merită subliniat faptul că o bună parte a Transilvaniei de Sud aparținea Primului Stat Bulgar, cu centrul la Bălgrad (Alba Iulia, Rom.).¹⁶⁰

Fărâmițarea a fost lichidată de descălecarea maghiară petrecută între 895–900, eveniment în urma căruia Bazinul Carpatic a ajuns din nou sub dominația unei singure elite armate.¹⁶¹ Ba în anul 1000, prin încoronarea Sfântului Ștefan structura politică creată de descălecători s-a transformat într-un stat,¹⁶² care până la prima treime a secolului al XVI-lea a asigurat un cadru politic stabil, printre altele, și pentru dezvoltarea arhitecturii sacrale. Astfel și aspectele specifice ale arhitecturii bisericilor din Bazinul Carpatic din

Csak a teljesség kedvéért említjük meg, hogy a kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítése iránti igény Nyugat- és Közép-Európában nemcsak a reneszánsz építészetében bukkan fel újra, hanem a közép-európai gótikában is szórva nyosan meglegelhető. Erre példa a Brandenburg melletti Harleben sajnos már csak alaprajzban tanulmányozható, 13. századi, négykonchás alaprajzú temploma.¹⁵⁶ (5. t. 11.)

Az Árpád-kori Magyarország emlékanyaga

A Kárpát-medence koraközépkori építészetét is csak akkor tudjuk megérteni, ha pontosan ismerjük a politikátörténeti kontextust. A Kárpát-medence 9. századát a szétagoltság jellemezte.¹⁵⁷ Ez annak következtében alakulhatott ki, hogy az Avar Kaganátust a 8–9. század fordulóján felszámoló Karoling birodalom, illetve I. bolgár állam csak az adott nagytáj kisebb régióit vette saját uralma alá. Sőt, a Karoling birodalomhoz fűződő kötelékeket lazítani igyekvő Liudevit, illetve Pribina és Kocel is csak egy-egy kisebb-nagyobb régiót tudott uralni a Száva-Dráva közében, illetve a Délnyugat-Dunántúlon.¹⁵⁸ Valamint, a szintén a karoling hatalom árnyékában felnövő Morva fejedelemség is a közép-Duna völgynek csak az északnyugati szélét tudta tartósan uralma alá vonni.¹⁵⁹ Dolgozatunk tematikája miatt érdemes külön kiemelni, hogy Dél-Erdély egy jelentős része az I. bolgár államba tartozott, Bălgrad, azaz Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Rom.) központtal.¹⁶⁰

A szétagoltságot a 895 és 900 között bekövetkező magyar honfoglalás számolta fel, amelynek következtében a Kárpát-medence ismét egyetlen fegyverforgató elit uralma alá került.¹⁶¹ Sőt 1000-ben, I. Szent István megkoronázásával a honfoglalók által létre hozott uralmi képlet állammá alakult,¹⁶² és ezen állam a 16. század első harmadáig stabil politikai kereteket biztosított többek között a szakrális építészet fejlődéséhez is. Így a 11–16. századi, Kárpát-medencei templomok építészeti sajátosságait is csak akkor érthetjük meg pontosan, ha ezeket magyarországi kontextusban vizsgáljuk.

¹⁵⁶ Untermann 1999, fig. 11.

¹⁵⁷ Bóna 1984, 336–373.

¹⁵⁸ Bóna 1984, 360–365.

¹⁵⁹ Bóna 1984, 365–369.

¹⁶⁰ A rezumat scurt și la obiect istoria din secolul al IX-lea a Bulgariei: Angelov 1982, col. 917–918. În lb. maghiară: Bóna 1984, 349, 365.

¹⁶¹ Bóna 2000, 25–71.

¹⁶² Györffy 1983; Bogyay 1988; Engel 2001; Kristó 2002.

¹⁵⁶ Untermann 1999, 11. ábra.

¹⁵⁷ Bóna 1984, 336–373.

¹⁵⁸ Bóna 1984, 360–365.

¹⁵⁹ Bóna 1984, 365–369.

¹⁶⁰ Bulgária 9. századi történetét röviden, de velősen összefoglalta: Angelov 1982, 917–918. oszlop. Magyarul: Bóna 1984, 349, 365.

¹⁶¹ Bóna 2000, 25–71.

¹⁶² Györffy 1983; Bogyay 1988; Engel 2001; Kristó 2002.

secolele XI–XVI le vom înțelege cu exactitudine, dacă le cercetăm în contextul Ungariei.

Bisericile ale căror analiză urmează au fost toate construite – cu eventual o excepție – în secolele XI–XII, astfel cadrul în care se va efectua analiza de istorie arhitecturală trebuie să fie Ungaria Arpadiană. Singura excepție – a cărei valabilitate este deocamdată îndoielnică – poate fi o fundație de biserică din Alba Iulia (din păcate încă incomplet publicată), deoarece cercetătoarea ei, Daniela Marcu Istrate o datează în secolul al X-lea. Dacă determinarea dânzei este corectă, biserica trebuie interpretată în cadrul Principatului Ungar. Deoarece Hierotheos – care conform interpretării amintite – a ridicat biserica din Alba Iulia, a sosit pe la jumătatea anilor 950 în suita lui Gyula – a doua persoană în rang al Marelui Principat Ungar – în teritoriul dominat de acesta, cu scopul de a organiza episcopia din „Turkia”, adică Ungaria, și să-i fie primul episcop.¹⁶³

Cercetătorii care au analizat arhitectura ecleziastică a Ungariei Arpadiene n-au observat timp îndelungat că în această epocă se poate evidenția intenția reprezentării crucii în plan și/ sau în structură spațială în fondul arhitectural al Ungariei Arpadiane – în mod identic cu Peninsula Balcanică respectiv cu Europa Occidentală și Centrală. Exigența reprezentării crucii se poate identifica în cazul a trei tipuri planimetrice ori de configurație spațială. Aceste structuri spațiale – în mod identic cu analogiile din străinătate – sunt deja amintite biserici cu plan triconc și tetraconc, biserica în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, precum și clădirile cu plan cruciform.

Dintre cele trei tipuri de structură spațială cel cu plan tetraconc e cel mai cunoscut, grație unui studiu din 2012 al lui Béla Zsolt Szakács.¹⁶⁴ Prin acest studiu a devenit ușor interpretabil un grup de monumente a căror particularitate nu a fost descoperită de cercetătorii mai vechi, deoarece aceștia au inclus bisericile în cauză în grupul rotundelor.¹⁶⁵ La acest punct poate nu e inutil să repetăm: diferența dintre cele două tipuri de clădire poate fi surprinsă în planul spațiului central: spațiul central al rotundelor cu patru abside (de ex. cea din Odorheiu Secuiesc) este rotund,

Az alább elemzésre kerülő templomok – egyetlen esetleges kivétellel – mind a 11–13. században épültek, így az Árpád-kori Magyarország kell jelentse a kereteket, amelyben az építészettörténeti elemzés végzendő. Az egyetlen – igencsak kétséges érvényű – kivételt egy közelmúltban feltárt, és sajnos még kellőképp nem közölt gyulafehérvári (Alba Iulia, Rom.) templomalap jelentheti, mert azt feltárója, Daniela Marcu Istrate, sajtóértesülések szerint a 10. századra keltezi. Ha meghatározása helytálló, e templomot a Magyar Nagyfejedelemség keretei között kell értelmezni. Hiszen Hierotheosz – aki a hivatkozott értelmezés szerint – a gyulafehérvári templomot felépítette, a 950-es évek közepén, Gyulának, a Magyar Nagyfejedelemség rangban második emberének kíséretében jött az általa uralt területre, hogy a „turkiai”, azaz magyarországi püspökséget megszervezze, és első püspöke legyen.¹⁶³

Az Árpád-kori Magyarország szakrális építészetét elemző kutatók hosszú időn át nem figyeltek fel arra, hogy e korszakban igenis kimutatható a kereszt alaprajzi és/vagy térszerkezeti megjelenítése iránti igény. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország emléktanyájában – a Balkán-félszigettel, illetve Nyugat- és Közép-Európával azonos módon – három alaprajzi típus és/vagy térszerkezet esetében vethető fel a kereszt megjelenítése iránti igény. E térszerkezetek – a külföldi párhuzamokkal azonos módon – a már hivatkozott három- illetve négykaréjos templom, a kereszt-kupolás templom, valamint a kereszt alaprajzú épületek.

A három térszerkezeti típus közül a négykaréjos a legjobban ismert, Szakács Béla Zsolt egy 2012-es tanulmányának köszönhetően.¹⁶⁴ E tanulmány egy olyan emlékcsoportot tett könnyen értelmezhetővé, amelynek önállóságát a korábbi kutatás nem ismerte fel, mert besorolta a négykaréjos templomokat a rotundák közé.¹⁶⁵ E ponton talán nem felesleges megismételni: a két épülettípus közötti eltérés a központi tér alaprajzában fogható meg: a négy apszissal rendelkező rotundák (pl. a székyudvarhelyi) központi tere kerek, a négykaréjos templomoké (pl. Pápóc, Ják, Haraszt (Hrast nad Hornadom, Szlov.))

¹⁶³ Moravcsik 1984, 85.

¹⁶⁴ Szakács 2012, 7–34.

¹⁶⁵ Gervers-Molnár 1972, 58. „Bisericile cvadrilobate nu intră strict în categoria rotundelor, însă din cauza planului lor central și a dimensiunii reduse cercetătorii mai vechi le clasează în același grup (...) În aceste biserici cu plan central unui spațiu central pătrat se alătură pe cele patru laturi câte-un lob cu arc de cerc.”

¹⁶³ Moravcsik 1984, 85.

¹⁶⁴ Szakács 2012, 7–34.

¹⁶⁵ Gervers-Molnár 1972, 58: „A négykaréjos templomok nem tartoznak szorosan a rotundák közé, de centrális alaprajzuk és kicsinységük miatt a korábbi kutatók azonos csoportba sorolták őket. (...) Ezekben a centrális templomokban egy négyszögletes középtérhez négy oldalon egy-egy köríves karéj csatlakozik.”

însă cel al bisericilor cvadrilobate – de ex. Pápóc, Ják, Haraszt (Hrast nad Hornadom, Slovacia) – are plan pătrat. Sinteza lui Béla Zsolt Szakács face inutilă prezentarea amănunțită a bisericilor cu plan tetraconc din Ungaria Arpadiană. Am sublinia doar câteva date care sunt importante din perspectiva lucrării noastre.¹⁶⁶ După Béla Zsolt Szakács în Bazinul Carpatic eventualitatea structurii spațiale cvadrilobate apare în cazul a 13 biserici. Dintre acestea însă doar șase sunt cele la care se poate demonstra această structură, iar construcția se poate data cu siguranță în Evul Mediu. În baza acestor șase exemple este vorba de un tip agreat, care a fost cel mai cunoscut în Transdanubia, unde au fost ridicate patru asemenea capele la Bercse, Ják, Pápóc precum și la Székesfehérvár. Celelalte exemple: una în partea de est a Slovaciei, la Haraszt (Slovacia) respectiv la Gurasada (în România). Bisericile enumerate pot fi date, cu grad de siguranță mai mică sau mai mare, în secolele XII–XIII. (Doar pentru evitarea unor confuzii posibile: cercetarea recentă a adus argumente solide că bisericile cvadrilobate de la Gheorgheni/Gyergyószentmiklós și Sânzieni/Kézdiszentlélek nu pot fi mai timpurii decât secolul al XVI-lea¹⁶⁷). Judecând în baza capelelor din Pápóc și Ják caracteristica grupului transdanubian a bisericilor cvadrilobate putea fi, dincolo de planimetrie, structura spațială cu două niveluri și bogata articulare a suprafețelor zidurilor.

Deoarece pentru majoritatea istoricilor de arhitectură maghiari importanța structurii spațiale cvadrilobe a devenit evidentă abia după o descoperire din Székesfehérvár, trebuie să vorbim puțin mai amplu despre ruinele bisericii dezvelite aici. La Székesfehérvár, în piața din fața catedralei baroce, s-au găsit în 1971, cu ocazia așezării unor cabluri, resturi de ziduri medievale. (Pl. 6/1) De la Alán Kralovánszky, conducătorul săpăturilor de salvare, provine fixarea cronologică în epoca principelui Géza, identificarea hramului Sf. Petru și Pavel, respectiv reconstituirea planului și a structurii spațiale.¹⁶⁸ Se poate constata însă, că toate aceste elemente se sprijină pe suprainterpretarea fragmentelor de fundație, pe definirea ca biserică funerară a marelui principe Géza. Astfel analiza lui Alán Kralovánszky trebuie tratată ca o ipoteză de lucru ce se cere controlată. Dificultățile ce se ridică în fața acestei reconstituiri a ruinelor din piața catedralei baroce din Székesfehérvár sunt cel mai bine ilustrate prin enumerarea resturilor

viszont négyzet alaprajzú. Szakács Béla Zsolt összefoglalása feleslegessé teszi az Árpád-kori Magyarország területén épült, négykaréjos templomok részletes ismertetését. Csak néhány olyan adatot emelnénk ki, amelyek dolgozatunk témája miatt bírnak jelentőséggel.¹⁶⁶ Szakács Béla Zsolt áttekintése szerint a Kárpát-medencében tizenhárom templom esetében merült fel a négykaréjos térszerkezet lehetősége. Ezek közül azonban csak hat olyan van, amelynél e térszerkezet igazolható, és az építés is megbízhatóan a középkorra keltezhető. E hat példa alapján kedvelt épülettípusról van szó, amely a Dunántúlon volt a legismertebb, ahol négy ilyen kápolna épült: Bercsén, Jákon, Pápócon valamint Székesfehérváron. Egy-egy további példa pedig a Felvidék keleti részén, illetve Dél-Erdélyben áll Haraszt (Szlov.), illetve Guraszadán (Rom.). A felsorolt templomok a 12–13. századra keltezhetők, kisebb-nagyobb biztonsággal. (Csak a lehetséges félreértések elkerülése végett: az újabb kutatás megbízható érveket hozott fel amellest, hogy a gyergyószentmiklósi és a kézdiszentléleki négykaréjos templom nem lehet korábbi a 16. századnál.¹⁶⁷) A pápóci és jáki kápolna alapján ítélve, a négykaréjos templomok dunántúli csoportjának jellegzetessége lehetett, az alaprajzi felépítményen túl a kétemeletes térszerkezet és a gazdag faltagolás.

Mivel a magyar építészettörténészek többsége számára a négykaréjos térszerkezet fontossága csak egy székesfehérvári feltárás nyomán vált nyilvánvalóvá, az itt feltárt templommaradványról kicsit részletesebben is szólni kell. Székesfehérvárott, a barokk székesegyház előtti téren, 1971-ben, kábelfektetés közben kerültek elő középkori falrészletek. (6. t. l.) A leletmentést Kralovánszky Alán irányította. Tőle származik a feltárt templomalap Géza-kori keltezése, Szt. Péter és Pál templomként való azonosítása, illetve alaprajzi és térszerkezeti rekonstrukciója is.¹⁶⁸ Sajnos megállapítható, hogy az értelmezés összes felsorolt eleme a feltárt alapfal-részletek túlinterpertációján, a Géza nagyfejedelem sírtemplomaként történt meghatározásának a kifejtésén alapult. Így Kralovánszky Alán elemzését egy ellenőrzésre váró munkahipotézisként kell kezelni. A székesfehérvári barokk székesegyház előtti téren kibontott épületmaradvány rekonstrukciója elé tornyosuló nehézségeket az szemlélteti legjobban, ha felsoroljuk a feltárt alapfal-részleteket. A

¹⁶⁶ Szakács 2012, 18–19.

¹⁶⁷ Szakács 2012, 16–17. Mai vezi: Sófálvi 2012, 34–42.

¹⁶⁸ Kralovánszky 1983, 73–84; Kralovánszky 1984, 111–123.

¹⁶⁶ Szakács 2012, 18–19.

¹⁶⁷ Szakács 2012, 16–17. Lásd még: Sófálvi 2012, 34–42.

¹⁶⁸ Kralovánszky 1983, 73–84; Kralovánszky 1984, 111–123.

de zid descoperite. Prin săpătura de salvare au fost identificate din mica biserică absida din nord-vest precum și fragmente ale arcului absidei din nord-est. (Din păcate traveea de sud-est a bisericii a fost distrusă fără urmă de către construirea unui cavou în epoca barocului). Din fundațiile scoase la lumină se poate conchide cu mare grad de siguranță, că biserica de dimensiuni mici consta dintr-un spațiu cu plan pătrat, cu câte o absidă atașată pe cel puțin trei laturi. Kralovánszky a reconstituit structura spațială cu patru abside, și a descris-o ca un exemplu al tipului în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. La acest punct însă trebuie să fim de acord cu Károly Kozák, care – revizuind părerea lui Kralovánszky – a definit structura spațială dată ca tetraconc.¹⁶⁹ În baza fragmentelor de fundație aceasta pare într-adevăr soluția cea mai verosimilă. Deși nu se poate exclude nici varianta că în partea de sud-vest a micii biserici din Székesfehérvár nu s-a aflat o absidă ci un portal, și astfel biserica avea structură spațială nu cu patru ci cu trei lobi.¹⁷⁰ Iar în privința neclarităților cronologice¹⁷¹ trebuie semnalat mai întâi, că cercetătorul s-a bazat în datele nu pe vestigii, ci pe locul topografic al bisericii și un document din secolul al XV-lea. Semn al încadrării cronologice nesigure este faptul că Ernő Marosi a interpretat fundațiile scoase la iveală ca o capelă bapțială nu mai veche decât de la cumpăna secolelor XI–XII,¹⁷² iar Gergely Buzás s-a străduit să identifice surse scrise care să susțină datarea din secolul al XI-lea.¹⁷³ Ținând cont de cele enunțate pare evidentă concluzia finală: ar fi mare nevoie de cercetarea de revizuire a capelei din Székesfehérvár, în speranța unei descoperiri norocoase, care ar contribui la soluționarea problemelor de planimetrie și cronologie.

În cercetarea în Ungaria a tipului de biserică în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc constatăm similitudini cu investigarea

leletmentés során a kis templomból csupán az északnyugati apszist, valamint az északkeleti apszis ívének részleteit sikerült kibontani. (A templom délkeleti traktusát egy barokk kori kriptá építése sajnos nyomtalanul megsemmisítette.) A feltárt alapfalakból biztosnak tűnő módon levonható azon következtetés, hogy az egykori kisméretű templom egy központi, négyzet alaprajzú térből állt, amelynek legalább három oldalához egy-egy apszis csatlakozott. Kralovánszky négy apszissal rekonstruálta a térszerkezetet, és azt a kereszt-kupolás típus egyik példjaként írta le. E ponton azonban igazat kell adnunk Kozák Károlynak, aki – Kralovánszky nézetét revideálva – az adott térszerkezetet tetrakonchoszként határozta meg.¹⁶⁹ A feltárt alapfal-részletek alapján tényleg ez tűnik a legvalószínűbb megoldásnak. Bár az sem kizárt, hogy a kis székesfehérvári templom délnyugati oldalán nem apszis volt, hanem egy kapuzat, és így a templom nem négy-, hanem háromkaréjos térszerkezettel bírt.¹⁷⁰ A kronológiai bizonytalanságok¹⁷¹ vonatkozásában pedig első helyen arra kell utalni, hogy a feltáró a keltezés nem a leletanyagra, hanem a templom topográfiai helyére, illetve egy 15. századi forrásra alapozta. A bizonytalan kronológiai besorolás jele, hogy a feltárt alapfalakat Marosi Ernő egy, a 11–12. század fordulójánál nem korábbi keresztelőkápolnaként értelmezte,¹⁷² Buzás Gergely pedig a 11. századi keltezés mellett igyekezett írott forrásokat felsorakoztatni.¹⁷³ Az elmondottak alapján nyilvánvaló a végkövetkeztetés: nagy szükség lenne a székesfehérvári kápolna revíziós feltárására. Annak a reményében, hogy egy remélt szerencsés lelet hozzásegíthet a térszerkezeti, illetve kronológiai problémák megoldásához.

A négykaréjos templomok kutatástörténetéhez hasonlókat tapasztalni a kereszt-kupolás templomtípus magyarországi kutatástörténetében. A kutatás hosszú időn át nem ismerte fel ezen

¹⁶⁹ Kozák 1985, 126.

¹⁷⁰ Această idee a fost prima oară descrisă de către Sándor Tóth într-un studiu al cărui titlu trimite la un grup de clădiri cu totul diferit: Tóth 1975, 319. Stabilește întâietatea lui Sándor Tóth: Szakács 2012, 10.

¹⁷¹ Îndreptăți a stabilit un fapt în legătură cu biserica cu hramul Sf. Petru și Pavel din Székesfehérvár Károly Mesterházy: „Această biserică, chiar dacă facem abstracție de marile lipsuri ce se manifestă la fundație, și reconstrucția sa o acceptăm ca fiind autentică, e imposibil de datat. Nu are vestigii arheologice. Astfel datarea sa nicidecum nu e sigură, și poate fi mult mai târzie.” Károly Mesterházy: Cîm nélküli hozzászólás. (Comentariu fără titlu), in: Kállay 1987–1988, 70.

¹⁷² Marosi 1986, 91.

¹⁷³ Buzás 1999, 138–139, nota 25. Comentariu accentuat pentru această propunere: Szakács 2012, 11, nota 42.

¹⁶⁹ Kozák 1985, 126.

¹⁷⁰ E gondolatot elsőként Tóth Sándor írta le egy olyan tanulmányban, amelynek címe egészen más emlékkörre utal: Tóth 1975, 319. Rögzíti Tóth Sándor elsőbbségének a tényét Szakács 2012, 10.

¹⁷¹ Joggal szegezett le egy tényt a székesfehérvári Szt. Péter és Pál-titulusú templomról Mesterházy Károly: „E templom, még ha a nagy hiányosságoktól, melyek az alapokban jelentkeznek, el is tekintünk, és hitelesnek fogadjuk el rekonstrukcióját, keltezhetetlen. Régészeti leletekkel nem rendelkezik. Így jelen korhatározása koránt sem biztos, és jóval későbbi is lehet.” Mesterházy Károly: Cîm nélküli hozzászólás, in: Kállay 1987–1988, 70.

¹⁷² Marosi 1986, 91.

¹⁷³ Buzás 1999, 138–139, 25. jegyzet. Hangsúlyosan utal e felvetésre: Szakács 2012, 11, 42. jegyzet.

bisericilor cu plan tetraconc. Cercetătorii n-au recunoscut mult timp existența acestui tip în corpusul edificiilor Ungariei Arpadiene, și s-au produs și identificări eronate. În privința Ungariei Arpadiene prima dată László Török a demonstrat existența structurii spațiale în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc în 1970, prin interpretarea unui plan de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea, înainte de arderea clădirii bisericii mănăstirești din Szekszárd.¹⁷⁴ Deși în cele patru decenii trecute de atunci nu s-a formulat nici o critică împotriva acestei identificări, planul în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc a bisericii abațiale din Szekszárd a fost acceptată de breaslă numai după ce și Ernő Marosi a identificat această planimetrie,¹⁷⁵ în planul din secolul XVIII, respectiv în planul de săpătură considerat definitiv de către Károly Kozák, publicat în 1976.¹⁷⁶ (Pl. 6/5) Confuziile interpretării au crescut și mai mult după ce Károly Kozák, pe pereții laterali ce limitau spațiul central cu plan pătrat, având câte o absidă cu închidere dreaptă, a reconstituit și alte abside mici (sau nișe), bazându-se pe câteva resturi de zid. Existența îndoielnică a acestora ar justifica și în acest caz nevoia executării unei săpături de revizie.

O evoluție aparte a avut și cercetarea unei alte biserici din secolul al XI-lea, având la fel structură spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc: biserica mănăstirească din Kaposszentjakab sau Zselicszentjakab. În 1973 a apărut temeiul interpretării arhitecturale a acestei biserici: planul de săpătură.¹⁷⁷ (Pl. 6/6) Acest plan a deviat cercetarea, pe o perioadă îndelungată, într-o direcție eronată. Din cauza navei longitudinale dreptunghiulare cercetătorii din Ungaria au considerat că această clădire are structură bazilicală.¹⁷⁸ Abia după anul 2000 au apărut analize care consideră că biserica din Zselicszentjakab reprezintă o tranziție specială între structura spațială bazilicală și centrală. Pasul hotărâtor în reconstituirea cu structură spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de

épülettípus létezését az Árpád-kori Magyarország épületállományában, és történtek téves meghatározások is. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország vonatkozásában elsőként Török László igazolta a keresztkupolás térszerkezet létezését 1970-ben, a szekszárdi monostortemplom egy 18. század-végi, közvetlenül az épület leégése előtt felvett alaprajz értelmezése által.¹⁷⁴ Bár az épülettípus azonosítása ellen az azóta eltelt jó négy évtized alatt sohasem fogalmazódott meg kritika, a szekszárdi apátsági templom keresztkupolás mivolta csak annak utána vált szakmai körökben elfogadottá, hogy Marosi Ernő is e térszerkezetet ismerte fel a 18. századi alaprajzon,¹⁷⁵ illetve a Kozák Károly által véglegesnek titulált, 1976-ban közölt ásatási alaprajzon.¹⁷⁶ (6. t. 5.) A szekszárdi apátsági templom térszerkezetének értelmezése körüli bonyodalmakat csak az növelte, hogy Kozák Károly a négyzet alaprajzú centrális teret északról, délről és nyugatról határoló, egy-egy egyenes lezárású szentéllyel is rendelkező oldalfalra további kis apszisokat (vagy falfülkéket) rekonstruált, általában igen csekély falvonulatok alapján. Az oldalkonchák kétséges léte miatt a szekszárdi apátsági templomban is igen nagy szükség lenne egy revíziós ásatásra.

Sajátosan alakult egy másik, szintén keresztkupolás térszerkezettel rendelkező, 11. századi templom: a kaposszentjakabi vagy zselicszentjakabi monostortemplom kutatása is. 1973-ban jelent meg első ízben e templom építészettörténeti értelmezésének az alappillére: az értelmezett ásatási alaprajz.¹⁷⁷ (6. t. 6.) Ezen alaprajz azonban hosszú időn át félre is vitte a kutatást. A hosszénégyszög alaprajzú hosszház miatt a magyar kutatás hosszú időn át bazilikális térszerkezetüként értékelte az épületet.¹⁷⁸ Csak az ezredforduló után jelentek meg olyan elemzések, amelyek a zselicszentjakabi templomot egy sajátos átmenetként értékelik a bazilikális és a centrális térszerkezet között. A döntő lépést a zselicszentjakabi templom keresztkupolás térszerkezettel való rekonstrukciójában Tóth Sándor tette meg.

¹⁷⁴ După formularea lui Török 1970, 96–154 din pag. 115: „forma sa originală a fost un spațiu central împărțit în nouă, cu una sau eventual cinci cupole. Spațiul său interior a fost împărțit de patru stâlpi (coloane) în nouă.”

¹⁷⁵ Ca un exemplu unic, scos din context, vezi Marosi 1983, 18: „această clădire a urmat structura spațială a tipului de biserică bizantină în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc.”

¹⁷⁶ Kozák 1975–1976, 136, planul adăugat.

¹⁷⁷ Nagy 1973, 336, fig. 73.

¹⁷⁸ Astfel chiar și Ernő Marosi, după a cărui părere această biserică este un tip de spațiu „cu galeria laterală, longitudinal, cu un caracter evident bizantin” (Marosi 1986, 92)

¹⁷⁴ Török 1970, 96–154. A 115. oldalon olvasható megfogalmazása szerint: „eredeti formája kilenc osztású, centrális elrendezésű volt, egy vagy esetleg öt kupolával. A belső terét négy oszlop (pillér) osztotta kilenc tér-részre”

¹⁷⁵ Egyetlen, kiragadott példaként lásd Marosi 1983, 18: „ez az épület a bizánci keresztkupolás templomtípus térszerkezetét követte.”

¹⁷⁶ Kozák 1975–1976, 136, csatolt alaprajz.

¹⁷⁷ Nagy 1973, 336, 73. ábra.

¹⁷⁸ Így még Marosi Ernő is, aki szerint e templom „oldalkarzatossal, hosszanti elrendezésű, ugyancsak bizantinikus jellegű tértípus” (Marosi 1986, 92)

mijloc a fost făcut de către Sándor Tóth. E drept, cu o formulare, care parcă ar dori să ascundă această descoperire.¹⁷⁹ Nesiguranța poate proveni din faptul că cercetătorii din Ungaria încă nu au reflectat asupra unor analogii din Europa de Sud-Est. Concret asupra faptului că în arhitectura din secolele IX–XII din Peninsula Balcanică s-a bucurat de răspândire generală un tip de biserică cu structură spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, caracterizat de către Oskar Wulff cu un termen foarte potrivit: *semibazilică*.¹⁸⁰ Nava longitudinală a bisericilor de acest tip are planul dreptunghiular alungit, iar destul de frecvent nici chiar împărțirea piloanelor ce susțin arcadele nu trimite univoc la planul în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. Putem crede cu îndreptățire că biserica mănăstirii benedictine din Zselicszentjakab este cel mai frumos exemplu din Ungaria al acestui tip.

Un aspect caracteristic al cercetării în Ungaria a sistemului planimetric menționat este dat de faptul că, în timp ce la cele două exemple care pot fi conexe acestui tip, determinarea structurii spațiale a fost primită cu multă prudență, în centrul atenției a stat o biserică, păstrată în prea puține fragmente, la care în final existența structurii menționate s-a putut infirma. Pe baza desenelor de reconstituire ale lui Ferenc Erdei și Ferenc Levárdy s-a răspândit în anii 1970 ideea că biserica din Feldebrő, în prima sa fază de construire ar fi avut structură spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc.¹⁸¹ Desenele lor s-au întipărit profund în conștiința specialiștilor ba și în cea a publicului larg, interesat de arhitectură. Abia la sfârșitul anilor 1990 a apărut studiul lui Sándor Tóth, în care cu formulările sale specifice, poate puțin complicate, a atras atenția specialiștilor asupra unui fapt:¹⁸² în baza arcadelor păstrate în zidirea barocă, închiderea superioară a bisericii nr. 1 nu se poate reconstitui cu patru bolți cilindrice aranjate cruciform. Aceste arce duc la concluzia că prima biserică din Feldebrő avea structură bazilicală, cu tavan plat. Importanța constatării lui Sándor Tóth a devenit evidentă abia după publicarea secțiunilor de reconstituire ale lui Gergely Buzás, din păcate accesibilă deocamdată

Igaz, olyan megfogalmazással, amely e felismerést mintegy elrejtteni igyekszik.¹⁷⁹ A bizonytalanság talán abból következik, hogy a magyar kutatás még nem figyelt fel kellő mértékben egyes délkelet-európai párhuzamok fontosságára. Konkrétan arra, hogy a Balkán-félsziget 9–12. századi építészetében általános elterjedtségnek örvendett egy olyan keresztkupolás térszerkezetű templom-típus, amelyet Oskar Wulff, rendkívül találóan, félbazilikaként jellemzett.¹⁸⁰ Az ilyen templomoknak hossznegyszög alaprajzú a hosszháza, sőt elég gyakori, hogy még az árkádokat tartó táмок kiosztása sem utal egyértelműen a keresztkupolás térszerkezetre. A zselicszentjakabi bencés monostor temploma – joggal sejthetően – e térszerkezeti típus legszebb magyarországi példája.

A keresztkupolás térszerkezet magyarországi kutatásának a jellegzetessége, hogy – miközben a két valóban idekapcsolható példánál az adott térszerkezet meghatározása igencsak óvatos fogadtatásban részesült – egy olyan, szintén csak csekély maradványaiban megmaradt templom került előtérbe, ahol a keresztkupolás térszerkezet létezését végül meg lehetett cáfolni. Erdei Ferenc és Levárdy Ferenc rekonstrukciós rajzai nyomán terjedt el az 1970-es évek második felében az a nézet, hogy a feldebrői templom 1. építési fázisában keresztkupolás térszerkezettel épült volna meg.¹⁸¹ Rajzaik mélyen beívódtak a szakemberek, sőt az építészet iránt érdeklődő, szélesebb közönség tudatába is. Csak az 1990-es évek végén jelent meg Tóth Sándor azon tanulmánya, amelyben a maga sajátos, talán kicsit bonyolult fogalmazásával felhívta egy tényre a szakközönség figyelmét.¹⁸² Arra nevezetesen, hogy a feldebrői 1. templom felső lezárása, a barokk falazatban megmaradt árkádívek alapján, nem rekonstruálható négy, kereszt alakban elrendezett dongaszárral. Az arkatúra ívei arra utalnak, hogy a feldebrői 1. templom bazilikális térszerkezetű volt, síkfödémmel. Tóth Sándor megállapításának fontossága csak Buzás Gergely rekonstrukciós metszetrajzainak a közzé tétele nyomán vált nyilvánvalóvá, sajnos egyelőre

¹⁷⁹ Tóth 2001, 342–344: „Astfel se circumscriu contururile unei soluții pronunțat centrale – sau, cum s-a sugerat, de tip bizantin: segmentul apusean poate fi privit ca un nartex, iar cele patru mai adânci ca structuri destinate purtării de cupole, în mijlocul unui interior cu nouă spații, în care părțile ce formează crucea joacă un rol accentuat, iar cele de colț un rol secundar.”

¹⁸⁰ Wulff 1914, 389–390.

¹⁸¹ Erdei 1975, 197, fig. 1, 2; Levárdy 1976, 148, fig. 2.

¹⁸² Tóth 2001a, 233, 260, nota 32.

¹⁷⁹ Tóth 2001, 342–344: „Így kifejezetten centrális – vagy ahogyan már jelezték, bizáncias⁶ – megoldás körvonalai rajzolódhatnak ki: a nyugati szakasz narthexnek tekinthető, a négy mélyebb pedig kupolahordozásra szánt műnek, olyan kilencosztású belső közepén, amelynek kereszt alakban csatlakozó részei kiemelt, sarokterei pedig alárendelt szerepet játszottak.”

¹⁸⁰ Wulff 1914, 389–390.

¹⁸¹ Erdei 1975, 197, 1, 2. ábra; Levárdy 1976, 148, 2. ábra.

¹⁸² Tóth S. 2001a, 233. és 260, 32. jegyz.

mai mult pentru specialiști.¹⁸³ Pentru mulți, biserica 1 din Feldebrő continuă să fie cel mai frumos exemplu din Ungaria al structurii spațiale în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc.

Posibilitatea existenței în epoca Arpadiană a sistemului planimetric în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc s-a mai pus în cazul cercetărilor arheologice ale bisericilor din Gyöngyöspata¹⁸⁴ și Monostorpályi.¹⁸⁵ În ambele cazuri însă identificarea e nesigură, avem prea puține resturi de zid pentru a trage asemenea concluzii. Adăugăm doar o singură remarcă în acest sens, care însă este caracteristică: Zoltán Rácz, care s-a străduit să interpreteze fundațiile dezvelite la Monostorpályi a reușit să reconstituie biserica veche atât cu structură spațială bazilicală cât și cu una în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. Subliniind în mod special că lucrările ulterioare care au deranjat fundațiile navei longitudinale fac din păcate imposibilă rezolvarea problemei.¹⁸⁶

Pe lângă tipul de biserică cu patru lobi respectiv în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc cel de-al treilea tip la care se poate surprinde nevoia reprezentării crucii în plan – și în Ungaria Arpadiană – a fost biserica cu plan în cruce. (Pl. 6/2–4.) Timp îndelungat părea că cercetarea tipului de biserică cu plan în cruce nu are relevanță în contextul istoriei arhitecturii romanice din Ungaria, deoarece până nu demult a doua fază de construcție a bisericii benedictine din Celldömölk a fost singura clădire ecleziastică la care se putea presupune existența acestui tip de plan.¹⁸⁷ (Pl. 6/2) Ba mai mult, dezvelirea în anii 1950 a fundațiilor bisericii ruinate din Celldömölk a dus la rezultatul final, conform căruia, la treimea de răsărit a navei longitudinale a bisericii, construită cu navă longitudinală neîmpărțită și o singură absidă rotundă poate deja în secolul al XI-lea, doar mai târziu, eventual în secolul al XIII-lea au adăugat o încăpere mai mică, cu plan pătrat. Astfel realizând doar ulterior o clădire cu plan în cruce.

Însă mai recent au apărut de pe teritoriul Ungariei Arpadiane știri privind descoperirea a cel puțin două biserici,¹⁸⁸ care totuși stau măturie pentru realizarea interesului pentru planul în

inkább még csak a szakközönség számára.¹⁸³ Széles körben a feldebrői templom 1. fázisa még mindig a keresztkupolás térszerkezet legszebb magyarországi példájának számít.

A felsorolt templomokon kívül még a gyöngyöspatai¹⁸⁴ és a monostorpályi¹⁸⁵ templomfeltárás esetében merült fel a keresztkupolás térszerkezet Árpád-kori meglétének a lehetősége. Mindkét esetben az azonosítás sajnos bizonytalan, mert túl kevés falszakasz állt rendelkezésre egy ilyen következtetés levonásához. Egyetlen, de jellemző adalékként arra utalunk, hogy a Monostorpályiban feltárt falalapozásokat értelmezni igyekvő Rácz Zoltán az egykor álló templomot bazilikális és keresztkupolás térszerkezettel is rekonstruálni tudta. Külön kiemelve, hogy a hosszház falalapjait megbolygató későbbi építkezések az adott kérdés eldöntését sajnos lehetetlenné teszik.¹⁸⁶

A négykaréjos, illetve a keresztkupolás templomtípus mellett az Árpád-kori Magyarországon is a kereszt alaprajzú templom volt a harmadik templomtípus, amelynél tetten érhető a kereszt alaprajzi megjelenítése iránti igény. (6. t. 2–4.) Hosszú időn át úgy tűnt: a kereszt alaprajzú templomtípus kutatásának a magyarországi román-kori építészet története szempontjából nincs relevanciája, hiszen a celldömölki egykori bencés templom 2. építési fázisa volt a közelmúltig az egyetlen olyan szakrális épület, amelynél az adott alaprajzi típus egykori meglétének a kérdése felvethető.¹⁸⁷ (6. t. 2.) Ráadásul a celldömölki romtemplom alapjainak az 1950-es években kivitelezett kibontása azt a végeredményt hozta, hogy az osztatlan hosszházzal és egyetlen kerek apszissal már talán a 11. században megépült templom hosszházának keleti harmadához csak később, talán a 13. században építettek hozzá egy-egy kisebb, négyzet alaprajzú helyiséget. Így csak mintegy utólag hozva létre egy kereszt alaprajzú épületet.

A közelmúltban azonban az Árpád-kori Magyarország területéről legalább két olyan további templomfeltárásról is jelentek meg adatok,¹⁸⁸ amelyek a kereszt alaprajz iránti igény megvalósulását mégis tanúsítják. Az alább bemutatandó, több-kevesebb biztonsággal kereszt alaprajzúnak minősíthető

¹⁸³ Tóth – Buzás 2001, 65, fig. 8.

¹⁸⁴ Szabó 1985, 5–76.

¹⁸⁵ Rácz 1982, 69–77.

¹⁸⁶ Rácz 1982, 69–77.

¹⁸⁷ Publicarea planului ce reprezintă faza a doua de construire a bisericii: Kozák 1989–1990, 319, fig. 2.

¹⁸⁸ MRT, 11, 515, fig. 27; Janković 2007, 150, fig. 166/5.

¹⁸³ Tóth – Buzás 2001, 65, 8. ábra.

¹⁸⁴ Szabó 1985, 5–76.

¹⁸⁵ Rácz 1982, 69–77.

¹⁸⁶ Rácz 1982, 69–77.

¹⁸⁷ A templom 2. építési fázisát szemléltető alaprajz közlése: Kozák 1989–1990, 319, 2. ábra.

¹⁸⁸ MRT, 11, 515, 27. ábra; Janković 2007, 150, 166. ábra 5.

cruce. O trăsătură comună a resturilor de biserică ce vor fi prezentate mai jos, care cu mai puțină sau mai multă siguranță pot fi considerate ca având plan în cruce, este faptul că fundațiile lor au apărut recent cu ocazia unor cercetări arheologice. Iar o altă trăsătură comună: din păcate despre aceste săpături au apărut prea puține date concrete. Astfel la aceste resturi de biserică pot fi analizate cel mult trăsăturile fundamentale de plan, nu și formele de detaliu.

În hotarul satului Vácszentlászló, pe situl Ligetpuszta s-a reușit în 1978 scoaterea la lumină a fundațiilor unei biserici, în cadrul proiectului Topografia Arheologică a Ungariei.¹⁸⁹ (Pl. 6/3) Pe sit s-au deschis în total 18 secțiuni și case, prin care s-a reușit scoaterea aproximativ unui sfert din ziduri. Deși majoritatea colțurilor zidului au căzut în secțiuni, totuși ar fi utilă o săpătură de revizie pentru cercetarea întregului traseu al fundațiilor. Deoarece planul în cruce latină, conform nivelului actual de cercetare e doar o reconstituire teoretică, cu diferite completări, astfel de ex. pe planul actual mare parte a traseului brațului de cruce nordic e proiecția brațului sudic. Ar fi apoi foarte utilă prelucrarea temeinică a vestigiilor din morminte, ceea ce ar putea contribui și la stabilirea cronologiei construcției. Conform planului actual, bazat pe traseele de zid observate și reconstituite, biserica din Vácszentlászló–Ligetpuszta a fost o clădire cu plan în cruce latină, cu lungimea de 22 m și lățimea de 17 m, complet simetrică, cu două mici anexe cu plan pătrat, aflate la întâlnirea brațului de cruce superior, adică de est, respectiv la întâlnirea brațelor de cruce de nord și de sud. Deoarece de biserică dezvelită nu se poate lega nici un izvor scris, trebuie să fim foarte prudenți la formularea interpretărilor istorice, altfel acestea pot aluneca foarte ușor spre idei speculative. Se poate consemna însă ca fapt sigur că rolul special al bisericii reiese nu numai din planul său particular, chiar dacă doar parțial reconstituit, ci și din dimensiunile sale mai mari decât media bisericilor sătești. Singurele repere de datare le oferă arheologia. În baza mormintelor dezvelite în vecinătatea fundațiilor arheologii au propus ca perioadă de construire a acestei biserici cu planimetrie aparte secolele XII–XIII.

Despre cealaltă fundație de biserică scoasă recent la iveală se pot aduna și mai puține date. Numele fortificației de pământ monumentale aflate lângă Duplai (Dupláj, Dupljaja-Grad, Serbia), în Banatul de Sud, apare de obicei în literatura referitoare la epoca bronzului. În

templommaradványoknak nemcsak az a közös jellemzője, hogy alapfalaik a közelmúltban egy-egy régészeti ásatáson kerültek elő, hanem sajnos az is, hogy e feltárásokról még igen kevés konkrét adat jelent meg. Így e templommaradványoknál jobb esetben is csak az alapvető alaprajzi jellegzetességek elemezhetők, a részletformák nem.

Vácszentlászló határában, a Ligetpuszta nevű lelőhelyen, 1978-ban egy templom alapfalaik sikerült feltárni a Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája című projektum keretei között.¹⁸⁹ (6. t. 3.) A lelőhelyen összesen 18 rövid kutatóárkot illetve szelvényt nyitottak, amelyekkel az alapfalnak nagyjából egy negyedét sikerült kibontani. Bár a falsarkok többsége e kutatóárkokba, illetve szelvényekbe esett, mégis hasznos lenne egy revíziós feltárással az alapfalak összes szakaszát megkutatni. A latinkereszt alaprajz ugyanis a feltártság jelen állapota szerint csak egy rekonstrukció, különböző szintű kiegészítésekkel, így pl. a jelenlegi alaprajzon az északi kereszt szár falvonulatainak a nagyobbik része a déli kereszt szár átvetítése. Igencsak hasznos lenne továbbá a sírok leletanyagát is alaposan feldolgozni, mert ez talán az építkezés kronológiájához is adalékokat nyújthat. A jelenleg rendelkezésre álló, megfigyelt és rekonstruált falvonulatokon alapuló, alaprajz szerint a Vácszentlászló–ligetpusztai templom egy latinkereszt alaprajzú, 22 m hosszúságú és 17 m szélességű teljesen szimmetrikus épület volt, két kis, négyszögletes alaprajzú kiszögeléssel a felső, azaz keleti, illetve északi és déli kereszt szár találkozásánál. Mivel a feltárt templomalaphoz semmilyen írott forrás nem kapcsolható, így nagyon óvatosan kell bánni a történeti értelmezések megfogalmazásával, mert ezek igen könnyen átcsúszhatnak a spekulatív elgondolások tartományába. Az viszont így is tényként rögzítendő, hogy e templom kitüntetett szerepére nemcsak sajátos, bár részben rekonstruált alaprajza, hanem a falusi templomok átlagánál nagyobb méretei is utalnak. A keltezéshez is csak a régészeti feltárás során gyűjtött adatok nyújthatnak támpontokat. Az alapfalak környezetében feltárt sírok leletei alapján az ásatók a 12–13. századra tették e sajátos alaprajzú templom építését.

A közelmúltban feltárt másik templomalpról még kevesebb adat gyűjthető. A dél-bánati Dupláj határában álló monumentális földvár (Dupljaja-Grad, Szer.) neve a bronzkort tárgyaló szakirodalomban szokott felbukkanni. Az Árpád-kor vonatkozásában elsőként Felix Milleker

¹⁸⁹ MRT, 11, 515.

¹⁸⁹ MRT, 11, 515.

contextul epocii Arpadiene prima dată Felix Milleker a încercat să atragă atenția cercetătorilor asupra ei, încă la cumpăna secolelor XIX–XX, și acest fir a fost reluat de către István Bóna la sfârșitul secolului al XX-lea, în sinteza scrisă despre reședințele de comitat din epoca întemeierii statului. Bóna a încercat să identifice în cetatea de pământ din Duplai centrul comitatului Caraș din epoca Arpadiană.¹⁹⁰ Părerea și-a întemeiat-o pe două repere: 1. pe locul topografic al cetății de pământ din Duplai, deoarece aceasta se află într-adevăr lângă râul Caraș, precum și 2. pe inelul de păr cu capătul în S, ajuns de aici în muzeu la cumpăna veacurilor XIX–XX.¹⁹¹ Pentru autentificarea locului de descoperire al acestui inel de păr au început săpături în 2002, sub conducerea lui Đorđe Janković, Miodrag Aralica, apoi Dejan Radičević – să adăugăm imediat: independent, ba chiar fără cunoștința concepției lui István Bóna. S-a reușit scoaterea la lumină a fundațiilor unei biserici datate în secolul al XI-lea (*Pl. 6/4*) și partea unui cimitir adiacent. Despre această cercetare au apărut din păcate prea puține date pentru a putea formula o părere întemeiată, deoarece despre lucrări au apărut doar două rapoarte arheologice preliminare.¹⁹² Ba chiar o parte a datelor nu are caracter obișnuit. Despre lucrări ne putem informa dintr-o schiță de prelegere apărută pe internet,¹⁹³ precum și o știre dintr-un telejurnal.¹⁹⁴ O altă sursă este volumul dedicat arhitecturii Evului Mediu timpuriu a „litoralului sârb” (adică coasta adriatică din Muntenegru și Albania de Nord), realizat, de altfel într-un spirit foarte unilateral, de către Đorđe Janković. În această carte a apărut o figură comparativă despre bisericile medieval timpurii cu plan cruciform, în spațiul balcanic, printre altele și cele din Duplai, din Banatul de Sud (aflată până la urmă în Bazinul Carpatic).¹⁹⁵ (*Pl. 6/4*) Deci importanța figurii menționate este asigurată de materialul publicat și nu de interpretarea ce nu ține cont de frontierele geografice. Orice altă concluzie este împiedicată de faptul că figura publicată, cu toată bunăvoința, nu depășește calitatea unei schițe de plan. Nu are legendă care să trimită la fazele construirii ori la

igyekezett a szakma figyelmét ráirányítani még a 19–20. század fordulóján, és e fonalat vette fel Bóna István a 20. század végén, az államalapítás-kori megyeszékhelyeket elemző munkájában. Bóna a dupláji földvárban igyekezett meglegelni az Árpád-kori Krassó vármegye központját.¹⁹⁰ Velekedését két tényre alapozta: a dupláji földvár topográfiai helyére, hiszen az ténylegesen a Krassó folyó közelében áll, valamint az e lelőhelyről már a 19–20. század fordulóján múzeumba került S-végű hajkarikára.¹⁹¹ E hajkarika lelőhelyének hitelesítése érdekében indult egy ásátás az ezredforduló után, 2002-ben, Đorđe Janković, Miodrag Aralica, majd pedig Dejan Radičević vezetésével. Tegyük hozzá azonnal: Bóna István felvetésétől függetlenül, sőt annak ismerete nélkül. Egy 11. századra keltezett templom alapjait (6. t. 4.) és a hozzá tartozó temető részletét sikerült kibontani. E feltárásról még sajnos túl kevés adat jelent meg egy megalapozott vélemény kialakításához, hiszen a munkálatokról eddig csak két rövid előzetes jelentés jelent meg.¹⁹² Sőt az adatok egy része nem szokványos jellegű, a munkálatokról egy, az internetre feltöltött előadás-vázlatból,¹⁹³ valamint egy híradó-bejátszásból¹⁹⁴ kaphatunk némi képet. Az adatok egy további forrása Đorđe Jankovićnak a „szerb tengermellék” (értsd a montenegrói és az észak-albániai Adria-part) korai középkorát feldolgozó, egyébként igencsak egyoldalúan nagyszerb szellemiségű, feldolgozása. E könyvben egy olyan összehasonlító ábra jelent meg a balkáni térség, korai középkori, kereszt alaprajzú templomairól, amelyen a dél-bánáti (tehát végső soron kárpát-medencei) dupláji földvárban feltárt alapfalak is szerepelnek.¹⁹⁵ (6. t. 4.) Az adott ábra fontosságát tehát a közölt anyag és nem a földrajzi határokat figyelmen kívül hagyó interpretáció biztosítja. A további következtetéseknek igencsak szűk határokat szab az, hogy a közölt ábra a legnagyobb jóindulattal sem lépi túl az alaprajzi vázlat minőségét. Így rajta semmilyen jelölés nem utal sem az építési fázisokra, sem pedig arra pontosan milyen részeit érintették a feltárások. Így arra sem kapunk választ, vajon a szaggatott vonalak kiegészítésre, vagy esetleg a

¹⁹⁰ Bóna 1998, 105, ill. 195, fig. 95.

¹⁹¹ Barački 1977. Republicat la: Bóna 1998, 105, ilustrația 195, fig. 95, dreapta jos.

¹⁹² Janković – Radičević 2005, 275–285; Radičević 2012, 85–87.

¹⁹³ <http://www.arheologija.narod.ru/a4istrazivanja/1vesti/2003-02-01-vrsac.html> (accesat la 04.02.2013.)

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HhN7NxQsxpW> (accesat la 04.02.2013)

¹⁹⁵ Janković 2007, 150, fig. 166/5. Datat: sec. XI.

¹⁹⁰ Bóna 1998, 105, ill. 195, 95. ábra.

¹⁹¹ Barački 1977. Újraközli: Bóna 1998, 105, ill. 195, 95. ábra, jobb alsó.

¹⁹² Janković – Radičević 2005, 275–285; Radičević 2012, 85–87.

¹⁹³ <http://www.arheologija.narod.ru/a4istrazivanja/1vesti/2003-02-01-vrsac.html> (a megtekintés időpontja 2013.02.04.)

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HhN7NxQsxpW> (a megtekintés időpontja 2013.02.04.)

¹⁹⁵ Janković 2007, 150, 166. ábra 5. Keltezés: 11. sz.

punctele exacte unde au fost găsite vestigii. Astfel nu primim răspuns nici la întrebarea: oare liniile întrerupte sunt întregiri de plan sau se referă la locul fundațiilor îndepărtate eventual în secolele ulterioare? În final, în baza fundațiilor marcate pe o latură a planului cruciform, se poate presupune, că zidurile dezvelite pot fi interpretate doar ca o parte (baptisteriu?) a unei biserici mai mari. Din cauza acestor lipsuri concluziile de istoria arhitecturii trebuie să rămână doar ipoteze de lucru.

Conform datelor obținabile în acest moment fragmentul de biserică sau capelă scoasă la lumină în cetatea din Duplai putea fi o clădire monocelulară, cu următoarele dimensiuni aproximative: lungimea 17 m, lățimea 18 m, cu închidere absidală într-un braț al crucii. (Deoarece schiței de plan nu i-a fost atașat semnul nordului, a trebuit să omitem denumirea după semnele cardinale ale brațelor de cruce). Reprezentarea unor părți ale zidurilor fundației trimite la situația în care în cazul unui alt braț de cruce s-a putut observa doar pornirea zidurilor de fundație. Bisericii sau capelei, în continuarea unui al treilea braț de cruce, s-a alăturat o încăpăre cu plan dreptunghiular, reconstituită parțial. O altă trăsătură specifică a clădirii este un zid de fundație cu plan pătrat, de dimensiunile 6,5 x 6,5 m, cu lățimea identică cu cea a fundației bisericii, aflat în spațiul interior. Figura nu e însoțită de descriere, astfel nu știm nimic despre interpretarea acestor resturi de zid. Cert este doar – cum am menționat deja – că pe schița de plan a lui Janković fundațiile acestei clădiri cu aspect particular au lățime identică cu cea a clădirii cu plan cruciform. În baza analogiilor această construcție pătrată ar părea să fie fundația unui bazin baptismal, însă această idee – la nivelul actual al disponibilității datelor – nu poate fi mai mult decât o idee ipotetică. Modul laconic al publicării limitează și analiza comparativă, deși merită stabilit, chiar în situația actuală: se pare că printre bisericile cu plan cruciform din Peninsula Balcanică, Italia sau Europa Centrală, prezentate mai sus, există câteva analogii. Pentru noi bisericile din Marmaro (Albania) (*Pl. 2/14*), din Dubrovnik/Raguza (*Pl. 4/8*) în Dalmația, sau cel din Wieselburg în Austria (*Pl. 5/3*) par cele mai asemănătoare, deși numărul analogiilor se poate modifica mult în cazul publicării detaliate a datelor arheologice.

Descrierea bisericii sau capelei cruciforme din Duplai trebuie să o încheiem cu următoarea afirmație: datele minimale pe care le avem acum la dispoziție împiedică o interpretare mai exactă. Cert este că putem spera cu îndreptățire: această biserică va îmbogăți considerabil patrimoniul

későbbi évszázadokban kitermelt alapfalak helyére utalnak-e. Végezetül, a kereszt alakú épületalap egyik oldalán jelölt falcsomkok miatt pedig az is joggal felvethető, hogy a kibontott alapfalak egy nagyobb templomnak esetleg csak egy részeként (keresztelőkápolnájaként?) is értelmezhetők lehetnének. A felsorolt hiányosságok miatt az építészettörténeti következtetések is munkahipotézis-jellegűek kell legyenek.

A jelenleg elérhető adatok szerint a dupláji földvárban kibontott templom- vagy kápolnarészlet egy kereszt alaprajzú, nagyjából 17 m hosszúságú és 18 m szélességű, egysejtű épület lehetett, egyik keresztszárban apszidális lezárással. (Mivel az alaprajzi vázlatához északjelet nem illesztettek, az egyes keresztoszarak égtájak szerinti megnevezésétől el kellett tekintenünk.) Az alapfalak részben szaggatott vonalakkal történt jelzése arra utal, hogy egy másik kereszt-szár esetében csak az alapfalak indítását sikerült megfigyelni. A templomhoz vagy kápolnához, egy harmadik, az apszissal szembeni kereszt-szár folytatásában, egy hosszénegyszög alaprajzú, részben szintén rekonstruált helység csatlakozott. Az épület egy további sajátága a belső terében levő, négyzet alaprajzú, 6,5 x 6,5 m kiterjedésű, a templomalappal azonos szélességű alapfal. Az ábrához nem csatlakozik leírás, így a falmaradványok értelmezéséről sem tudhatunk meg semmit. Annyi bizonyos csak, hogy – amint erre már utaltunk – a Janković-féle alaprajzi vázlaton a sajátos építmény alapfalait a kereszt alaprajzú épület alapfalaival azonos szélességűnek jelölték. Analógiák alapján a négyszögletes építmény egy keresztelőmedence alapozásának tűnhet, ezen értelmezés azonban – az adatok hozzáférhetőségének jelenlegi szintjén – nem lehet több, egy pusztán ötletnél. A közölség csekély mértéke az összehasonlító elemzésnek is szűk határokat szab, bár már a jelen helyzetben is érdemes rögzíteni: a fentebb ismertetett, Balkán-félszigeti, itáliai vagy közép-európai kereszt alaprajzú templomok között úgy tűnik, van hasonló. Számunkra az albániai Marmaróban (2. t. 14.), a dél-dalmáciai Ragúzában/Dubrovnikban, (4. t. 8.), vagy az alsó-ausztriai Wieselburgban (5. t. 3.) kibontott, kereszt alaprajzú templom tűnik a leginkább hasonlatosnak, bár a párhuzamok lehetséges körén egy részletes adatközlés még sokat változtathat.

A dupláji kereszt alakú templom vagy kápolnaleírását azzal kell lezárni, hogy a pontosabb értelmezést lehetetlenné tesz a jelenleg rendelkezésre álló, minimális adatok. Annyi bizonyos csak, hogy joggal reménykedhetünk: a templom jelentős adalékkal fogja bővíteni az Árpád-kori

arhitectural eclesiastic atât de bogat, dar în multe puncte cu neclarități de interpretare, al sudului Ungariei Arpadiane.

Gânduri despre o fundație de biserică din Alba Iulia, recent redescoperită

Mai sus ne-am străduit să prezentăm dorința reprezentării crucii în plan în contextul Evului Mediu timpuriu, trecând în revistă în prima fază datele marilor sinteze, folosite în mod regulat de istoricii de arhitectură. Apoi, în cadrul Peninsulei Balcanice, Europei Centrale și Bazinului Carpatic am încercat să privim mai amplu realizările din evul mediu timpuriu a acestei dorințe particulare, în baza unor biserici și capele mai puțin citate. Sperăm că inventarierea bisericilor enumerate, câteva zeci la număr, nu a fost inutilă. Am dobândit o bază de date care ne poate ajuta în analiza exemplurilor mai noi, în identificarea contextului real al interpretării, așa cum vom vedea prin exemplul ce urmează să-l prezentăm, adică biserica din Alba Iulia, redescoperită în 2011-2012.¹⁹⁶ Și în acest caz vom ajunge – mai exact am fi ajuns – mai aproape de datele necesare demersului de analiză și interpretare prin adunarea și cercetarea publicațiilor ce prezintă săpăturile. Din păcate însă am fost nevoiți să ajungem la concluzia că în cazul săpăturilor respective publicarea obișnuită de informații a rămas în urma și în umbra comunicării „neconvenționale”, respectiv a fost precedat de interpretările care fac trimitere la rezultatele săpăturilor, în realitate însă – în anumite cazuri – proiectează narativa istorică națională. Astfel în locul raportului anual ori publicării prealabile obișnuite în cercetarea arheologică, până la sfârșitul anului 2012 a fost tipărită doar o descriere într-un aliniat a unei lucrări de sinteză,¹⁹⁷ precum și o referire la o conferință de presă,¹⁹⁸ și acest

Magyarország déli részének igencsak gazdag, bár sok ponton csak bizonytalanul értelmezhető, szakrális építészeti hagyatékát.

Gondolatok egy, a közelmúltban újra feltárt, gyulafehérvári templomalapról

Fentebb oly módon igyekeztünk a kereszt alaprajzi megjelenítésének az igényét a korai középkor vonatkozásában bemutatni, hogy előbb az építészettörténészek által rendszeresen használt, nagy összefoglalások adatait vettük számba, utána pedig a Balkán-félsziget, Közép-Európa és a Kárpát-medence vonatkozásában igyekeztünk a sajátos igény koraközépkori megvalósulásait áttekinteni, kevesebbet idézett templomok és kápolnák alapján. A felsorolt, több-tucat épület számba vétele reményünk szerint nem volt hiábavaló. Egy olyan adattárat kaptunk, amely igencsak segítheti az újabb példák elemzését, az értelmezés valódi kontextusának a meglegését, amint ezt az alább ismertető példa, a 2011-12-ben újra feltárt gyulafehérvári templom is szemléltetni fogja.¹⁹⁶ Az elemző- és értelmező-munkához szükséges adatokhoz ez esetben is a feltárásokról bemutató közlemények összegyűjtése és áttanulmányozása révén juthatunk, pontosabban juthattunk volna közelebb. Sajnos azonban arra a megállapításra kellett jutnunk, hogy az adott feltárás esetében a szokványos régészeti adatközlés lemaradt a „nem konvencionális” hírközlés, illetve az ásatási eredményekre hivatkozó, valójában azonban – egyes esetekben – a nemzeti történeti narratívát mintegy kivetítő értelmezések mögött. Így, a régészeti kutatásban megszokott, éves jelentés, illetve előzetes közlés helyett 2012 végéig csak egy összefoglaló munka egyetlen bekezdésnyi leírása,¹⁹⁷ valamint egy sajtótájékoztató ismertetése¹⁹⁸ jelent meg nyomta-

¹⁹⁶ Adresez mulțumiri d-lui Zalan Györfi (Târgu Mureș) pentru adunarea bibliografiei de specialitate de limbă maghiară și română și pentru traducerea unor luări de poziție.

¹⁹⁷ Marcu-Istrate 2012, 82.

¹⁹⁸ Ne gândim mai ales la notificarea apărută la 7 august 2011 în cotidianul Szabadság din Cluj (Zay 2012a): „Echipa de arheologi condusă de Daniela Marcu Istrate a scos la lumină o biserică construită în jurul anului 1000 sau poate chiar mai veche cu câteva decenii, cu plan de caracter bizantin în piața din fața catedralei arhiepiscopale din Alba Iulia. Pe parcursul lucrărilor de săpătură efectuate în aprilie-mai și iunie-august a ieșit la suprafață fundația absidei semicirculare, fragmente ale zidurilor de nord, vest și sud ale navei, păstrate parțial, colțul de nord-vest cu un fragment de perete, respectiv fundațiile celor patru coloane centrale, ce purtau odinioară

¹⁹⁶ Hálás köszönettel tartozom Györfi Zalának (Marosvásárhely), hogy az e templomról megjelentetett magyar, illetve román nyelvű szakirodalom összegyűjtésében, és bizonyos megnyilatkozások fordításában segítségemre volt.

¹⁹⁷ Marcu-Istrate 2012, 82.

¹⁹⁸ Gondolunk itt elsősorban a kolozsvári Szabadság c. napilap 2011. augusztus 7-én, megjelent híradására (Zay 2012a): „Ezer körüli, vagy akár néhány évtizeddel korábbi építésű, bizáncias alaprajzú templomot tárt fel a Daniela Marcu Istrate által vezetett régészcsoporthoz a gyulafehérvári érseki székesegyház előtti térrészen. Az április-májusban, majd június-augusztusban végzett feltárási munkálatok során felszínre került a félköríves szentélyapszis alapozása, a hajó részlegesen megőrződött északi, nyugati és déli oldalfalainak maradványai, északnyugati sarka egy falrészlettel, illetve a hajó négy központi, egykor a kupolát hordozó pillérének alapozása – számolt be a régész szakértő

volum redus de date am reușit să-l completăm doar cu notele unor portale de internet, respectiv cu comentariile acestora.¹⁹⁹ Un loc aparte ocupă în comunicarea neconvențională de date mai multe note de blog ale lui Adrian Andrei Rusu.²⁰⁰

Abia în martie 2013, la simpozionul de istoria arhitecturii din Satu Mare – Papós a fost prezentată prima oară de către Daniela Marcu Istrate o prelegere,²⁰¹ ce a adus într-adevăr, pentru interpretarea vestigiilor păstrate, date exacte și relativ amănunțite. Astfel analiza ce urmează se sprijină în mare parte pe datele prezentate la acest simpozion.

Drept ipoteză de lucru acceptăm afirmația Danielei Marcu Istrate despre datarea din Evul Mediu timpuriu a fundațiilor de piloane, însă îndoielile formulate de Adrian Andrei Rusu pot fi spulberate numai după publicarea amănunțită a desenelor secțiunilor săpăturilor și a tuturor datelor ce într-adevăr sprijină datarea dumeaiei.

Interpretarea formulată de Daniela Marcu Istrate trebuie începută cu sublinierea câtorva date. Pe parcursul analizării bisericii din Alba Iulia, definită ca având „*plan de cruce greacă înscrisă*”²⁰² trebuie să avem în vedere în continuu două aspecte importante. Pe de-o parte că săparea clădirii trebuia făcută de către Daniela Marcu Istrate pe parcursul reabilitării centrului istoric al orașului, în 2011–2012, sub presiunea unor termene apăsătoare. Grație muncii sale nu s-a ajuns la distrugerea – prin „coborârea nivelului” cu scopul amplasării noului pavaj decorativ în piața din fața intrării apusene a catedralei Sf. Mihai – ruinelor păstrate doar la nivel de fundație ale bisericii. Pe de-altă parte, în realitate, D. Marcu Istrate a efectuat în această piață cea de-a doua săpătură. Deoarece fundația de biserică cercetată a fost scoasă la lumină întâia oară de către Radu Heitel în 1973. Despre rezultatele săpăturilor efectuate domnia sa a publicat, din păcate, doar o scurtă prezentare sintetică.²⁰³ Conform descrierii din această prezentare precum și a datelor ce se pot măsura din schița de plan publicată de mai multe ori, s-a reușit scoaterea la vedere a unor ziduri de fundație masive (după planurile publicate având grosimea de 1,6 m), ale unei clădiri cu o lungime de 18,8 m și lățime de 7,6 m, cu o singură navă și o absidă, orientată spre est. (Gradul de exactitate

tott formában, és e szűkös adatállományt csak egyes internetes portálok bejegyzéseivel, illetve „csevegőoldalaira” feltett kommentárokkal tudtuk csak kiegészíteni.¹⁹⁹ Sajátos helyet foglal el a nem-konvencionális adatközlésben Adrian Andrei Rusu több blogbejegyzése.²⁰⁰

Csak 2013 márciusában, a Szatmárnémeti – Papóson megrendezett építészettörténeti konferencián hangzott el Daniela Marcu Istrate részéről első ízben olyan előadás,²⁰¹ amely a feltárt maradványok értelmezéséhez valóban pontos és viszonylag részletes adatokat tett közzé. Így alábbi elemzésünk is jórészt az e konferencián bemutatott adatokra támaszkodik.

Munkahipotézisként elfogadva ugyan Daniela Marcu Istrate kijelentését a pilléralapok koraközépkori keltezéséről, mindeközben azonban azt is leszögezve, hogy az Adrian Andrei Rusu részéről megfogalmazott kétségek sora csak a feltárás metszetrajzainak részletes, és a feltáró keltezését valóban alátámasztó adatállományának közlése után lesz majd eloszlatható.

A Daniela Marcu Istrate által megfogalmazott értelmezést néhány adat kiemelésével kell kezdeni. A gyulafehérvári, „*négyszetbe írt görög kereszt alaprajzú*”-nak²⁰² meghatározott templom elemzése során folyamatosan szem előtt kell tartani két szempontot. Egyfelől azt, hogy az adott épület feltárását Daniela Marcu Istratenak a gyulafehérvári városközpont rekonstrukciója során, 2011–2012-ben sürgető határidők szorításában kellett végre hajtania. Munkájának köszönhető, hogy az új díszburkolatok lerakását megelőző „szintsüllyesztéssel” nem semmisítették meg a Szt. Mihály-székesegyház előtti téren, csak alapfalaiban megmaradt templom romjait. Másfelől pedig az is tény, hogy Daniela Marcu Istrate a második ásatást hajtotta végre a katolikus székesegyház előtti téren. A vizsgált templomalapot elsőként Radu Heitel bontotta ki 1973-ban. Ásatási eredményeiről sajnos csak egy rövid összefoglaló ismertetést tett közzé.²⁰³ Az itt olvasható leírás, valamint a több alkalommal is újraközölt alaprajzi vázlatról lemérhető adatok szerint egy 18,8 m hosszúságú és 7,6 m szélességű egyhajós, egyapszisos, keletelt épület, masszív – a közölt alaprajzok szerint mintegy 1,6 m vastagságú – alapfalait sikerült feltárnia.

cupola – a relatat specialista arheolog la conferința de presă ținută ieri la Arhiepiscopia Romano-Catolică din Alba Iulia”

¹⁹⁹ Rusu 2012a, Rusu 2012b.

²⁰⁰ Rusu 2012a, Rusu 2012b.

²⁰¹ Marcu-Istrate 2013.

²⁰² Marcu-Istrate 2012, 82.

²⁰³ Heitel 1975, 3–10.

a Gyulafehérvári Római Katolikus Érsekségen tartott tegnapi sajtótájékoztaton.”

¹⁹⁹ Rusu 2012a, Rusu 2012b.

²⁰⁰ Rusu 2012a, Rusu 2012b.

²⁰¹ Marcu-Istrate 2013.

²⁰² Marcu-Istrate 2012, 82.

²⁰³ Heitel 1975, 3–10.

a schițelor de plan publicate de Radu Heitel reiese din faptul, că în urma săpăturilor Danielei Marcu Istrate aceste date au fost modificate, după cum urmează: lungimea bisericii 20,71 m, lățimea 12 m²⁰⁴). Un punct de vedere care nu poate fi neglijat: axa longitudinală a bisericii – conform ambelor săpături – este paralelă, ba aproape coincide cu cea a catedralei romano-catolice.

Fundația observată la săpăturile lui Radu Heitel, simplă, se putea integra bine în arhitectura sacrală a Ungariei din secolul al XI-lea. Deja Károly Kozák a observat în prima parte a anilor 1960 că printre bisericile epocii întemeierii regatului ungar clădirile cu navă longitudinală neîmpărțită, respectiv cu o absidă cu plan în semicerc constituie un grup semnificativ.²⁰⁵ A făcut mai multe greșeli doar în enumerarea exemplelor. Astfel după o triere mai severă a monumentelor vor intra în acest grup biserica timpurie de lângă catedrala din Győr,²⁰⁶ precum și biserica de la Vésztő–Csoltmonostor,²⁰⁷ respectiv prima fază de construire a așa-zisei biserici protopopiale din Visegrád,²⁰⁸ ori prima fază a mai sus amintitei biserici din Celldömölk.²⁰⁹ (Pl. 6/2)

Primul pas în analiza săpăturilor din 2011–2012 trebuie să fie clarificarea întrebării: ce ziduri de fundație noi, neobservate, respectiv nefixate mai înainte au apărut, deoarece acesta este acel nou element, din cauza căruia reconstituirea lui Daniela Marcu Istrate a trebuit să difere de tipul de biserică ce se poate citi pe planul publicat de Radu Heitel. Săpătura de salvare din 2011–2012 a corectat, respectiv a dezvoltat schițele publicate de Radu Heitel. Pe de-o parte a ieșit la iveală că nava longitudinală a bisericii cercetate a fost mai lată, cu cca 4,4 m decât cei 7,6 m din planul lui Heitel. Iar ca un al doilea punct trebuie să trimitem la faptul că în treimea centrală a navei longitudinale ample, apropiate de un pătrat, s-a reușit identificarea a patru fundații de pilon, cu plan pătrat. Este importantă și dispunerea în plan a celor patru fundații de pilon, deoarece acestea – la fel, în conformitate cu planul prezentat la Satu Mare – au fost amplasate în colțurile unui pătrat cu laturile de 2 m. După cum am menționat deja, Daniela Marcu Istrate a interpretat aceste fundații ca părți din biserica din Evul Mediu timpuriu.

(A Radu Heitel által közölt alaprajzi vázlatok pontosságának a mértékét jól jelzi az, hogy D. Marcu Istrate ásatásai nyomán ezen adatok az alábbiak szerint módosultak: a templom hossza 20,71 m, szélessége 12 m²⁰⁴) Nem elhanyagolható szempont viszont az, hogy a templom hossztengele – mindkét ásatás szerint – párhuzamos, sőt majdnem meg is egyezik a katolikus székesegyház hossztengeleivel.

A Radu Heitel ásatásán megfigyelt, egyszerű templomalapot jól be lehetett illeszteni a 11. századi Magyarország szakrális építészétébe. Már Kozák Károly felfigyelt arra az 1960-as évek első felében, hogy a magyar államalapítás korának templomai között szignifikáns csoportot alkotnak az osztatlan hosszházzal, illetve egyetlen, félkör alakú apszissal rendelkező épületek.²⁰⁵ Csak a példák felsorolásában vétett több hibát. Így az épületanyag szigorúbb átrostálása után e csoportba a győri székesegyház melletti korai templom,²⁰⁶ valamint a Vésztő–Csoltmonostori,²⁰⁷ illetve a visegrádi ún. esperesi templom²⁰⁸ 1. építési fázisa, vagy a már hivatkozott celldömölki templomnak²⁰⁹ az 1. fázisa (6. t. 2.) sorolandó.

A 2011–12-es ásatás elemzésének első pontja annak tisztázása kell legyen, milyen új, korábban meg nem figyelt, illetve nem rögzített vonulatú alapfalak kerültek elő, mert ez az az új elem, amelynek következtében Daniela Marcu Istrate rekonstrukciója el kellett térjen a Radu Heitel által közölt feltárási alaprajzról leolvasható templomtípustól. A 2011–12-es leletmentés két ponton javította, illetve bővítette a Radu Heitel által közzé tett alaprajzi vázlatokat. Fény derült egyfelől arra, hogy a vizsgált templom hosszháza jóval, mintegy 4,4 méterrel szélesebb volt a Heitel-féle alaprajzról leolvasható 7,6 méternél. Második pontként pedig arra kell utalni, hogy a széles, négyszöghöz közelítő alaprajzú hosszház középső harmadában négy, négyszög alaprajzú pilléralapot sikerült feltárni. A négy pilléralap alaprajzi elrendezése is lényeges, mert ezeket – szintén a Szatmárnémetiben bemutatott alaprajz tanulsága szerint – egy 2 méter oldalhosszúságú négyzet sarkaiban helyezték el. Mint már fentebb utaltunk rá, D. Marcu Istrate a koraközépkori templom részeként értelmezte ezeket az alapozásokat.

²⁰⁴ Marcu-Istrate 2013, datele provin de pe un diapozitiv (slide) prezentat la prelegere.

²⁰⁵ Kozák 1966, 51–55; Kozák 1967, 141–145.

²⁰⁶ Kozák 1989–1990, 318 (fig. 1, 2). Interpretarea „istorică” atașată descrierii bisericii este desigur forțată.

²⁰⁷ Juhász 2000, 287 (figură nenumărată)

²⁰⁸ Szőke 1986, 7; Mecsi 2010, fig. 1.

²⁰⁹ Kozák 1961, 118, fig. 3.

²⁰⁴ Marcu-Istrate 2013, az adatok az előadás során bemutatott egyik diáról származnak.

²⁰⁵ Kozák 1966, 51–55; Kozák 1967, 141–145.

²⁰⁶ Kozák 1989–1990, 318, 1, 2, kép. A templom leírásához csatolt „történeti” interpretáció természetesen túlfeszített.

²⁰⁷ Juhász 2000, 287, számozatlan ábra.

²⁰⁸ Szőke 1986, 7; Mecsi 2010, 1. kép.

²⁰⁹ Kozák 1961, 118, 3. kép.

Resturile de zid descoperite, care – sperăm – vor deveni cercetabile în curând și prin apariția publicației științifice, ridică posibilitatea existenței odinioară a două configurații spațiale posibile – desigur numai în cazul în care se dovedește că într-adevăr sunt contemporane. Acestea sunt: 1. biserică cu navă longitudinală neîmpărțită, dar având deasupra acestei nave și cupolă; 2. biserică cu structură spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. În acest ultim caz cupolei centrale trebuia să se atașeze nu un tavan plat, ci patru bolți cilindrice scurte, ordonate în formă de cruce. Cercetătoarea Daniela Marcu Istrate a optat pentru structura spațială din urmă, fără îndoială mai articulată. Caracterizând respectiva structură spațială cu formula „cruce grecească înscrisă în pătrat”,²¹⁰ împrumutată din literatura de specialitate franceză.²¹¹ La acest punct trebuie să constatăm, că pentru ambele reconstituiri se pot găsi argumente – desigur numai în situația în care se va putea demonstra, cu desene de ridicare și de secțiuni existența simultană și în prima fază de construire a celor patru piloane. Adică publicarea amănunțită a documentației săpăturilor este o condiție *sine qua non* a activității viitoare de analizare. Pe parcursul acestei activități trebuie să avem permanent în vedere că în covârșitoarea majoritate a cazurilor prin săpăturile arheologice numai nivelul (stratul) fundației se poate identifica cu toată certitudinea. Spre diferență de acest fapt configurația spațială a nivelului planșeelor clădirilor de odinioară o putem doar reconstitui, într-un mod mai mult sau mai puțin verosimil.

În situația prezentată, caracterizată prin lipsă de date, nu ar fi prudent ca un arheolog care nu a participat în persoană la (re)dezvelirea fundației de biserică în piațeta din fața catedralei din Alba Iulia să formuleze păreri de valabilitate definitivă. Am dori doar să formulăm câteva opinii de valabilitate mai generală, cu scopul de a ajuta prelucrarea care în mare parte va urma în viitor. Cu o parte a acestor gânduri am încerca totodată să tragem concluziile comune ale fondului de date prezentat în lucrarea noastră.

1. Pe primul loc trebuie să accentuăm, înainte de toate, importanța publicării planului amănunțit de săpătură respectiv planșele de secțiuni. Condiție *sine qua non* a oricărei înaintări este deciderea într-o direcție sau alta a neclarităților cronologice. Observațiile noastre următoare au valabilitate numai în cazul unui răspuns pozitiv

A kibontott és remélhetőleg hamarosan nyomtatott formájú közlés alapján is tanulmányozhatóvá váló falmaradványok két térszerkezet egykori létezésének a lehetőségét vetik fel – természetesen csak abban az esetben, ha valóban egykorúnak bizonyulnak. Ezek: 1. osztatlan hosszházzal, de e hosszház felett kupolával is rendelkező templom; 2. keresztakupolás térszerkezetű templom. Ez utóbbi esetben a központi kupolához nem síkfödém, hanem négy rövid, kereszt alakban elrendezett dongaboltozat-szakasz kellett csatlakozzon. A feltáró, Daniela Marcu-Istrate ez utóbbi – minden kétségen felül tagoltabb – térszerkezet mellett tette le voksát. Az adott térszerkezetet a francia szakirodalomból²¹⁰ kölcsönzött „négyzetbe írt görög kereszt alaprajzú” kifejezéssel jellemezve.²¹¹ E ponton meg kell állapítani, hogy mindkét rekonstrukció mellett hozhatók fel érvek – természetesen csak abban az esetben, ha a négy pillér egyidejű, és az 1. építési fázisba tartozó létezését felmérési és metszetrajzokkal lehet majd igazolni. Vagyis a feltárási dokumentáció részletes közlése elengedhetetlen feltétele a további elemzőmunkának. E munka során, alapelveként folyamatosan a szemünk előtt kell lebegjen az, hogy régészeti ásatásokkal az esetek túlnyomó többségében csak egy-egy épület alapozási rétege rögzíthető teljes megbízhatósággal. Ezzel szemben viszont, az egykori épületek földémszintjének téralkotását csak rekonstruálni tudjuk, több-kevesebb valószínűséggel.

A vázolt, adathiányos helyzetben nem lenne tanácsos végleges érvényű véleményt megfogalmazni egy olyan régésznek, aki a gyulafehérvári katolikus székesegyház előtti téren újra kibontott templomalap feltárásait személyes bejárás alapján nem ismeri. Csak néhány, általánosabb jellegű, a még jórészt előttiünk álló feldolgozást segítő gondolatot szeretnénk megfogalmazni. Az alábbi gondolatok egy részével a dolgozatban bemutatott adathalmaznak is mintegy közös tanulságát igyekszünk levonni.

1. Első helyen ismét a részletes ásatási alaprajz, illetve a metszetrajzok közlésének minden egyéb szempontot megelőző voltát kell kiemelni. Bármilyen irányú továbblépés elengedhetetlen feltétele a felmerült időrendi bizonytalanság valamelyik irányba történő eldöntése. Alábbi megjegyzéseinknek is csak egy vélelmezett pozitív válasz esetében van létjogosultságuk – a pilléralapok esetleges későbbi keltezése ugyanis

²¹⁰ În literatura de specialitate franceză se cunosc două expresii: „église à croix inscrite” respectiv „église cruciforme à coupole”. Schmuck 1991, col. 357.

²¹¹ Marcu-Istrate 2012, 82.

²¹⁰ A francia szakirodalomban két megfogalmazás is ismert: „église à croix inscrite” illetve „église cruciforme à coupole”. Schmuck 1991, 357. oszlop.

²¹¹ Marcu-Istrate 2012, 82.

argumentat – deoarece eventuala datare mai târzie a fundațiilor de piloane ar zgudui din fundamente posibilitatea reconstituirii cupolei deasupra lor, respectiv a celor patru bolți cilindrice scurte.

2. Doar confirmarea datării timpurii a fundațiilor de piloane încă nu poate rezolva în sine judecarea diferitelor posibilități de reconstituire. Chiar dacă în baza documentației arheologice se poate demonstra fără echivoc existența din Evul Mediu timpuriu a celor patru fundații de piloane, rămâne în continuare de meditat asupra întrebării: oare biserica cu o singură navă și cupolă ori structura spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc pare mai plauzibilă? Merită să accentuăm: ambele structuri spațiale au exemple verosimile respectiv sigure pe teritoriul Ungariei secolului al XI-lea. Într-o lucrare de sinteză a noastră, scrisă recent, aflată sub tipar, am argumentat detaliat opinia că biserica benedictină din Kána, azi sectorul XI al Budapestei, a fost realizată ca o biserică cu o singură navă, unde deasupra navei longitudinale se afla și o cupolă.²¹² Este foarte greu să găsim – din cauza simplității clădirii – prototipurile bisericii din Kána. Dacă reconstituirea noastră este corectă, cupola presupusă înrudește mica construcție – repetăm, biserica unei mănăstiri benedictine – cu arhitectura Balcanilor din secolele IX–XI. Trecând la cealaltă structură spațială, am amintit și în prezenta sinteză argumentele în baza cărora se poate afirma că bisericile mănăstirilor din Szekszárd respectiv Zselicszentjakab (*Pl.* 6/5,6) au fost construite în secolul al XI-lea cu sistem planimetric în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc. Sintetizând ideile precedente: structura spațială a bisericii din Zselicszentjakab, având navă longitudinală de forma unui dreptunghi, ar putea fi conexată mai degrabă Balcanilor, iar biserica din Szekszárd, cu spațiu central de formă dreptunghiulară ar proveni mai curând dintr-una din regiunile Italiei. Pe baza acestor două analogii și în cazul bisericii din fața catedralei Sf. Mihail din Alba Iulia trebuie să contăm accentuat cu prezența influenței arhitecturii din Italia. Din cauza faptului că – să repetăm de dragul emfazei mai mari – la analiza bisericilor cu plan aproape pătrat și în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc merită să acordăm atenție sporită diferitelor regiuni din Italia. Deoarece, pe când în inventarul foarte bogat de clădiri medieval-timpurii din Balcani, biserica construită cu navă cu plan pătrat intră mai mult în categoria excepțiilor, (*Pl.* 4/1–2,5,6) în Italia e

alapjaiban rengetné meg a föléjük szerkesztett kupola, illetve négy rövid dongaboltozat rekonstrukciójának a lehetőségét.

2. A pilléralapok korai keltezésének az igazolása viszont önmagában még nem oldhatja meg a rekonstrukció különböző lehetőségeinek a megítélését. Hiszen még abban az esetben is érdemes lesz majd mérlegelni, vajon az egyhajós, kupolával is rendelkező templom, vagy a kereszt-kupolás térszerkezet tűnik-e valószínűbbnek, ha a közlésre váró dokumentáció alapján a négy pilléralap koraközépkori létezése minden kétség felett igazolható. Érdemes kiemelni: mindkét térszerkezetnek vannak valószínű, illetve biztos példái a 11. századi Magyarország területén. Egy, a közelmúltban írott, és jelenleg nyomtatásban levő, összefoglaló munkánkban részletesen érveltünk amellett, hogy a Budapest XI. kerületi, kánai bencés monostor temploma a 11. században olyan egyhajós templomként épült, amelynek hosszháza felett kupola is emelkedett.²¹² A kánai templom előképeit – az épület egyszerűsége következtében – igen nehéz megnevezni. Ha rekonstrukciónk helyes, a feltételezett kupola a kis épületet – ismételjük meg: egy bencés monostor templomát – a Balkán 9–11. századi építészetiével rokonítja. Áttérve a másik térszerkezetre, jelen áttekintésünkben is szoltunk azokról az érvekről, amelyek alapján kimondható: a szekszárdi, illetve zselicszentjakabi bencés monostor temploma (6. t. 5, 6.) a 11. században keresztkupolás térszerkezettel épült meg. E ponton csak annyit emelnénk ki ismét a fentebb már elmondottakból, hogy a hossznegyszög alakú hosszházzal rendelkező zselicszentjakabi templom térszerkezete inkább a Balkánról, a négyzet alaprajzú centrális térrel rendelkező szekszárdi templom pedig inkább a korabeli Itália valamelyik régiójából vezethető le. E két párhuzam alapján a gyulafehérvári Szt. Mihály-székesegyház előtt feltárt templom esetében is hangsúlyosan kell számolni az itáliai építészet hatásával. Annak következtében, hogy – ismételjük meg a nagyobb nyomaték kedvéért még egyszer – négyzethez közelítő alaprajzú, keresztkupolás templomok értékelése során hangsúlyosan érdemes figyelni a különböző itáliai régiókra. Míg ugyanis a Balkán-félsziget igen gazdag, koraközépkori emléanyagában a négyzet alaprajzú hosszházzal megépített keresztkupolás templom inkább a kivétel kategóriájába tartozik, (4. t. 1–2, 5, 6.) Itáliában éppen fordítva, a kereszt-kupolás térszerkezet esetében kifejezetten gyakori a négyzethez közelítő alaprajz. (4. t. 10–12.) Az

²¹² Takács (sub tipar 2)

²¹² Takács (sajtó alatt 2)

tocmai invers, în cazul structurii în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, planul pătrat este foarte frecvent. (Pl. 4/10–12) Exemplele ce se pot enumera aici: din Calabria, respectiv Puglia din Italia de Sud, Stilo – La Cattolica,²¹³ (Pl. 4/10) Rossano – S. Marco,²¹⁴ Otranto – S. Pietro,²¹⁵ iar din regiunea Ancona din Italia Centrală, Genga – San Claudio al Chienti, (Pl. 4/11) San Vittore delle Chiuse, Santa Maria delle Moie, Sassoferrato – Santa Croce.²¹⁶ Iar în Italia de Nord la Venetia au fost ridicate în secolele X–XI biserici cu plan ce se apropia de pătrat. Vezi următoarele biserici, transformate în secolele ulterioare: San Giacomo (=Giacometto) di Rialto,²¹⁷ (Pl. 6/12) San Maurizio,²¹⁸ San Giovanni Elemosinario,²¹⁹ etc.

3. În cazul interpretării fundației de biserică din Alba Iulia descoperită în 2011–2012 ar merita să acordăm o atenție specială faptului că axa sa longitudinală este paralelă, sau aproape se suprapune peste cea a axei catedralei Sf. Mihail. Acest fapt sugerează posibilitatea coexistenței celor două clădiri. Credem că am fi îndreptățiți să presupunem că a existat un plan temporar comun, o simultaneitate. O analogie cu această situație ar fi complexul arhitectural al colegiatei din Beromünster, (Pl. 5/8), unde la vest de bazilica cu trei nave, în axul său longitudinal, a existat o capelă cu plan în cruce.²²⁰ Analizarea simultană a celor două biserici din Alba Iulia nu înseamnă desigur că biserica mică a trebuit să fie ridicată mai târziu decât catedrala, ea putea să preceadă prima fază a catedralei, cea din secolul al XI-lea. Determinarea acestei probleme trebuie să fie consecința analizei cronologice amintite la punctul 1. În schimb recunoașterea, că biserica ruină găsită de Radu Heitel și Daniela Marcu Istrate, și catedrala Sf. Mihail trebuiau să existe simultan o perioadă de timp, la o distanță mică una față de cealaltă, poate oferi oarecare punct de sprijin și interpretării funcționale a fundației dezvelite. Se poate presupune că atunci când faza 1. a catedralei deja stătea în picioare, această mică biserică putea funcționa ca o capelă în cadrul centrului ecleziastic.

idekapcsolható példák: a dél-itáliai Calabriából, illetve Pugliából Stilo – La Cattolica,²¹³ (4. t. 10.) Rossano – S. Marco,²¹⁴ Otranto – S. Pietro,²¹⁵ a közép-itáliai anconai régióból pedig Genga – San Claudio al Chienti, (4. t. 11.) San Vittore delle Chiuse, Santa Maria delle Moie, Sassoferrato – Santa Croce.²¹⁶ Észak-Itáliában pedig Velence városában épültek a 10–11. században négyzethez közelítő alaprajzzal templomok, lásd az alábbi, a későbbi évszázadokban többé-kevésbé átépített templomokat: San Giacomo (=Giacometto) di Rialto,²¹⁷ (6. t. 12.) San Maurizio,²¹⁸ San Giovanni Elemosinario,²¹⁹ stb.

3. A gyulafehérvári, 2011–12-ben feltárt templomalap értelmezése során arra is érdemes lenne fokozott mértékben figyelni, hogy annak hossz tengelye párhuzamos, sőt majdnem megegyezik a Szt. Mihály-titulusú székesegyház hossz tengelyével. E tény a két épület együttes értelmezésének a lehetőségét sugallja. Joggal gondolhatunk ugyanis arra, hogy volt egy olyan közös időszék, amikor mindkét templom állt. A fentebb már utalt, beromünsteri társas káptalan épületkomplexuma (5. t. 8.) hozható fel párhuzamként, ahol a háromhajós bazilikától nyugatra, annak fő tengelyében egy kereszt alakú kápolna állt.²²⁰ A két gyulafehérvári templom együttes elemzése természetesen nem azt jelenti, hogy a kis templomnak a székesegyház után kellett épülnie, a kis templom akár meg is előzhette a székesegyház első, 11. századi építési fázisát. E kérdés eldöntése a fentebb, az 1. pontban már utalt időrendi elemzés függvénye kell legyen. Viszont annak a felismerése, hogy a Radu Heitel és Daniela Marcu-Istrate által kibontott, csak alapfalaiban megmaradt templomnak és a Szt. Mihály-székesegyháznak egy bizonyos ideig együtt, egymás közelében kellett állnia, a kibontott templomalap funkcionális értelmezéséhez is nyújthat némi támpontot. Joggal vethető fel ugyanis az, hogy amikor a székesegyház 1. fázisa már állt, e kis templom csak kápolnaként szolgálhatott az egyházi központon belül.

4. A leendő, átfogó közleményben – az

²¹³ Krautheimer 1986, 402, fig. 364. Cele mai importante date referitoare la această biserică, în lb. maghiară, la: Török 1970, 117, 121, fig. 22.

²¹⁴ Krautheimer 1986, 402, 403. Cele mai importante date ref. la această biserică, în lb. maghiară, la: Török 1970, 117.

²¹⁵ Krautheimer 1986, 402; Grazio 2010.

²¹⁶ Un tur de orizont peste aceste clădiri, în lb. maghiară: Buzás 2001, 49–50.

²¹⁷ Dorigo 1983, 607, fig. 82.

²¹⁸ Dorigo 1983, 597, fig. 49.

²¹⁹ Dorigo 1983, 607, fig. 27.

²²⁰ Untermann 1999, 60, fig. 13.

²¹³ Krautheimer 1986, 402, 364. ábra. Magyar nyelven foglalta össze e templom legfontosabb adatait Török 1970, 117, 121, 22. kép.

²¹⁴ Krautheimer 1986, 402, 403. Magyar nyelven foglalta össze e templom legfontosabb adatait Török 1970, 117.

²¹⁵ Krautheimer 1986, 402; Grazio 2010.

²¹⁶ Magyarul áttekintette ezeket az épületeket: Buzás 2001, 49–50.

²¹⁷ Dorigo 1983, 607, 82. ábra.

²¹⁸ Dorigo 1983, 597, 49. ábra.

²¹⁹ Dorigo 1983, 607, 27. ábra.

²²⁰ Untermann 1999, 60, 13. ábra.

4. În viitoarea publicație științifică, mai amplă, – dincolo de prezentarea cât mai detaliată a fragmentelor de zid utilizabile pentru precizarea planimetriei – ar trebui dedicată atenție mărită datării fundațiilor ieșite la lumină, precum și fazelor de construire – desigur numai dacă acestea pot fi deosebite sau identificate. Ar trebui să fie un principiu fundamental ideea că o datare arheologică poate fi sigură doar dacă se deduce din vestigiile găsite. Respectiv, în cazul concret – și nu numai, ba poate nici nu în primul rând trimitând la specialistul care a redezvelit biserica – numai atunci merită să ne apucăm de o interpretare istorică referitoare la mijlocul sau a doua jumătate a secolului al X-lea dacă această datare este susținută de argumente arheologice serioase. Dintre săpăturile de biserici prezentate, disputa din jurul fundației de biserică (*Pl. 6/1*) din piața catedralei baroce din Székesfehérvár poate oferi un exemplu bun pentru a ilustra consecințele situației în care ne fondăm datarea pe considerente istorice și nu pe argumente arheologice. Și în acest caz interpretarea istorică – adică posibilitatea să fi apărut fundațiile celei mai vechi biserici din Székesfehérvár, construite încă în timpul principelui Géza – s-a dovedit a fi mai puternică într-o primă fază, decât admiterea că fundația descoperită nu se poate data cu exactitate. Au trebuit să treacă mulți ani până când adevărata semnificație a bisericii tri- sau cvadrilobate să poată fi recunoscută.

5. Baza de date realizată în cadrul prezentei lucrări – dincolo de demonstrarea prin numeroase exemple a prezenței unei strădanii de a reprezenta crucea în plan și în structură spațială – poate avea și rostul de a sublinia un fapt evident: bisericile cvadrilobate, cele cu plan în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, și cele cu plan în cruce, pot fi ample documentate nu doar în Bizanț și zonele sale limitrofe, ci sporadic și în Europa de Vest și Centrală, precum și – ceea ce e poate și mai important – în Italia, ce poate fi considerată o zonă de contact. Din acest motiv nu e corect să definim dorința reprezentării crucii în plan ca o caracteristică arhitecturală exclusiv bizantină. Ar trebui să se dedice acestui punct de vedere o atenție mai mare și pe parcursul analizării bisericii redescoperite în 2011 de la Alba Iulia.

6. Este în general adevărat, dincolo de tema reprezentării crucii în plan și în structura spațială, că arhitectura creștinismului oriental și occidental încă nu s-au separat la cumpăna mileniilor I și II în măsura în care acest lucru s-a

alaprajz pontosítására felhasználható falmaradványok minél alaposabb bemutatásán túl – fokozott figyelmet kellene fordítani a feltárt épületalapok keltezésére, valamint az egyes építési fázisokra – természetesen csak akkor, ha ilyeneket el lehet különíteni. Alapelveként kellene szem előtt tartani, hogy a régészeti keltezés akkor megbízható, ha magukból a feltárt leletekből következik. Vagyis, a konkrét esetben – és nem csupán sőt talán nem is elsősorban a templomot újra feltáró szakemberre utalva – egy a 10. század közepére, második felére utaló történeti interpretációba csak akkor érdemes belefogni, ha a 10. századi keltezést komoly régészeti érvek támasztják alá. Az adattárunkban ismertetett templomfeltárások közül a székesfehérvári barokk székesegyház előtti téren kibontott templomalap (6. t. 1.) értelmezése körüli vita szolgáltathat jó példát arra, milyen problémákat eredményez az, ha régészeti érvek helyett történeti megfontolásokra alapozzuk keltezésünket. Ez esetben is a történeti interpretáció – azaz annak a lehetősége, hogy Székesfehérvár legrégebbi, még Géza nagyfejedelem korában épült templom alapjai kerültek elő – a közlés első fázisában jóval erősebbnek bizonyult annak a belátásánál, hogy a feltárt épületalap nem keltezhető pontosan. Így hosszú éveknek kellett eltelnie ahhoz, hogy a székesfehérvári három- vagy négykaréjos templom valódi jelentőségét fel lehessen ismerni.

5. A dolgozatunkban összeállított adattárnak – a kereszt alaprajzi, illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítésére irányuló törekvés meglétének a nagyszámú példával történő alátámasztásán túl – talán még az lehet a haszna, hogy ráirányítja a figyelmet egy nyilvánvaló tényre. Arra tehát, hogy a négykaréjos, keresztakupolás, illetve keresztalaprajzú templomok nemcsak Bizáncban és peremterületein dokumentálhatók széles körben, hanem szórványosan Nyugat- és Közép-Európában, valamint – ami talán még fontosabb – az érintkezési övezetnek minősíthető Itáliában is. Ezért nem helyes a kereszt alaprajzi megjelenítése iránti törekvést pusztán bizánci építészeti sajátásként meghatározni. Érdemes lenne e szempontra a jelenleginél nagyobb mértékben figyelni a 2011-ben újra feltárt, gyulafehérvári templom értékelése során is.

6. A kereszt alaprajzi illetve térszerkezeti megjelenítésén túl általánosságban is igaz, hogy a keleti és nyugati kereszténység építészete még nem vált szét egymástól oly mértékben az I. és II. évezred fordulóján, mint az újkorban.²²¹

²²¹ Erre a megállapításra mintegy áttételesen utal az európai

întâmplat în epoca ulterioară.²²¹ Această teză se referă cu precădere la Bazinul Carpatic, care și în perioada cumpenei de milenii a fost o „zonă de contact” a celor două ramuri ale creștinismului. E bine să amintim și aici câteva exemple, prezentate mai sus. Bisericele din Szekszárd și Zselicszentjakab au fost construite cu structură spațială în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc, fiind biserici de mănăstiri benedictine. Pe de altă parte putem presupune cu justificare că biserica mănăstirii ortodoxe de călugărițe din Veszprémvölgy, și biserica mănăstirii din Visegrád, la fel ortodoxă, au fost construite după modele central-europene sau din Italia de Nord.²²² Aceste exemple sugerează ideea că în arhitectura Ungariei Arpadiene, mai ales în perioada din jurul adoptării creștinismului, nu a existat un principiu de reglementare care să fi impus unei comunități creștine occidentale respectiv orientale aderența la modele „proprii” de arhitectură bisericească.

7. Ar trebui procedat cu maximă prudență în cazul interpretării unor clădiri, efectuată în baza unor concepții istorice. În mod special în situațiile în care clădirea încă nu e cunoscută sau publicată în măsură suficientă, iar pentru evenimentul istoric sau personalitatea care se dorește a fi legată de clădire nu dispunem decât de surse minime. Exemplu pentru acest pericol este asocierea bisericii cu „plan în cruce greacă înscrisă în pătrat” din Alba Iulia cu episcopul Hierotheos. Mai sus ne-am referit la aspectul reconstituit, deci în mod necesar nesigur al structurii spațiale a bisericii, și la lipsa unor argumente arheologice care să sprijine ferm datarea în secolul al X-lea. În continuare ne vom opri pe scurt la Hierotheos. Numele acestui cleric bizantin apare doar în câteva izvoare, și singurul loc unde i se dedică mai multe date este cronică din secolul al XI-lea a lui Ioannes Skylitzes.²²³ Scrierea oferă posibilitatea de a arunca o privire într-o etapă scurtă a unui destin special. Hierotheos a putut să intre în cronică lui Skylitzes deoarece în jurul anului 950 au fost la Constantinopol a doua și a treia persoană în rang din Principatul Ungar, Gyula și Bulcsu, care au fost botezați în curtea imperială, respectiv li s-a oferit

Különösképp vonatkozik e tézis a Kárpát-mendécre, amely az I. és a II. évezred fordulója idején is a kereszténység két ága közötti „kontaktusövezet” volt. Érdemes itt ismét emlékeztetni néhány, fentebb már részben idézett példára. A szekszárdi és zselicszentjakabi templom kereszt-kupolás térszerkezettel épült meg, egy-egy bencés monostor templomaként. A másik oldalról közelítve viszont az is joggal valószínűsíthető, hogy a veszprémvölgyi ortodox apácamonostor temploma, és a visegrádi, szintén ortodox kolostor temploma közép-európai, illetve észak-itáliai minták szerint épült.²²² E példák arra utalnak, hogy az Árpád-kori Magyarország szakrális építészetében, és különösen a kereszténység felvétele körüli időkben nem létezett olyan rendező elv, amely egy nyugati, illetve keleti keresztény közösség számára kötelező érvényűvé tette volna a „saját” templomépítési mintákhoz való ragaszkodást.

7. Rendkívül óvatosan kellene bánni egy-egy épületnek történeti koncepciók alapján történő értelmezésénél. Különösen olyan esetekben, amikor maga az épület még kellő mértékben nem ismert vagy közölt, a hozzá kapcsolni kívánt történeti eseményről, illetve személyiségről pedig csak minimális forrásanyag szól. Jól példázza e veszélyt a gyulafehérvári, „négyzetbe írt görög kereszt alaprajzú”-nak meghatározott templom, illetve Hierotheosz püspök összekapcsolása. A templom térszerkezetének rekonstruált, tehát szükségképpen bizonytalan voltára, a 10. századi keltezését alátámasztó régészeti érvek hiányára fentebb már utaltunk. Így itt csak Hierotheoszra térnénk ki, röviden. E bizánci klerikus neve csak néhány forrásmunkában szerepel, és az egyetlen hely, ahol kicsit is bővebb adatok szólnak róla Ioannész Szkylitzész 11. században írott krónikája.²²³ E forrás egy sajátos életút egy rövid szakaszába enged némi betekintést. Hierotheosz annak révén kerülhetett be Szkylitzész krónikájába, hogy 950 körül Konstantinápolyban járt a Magyar nagyfejedelemség rangban a második, illetve harmadik főembere, Gyula és Bulcsú, akiket a császári udvarban meg is kereszteltek, illetve patrikioszi rangban is részesítették őket.

²²¹ La această constatare trimite, întrucâtva indirect, marea personalitate a istoriei arhitecturii europene, Nikolaus Pevsner, pe drept de faimă mondială, prin faptul că a considerat arhitectura romanică apărută la cumpăna mileniilor I și II drept primul stil european (adică vest-european), iar printre precursori comuni amintește din timpurile precedente atât clădiri bizantine, cât și occidentale: Pevsner 1983, 19–63.

²²² Takács (sub tipar).

²²³ O nouă publicare a sursei date, în greaca originală și în maghiară: Moravcsik 1984, 85.

építészettörténet egyik igen nagy alakja, a méltán világhírű Nikolaus Pevsner az által, hogy az I. és II. évezred fordulóján feltűnő romanikát tekinti az első, valóban európai (értsd nyugat-európai) építészeti stílusnak, az ezt megelőző időkbeli pedig, mintegy közös előzményként bizánci és nyugat-európai épületeket is felvonultat: Pevsner 1983, 19–63.

²²² Takács (sajtó alatt).

²²³ Az adott forráshely új közlése, görög eredetiben és magyar fordításban: Moravcsik 1984, 85.

rang de *patrikios*. La întoarcere Gyula a fost însoțit de Hierotheos, care în prealabil a fost sfințit ca episcop „al Turkiei” (adică Principatului Ungar) de către patriarhul Theophylaktos (953–956). Potrivit lui Skylitzes Hierotheos a desfășurat o activitate misionară de succes. Este important de subliniat: în izvoarele bizantine nu apare numele așezării Alba Iulia. Fiind episcop misionar lui Hierotheos nu i s-a desemnat un sediu. Ar fi desigur o idee logică ca Hierotheos să fi ales drept centru al activității sale de misionar reședința principelui Gyula. Totodată fapt e că plasarea la Alba Iulia a reședinței lui Gyula nu este decât o identificare care are ca singura bază, din păcate nu lipsită de probleme, toponimul.²²⁴ Ba mai mult, nu putem ocoli aici mențiunea că în Marele Principat Ungar din secolul al XI-lea pot fi identificați mai mulți – după argumentarea lui Loránd Benkő trei – căpetenii cu numele Gyula.²²⁵ Iar ideea ca Hierotheos în centrul său de misiune ipotetic de la Alba Iulia să fi considerat principala sa datorie convertirea populației de limbă română, nu este decât proiectarea în trecut, încărcată cu nu puțin anacronism, a relațiilor confesionale și etnice din epoca modernă. Evidențiem doar singurul, dar foarte importantul fapt că în ortodoxie abia la sfârșitul Evului Mediu au devenit dominante bisericile „naționale”, ca urmare a extinderii puterii otomane. Or, biserica imperială bizantină a funcționat până la desființarea sa din 1453 ca cel mai important garant al universalismului bizantin,²²⁶ considerând principala sa îndatorire nu întârirea diferitelor conștiințe etnice, ci impunerea singurei căi considerată corectă a credinței creștine, și prin aceasta – indirect dar palpabil – crearea loialității față de Imperiul Bizantin.

Hazatérésekor Gyula Hierotheoszt is magával vitte, akit előtte Thephylaktosz konstantinápolyi pátriárka (953–956) „Turkia” (azaz a Magyar nagyfejedelemség) püspökévé szentelt. Szkylytész szerint Hierotheosz sikeres térítőmunkát végzett. Dolgozatunk szempontjából fontos kiemelni: a bizánci forrásokban Gyulafehérvár neve nem szerepel. Missziós püspökként Hierotheosz számára nem is jelöltek meg székhelyt. Az ugyan egy logikus gondolat, hogy Hierotheosz Gyula fejedelem központját tehette térítőmunkája központjává, viszont az is tény, hogy Gyula székhelyének Gyulafehérvárra helyezése nem több egy olyan azonosításnál, amelynek a helynév az egyetlen, problémáktól sajnos egyáltalán nemmentes alapja.²²⁴ Sőt, e ponton nem kerülhetjük meg annak az említését, hogy a 10. századi Magyar nagyfejedelemségben több – Benkő Loránd érvelése szerint három – Gyula nevű főember különíthető el egymástól.²²⁵ Az pedig, hogy Hierotheosz az igencsak hipotetikus gyulafehérvári missziós központjában főként a román anyanyelvű lakosság térítését tartotta volna feladatának, az újkori vallási és etnikai viszonyok nem csekély anakronizmuszal megterhelt visszavetítése. Egyetlen, de alapvetően fontos tényként arra utalunk, hogy az ortodoxiában csak a középkor végén váltak dominánssá a „nemzeti” egyházak, az oszmán-török terjeszkedés következtében. A bizánci birodalmi egyház ezzel szemben, egészen 1453-as megszűnéséig, a bizánci univerzalizmus legfontosabb letéteményeseként működött,²²⁶ és így nem az egyes etnikai tudatok erősítését, hanem a keresztény hit egyetlen helyesnek hitt útjának elfogadását, és ez által – áttételesen, de jól érzékelhetően – a Bizánci birodalom iránti lojalitás kialakítását tartotta fő feladatának.

²²⁴ Despre toponimul Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), și situația așezării în jurul anului 1000 vezi: Kiss 1988, 551; Benkő E. 2001, 369–371. Despre problema legăturii dintre toponimul Gyulafehérvár și persoanele numite Gyula vezi: Benkő L. 2001, 27–28. Aici trebuie evidențiat că în istoriografia română Alexandru Madgearu a expus argumente demne de luat în considerare în favoarea localizării misiunii lui Hierotheos pe teritoriul județelor actuale Csongrád și Békés (Ungaria); în opinia lui centrul acestei misiuni trebuie căutat nu la Alba Iulia, ci mai curând în zona localității Gyula (română: Giula) din Ungaria. Drept completare, pentru ilustrarea nerezolvării problemei localizării menționăm că după o părere răspândită în bizantinologia engleză centrul episcopiei lui Hierotheos ar fi fost în Bács (Bač, Sárbia): Stephenson 2000, 41. Analiza amănunțită a acestei probleme ar depăși limitele prezentei lucrări. Dorim să subliniem aici doar faptul că la temeiul acestei păreri stă dublul centru al arhiepiscopiei de Bács-Kalocsa, demonstrabil din secolul al XII-lea.

²²⁵ Benkő L. 2001, 21–26.

²²⁶ Obolensky 1999.

²²⁴ Gyulafehérvár nevérol, 1000 körüli állapotáról lásd: Kiss 1988, 551; Benkő E. 2001, 369–371. A Gyulafehérvár helynév és a Gyulák összekötésének a problémájáról lásd: Benkő L. 2001, 27–28. Itt kell kiemelni, hogy a román tudományosságban Alexandru Madgearu sorolt fel igencsak megfontolandó érveket amellet, hogy a Hierotheosz-misszió első sorban a Tiszántúl középső harmadának a déli részén, azaz a mai Csongrád megye keleti felében illetve Békés megye területén folyhatott, és központját sem a dél-erdélyi Gyulafehérvár, hanem a tiszántúli Gyula (rom.: Giula) határában kellene keresni: Madgearu 2008, 126–130. Csak sajátos adalékként, és a lokalizálás megoldatlanságát szemléltetendő utalunk arra, hogy egy, az angol bizantinológiában elterjedt vélemény szerint Hierotheosz püspökségének a központja Bácsban (Bač, Szerbia) lett volna: Stephenson 2000, 41. Dolgozatunk kereteit szétfeszítené e felvetés részletes elemzése. Itt csak annyit emelnénk ki, hogy alapjául a Bács-kalocsai érsekség 12. századtól bizonyítható kétközpontú volta szolgált.

²²⁵ Benkő L. 2001, 21–26.

²²⁶ Obolensky 1999.

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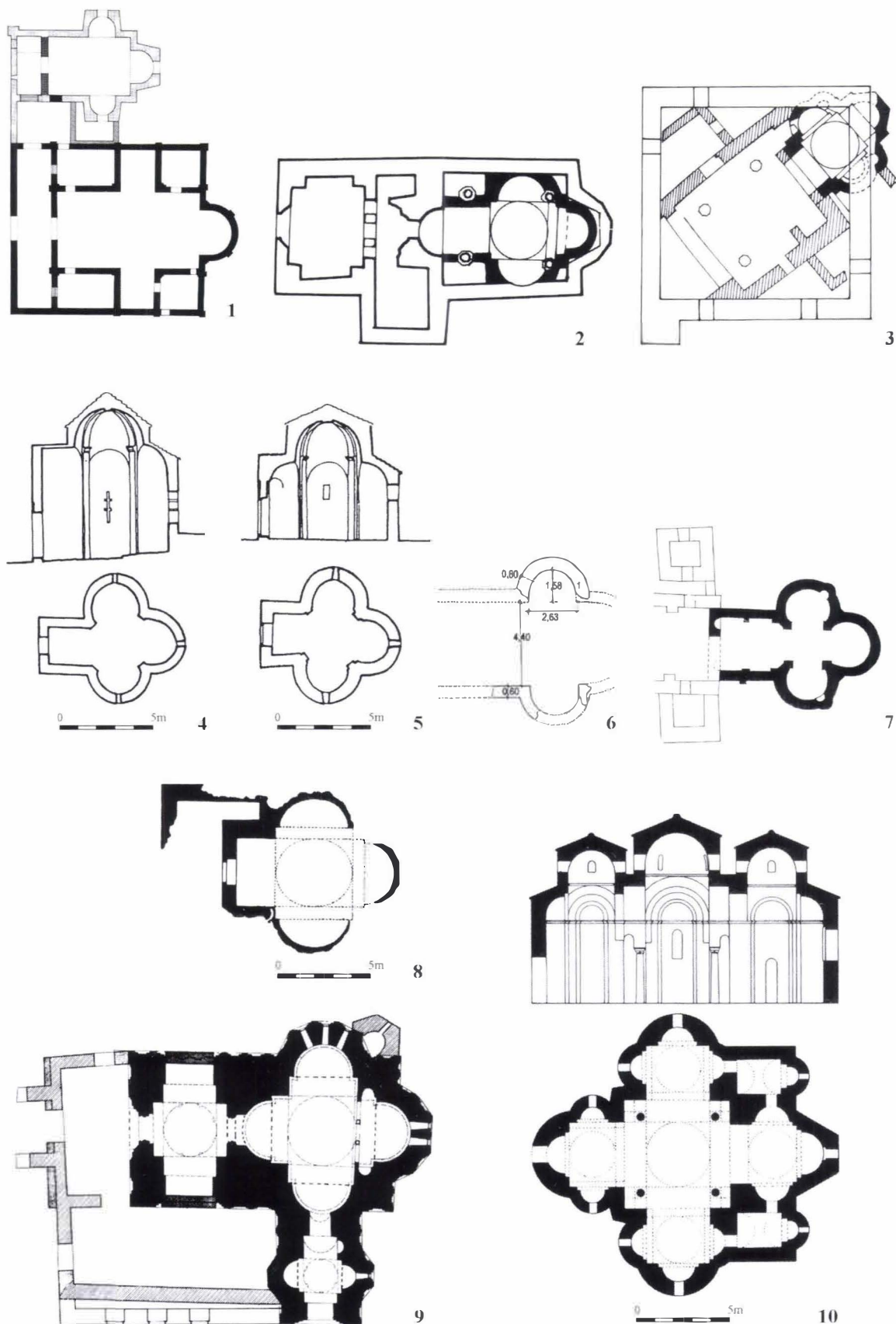
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Summary

The paper analyses one particular and rarely discussed part of religious architecture from Arpadian Hungary, the churches with a cross ground plan, the tetraconch churches, and the cross-domed square structured churches, in order to present new examples. One has to conclude that, even though, the three examples presented here, have the same roots in early Christian architecture of the east Mediterranean, regarding early Middle Ages these cannot be classified as belonging to the Eastern Church. Thus, the church with a cross ground plan was rather known in Carolingian and Ottonian western and middle Europe. At the turn of the first millennium the tetraconch and the

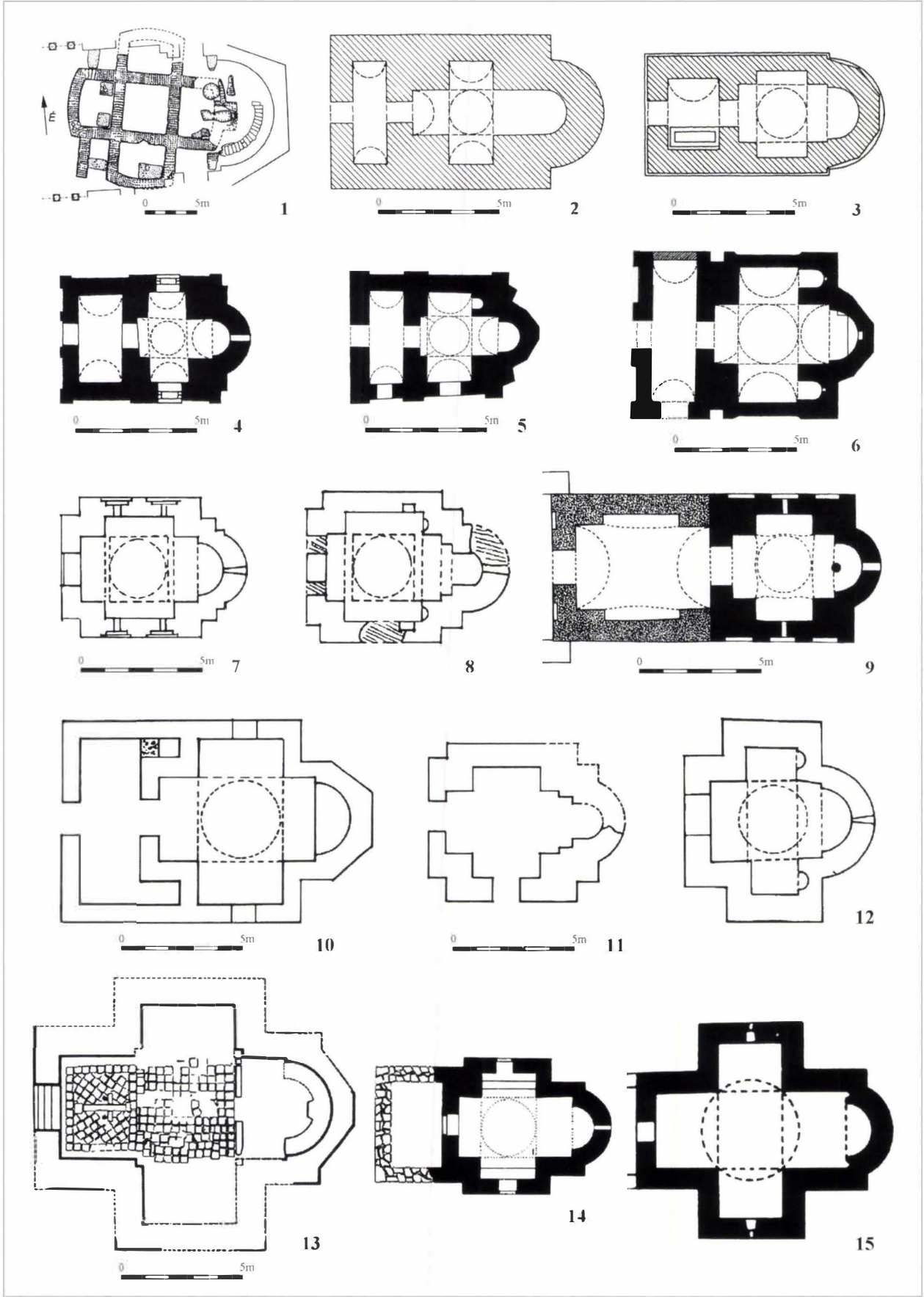
cross-domed square structures were very popular not only in certain parts of the Byzantine Empire but also in Italy. On the basis of such a distribution of examples, it should be stated that, the western or eastern character of an Arpadian church cannot be inferred solely based on the building-type, and even less its confessional affiliation. For the support of the last conclusion it is enough to mention the Benedictine church from Kaposszentjakab built on the basis of a Byzantine model; or the Basilian monk's church from Visegrád, built after a north Italian model. Thus, in the case of the newly discovered church of cross-shaped ground plan and/or the cross-domed church at Alba Iulia, the spatial structure of the church should not be used to determine its confessional affiliation.



Planșa 1. Biserici cu plan triconc și tetraconc din Peninsula Balcanică.

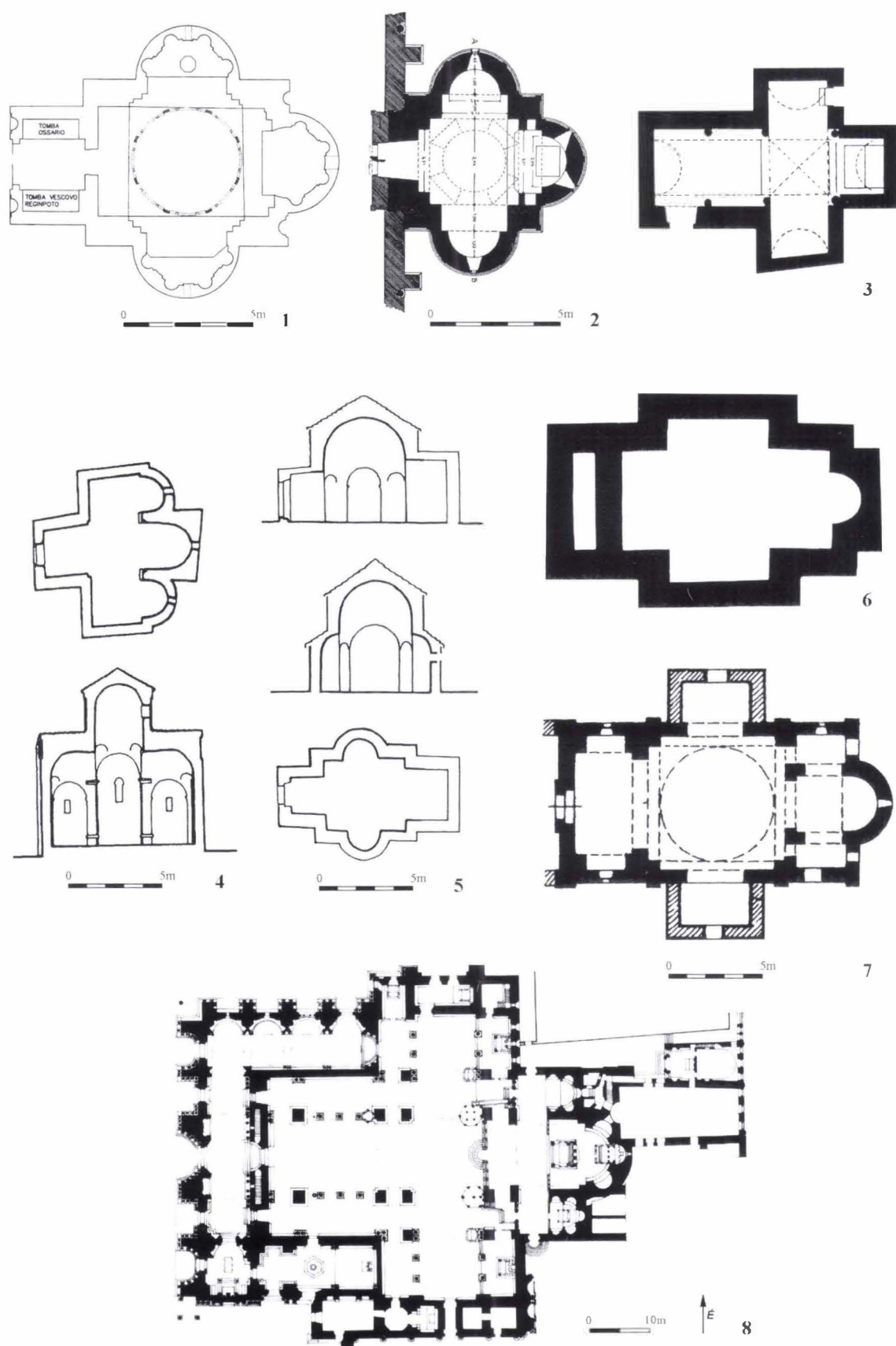
1. tábla. Tri-, illetve tetrakonchoszok a Balkánon.

1. Trebinje – Čičevo; 2. Ochrida/Ohrid – Sv. Naum; 3. Ochrida/Ohrid – Sv. Pantelejmon; 4. Krk – Sv. Krševan; 5. Nin – Sv. Nikola; 6. Krk – Mala Luka; 7. Zaton na Limu – Sv. Jovan; 8. Gorica; 9. Veljusa; 10. Peristerai



Planșa 2. Biserici cu plan în cruce în partea centrală și estică a Balcanilor.
2. tábla. Keresztalaprájzú templomok a Balkán közepső, ill. keleti harmadában.
1. Pliska-martiriu/mártirium; 2. Preslav-Selište, kamenjara, 3. Preslav-biserica 8 / 8. templom; 4. Preslav-Deliduška; 5. Preslav-Bjal brjag; 6. Preslav-Selište; 7. Sapareva Banja; 8. Boboševo; 9. Bojana; 10. Morodviz; 11. Žiganci; 12. Teranci; 13. Botevo; 14. Marmaro; 15. Djunis

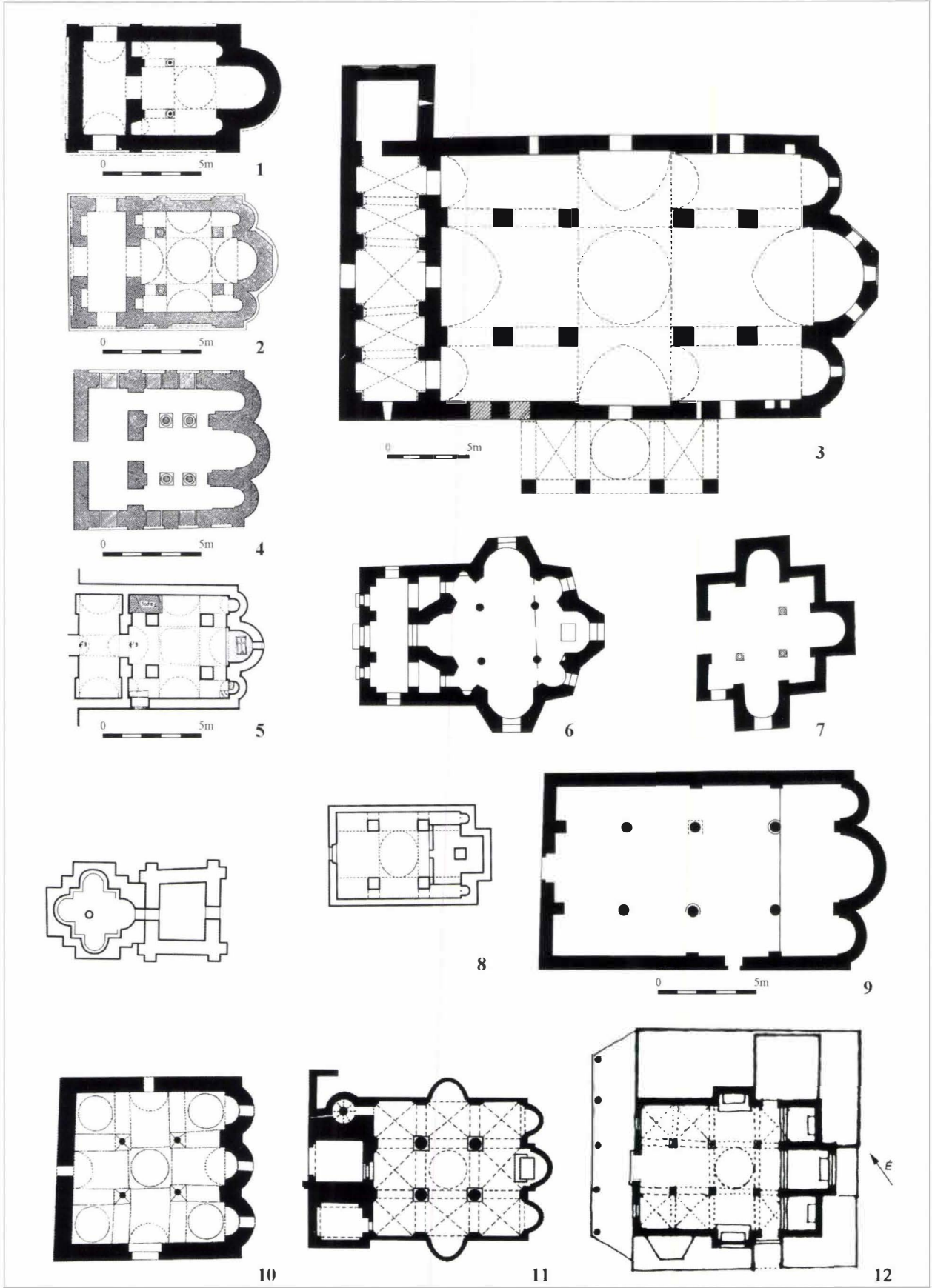
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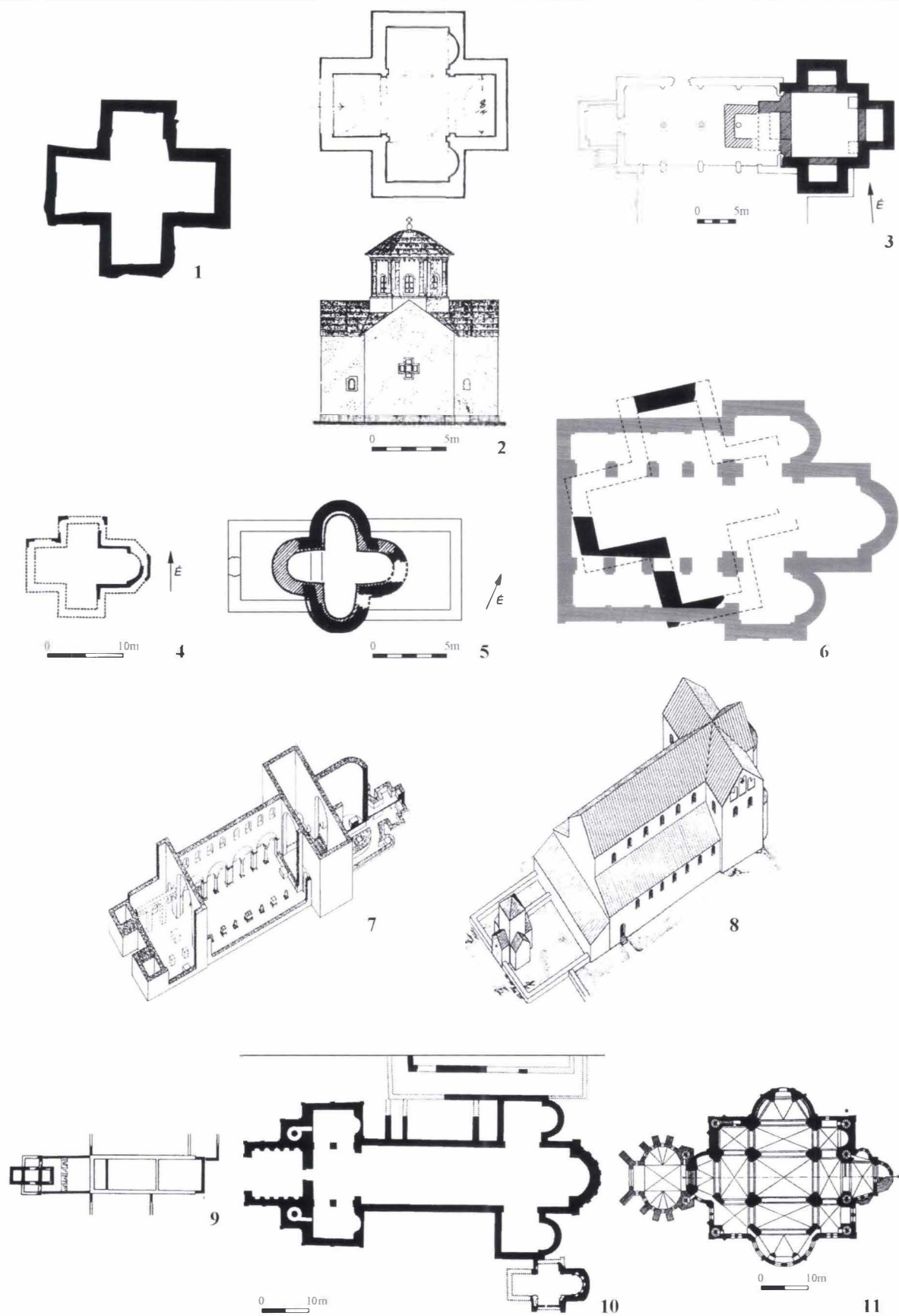
Planșa 3. Biserici cu plan triconc și cu plan în cruce în Dalmația, Italia și Germania.

3. tábla. Háromkaréjos, ill. kereszt alaprajzú templomok Dalmáciában, Itáliában és Németországban.

1. Concordia Saggitaria; 2. Regensburg; 3. Bardolino – S. Zeno; 4. Nin – Sv. Križ; 5. Krk – Sv. Dunat; 6. Podgorica; 7. Mljet; 8. Veneția – S. Marco, faza a 3-a de construcție/ Velence – S. Marco, 3. építési fázis



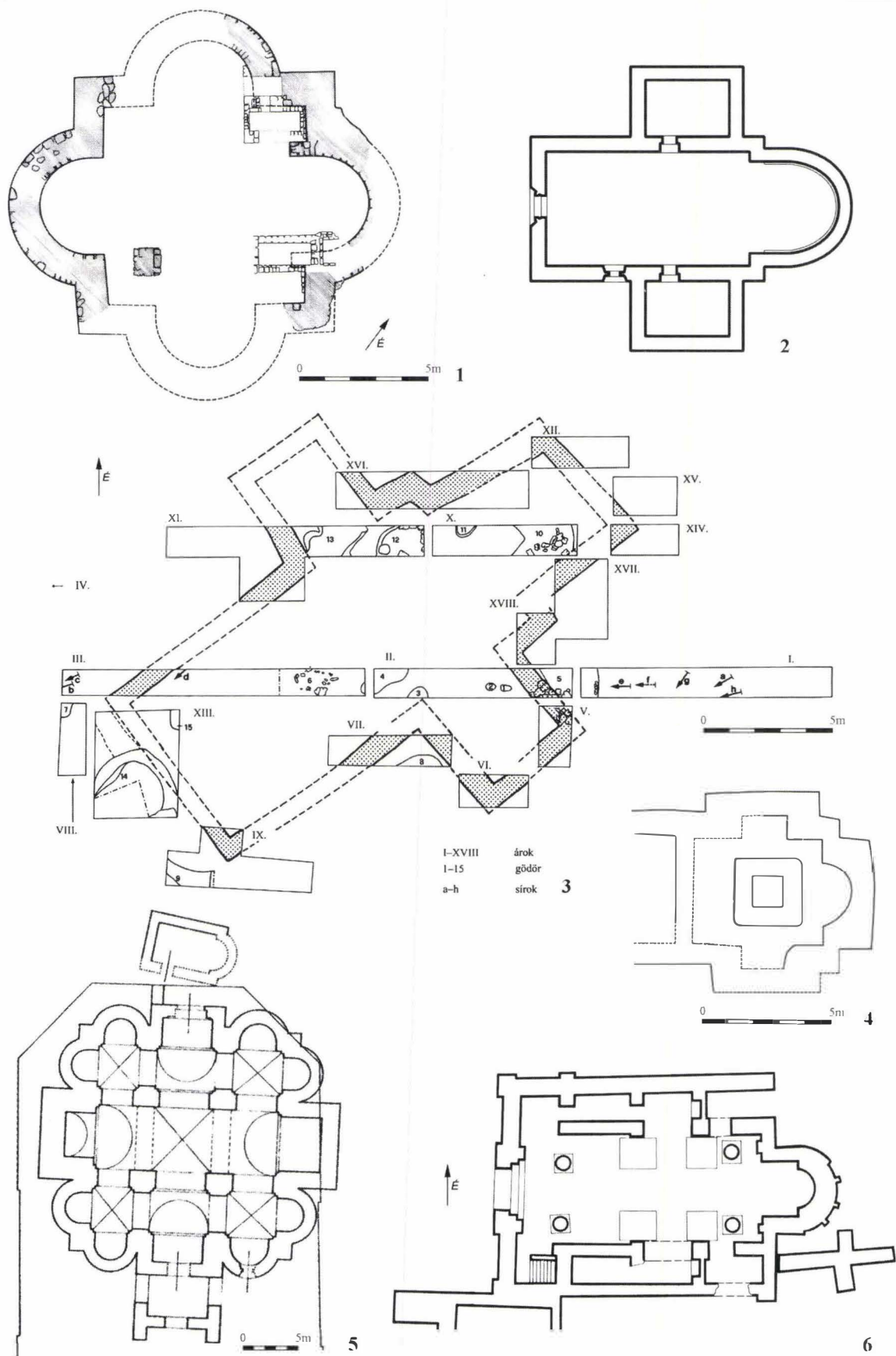
Planșa 4. Biserici cu planimetrie în cruce greacă cu cupola așezată în traveea de mijloc în Balcani și Italia.
4. tábla. Keresztkupolás templomok a Balkánon és Itáliában.
1. Preslav-Selište – biserica 3 / 3. templom; 2. Preslav – bazilica 4 / 4. bazilika; 3. Ochrida/Ohrid – Sv. Sofija; 4. Pliska – bazilica 5 / 5. bazilika; 5. Prespa – Ag. Germanos; 6. Atena/Athén – Ag. Apostoloi; 7. Prčanj – Sv. Toma; 8. Dubrovnik/Ragúza – Sv. Vlah, faza de constr. I / I. építési fázis; 9. Spalato/Split – Sv. Eufemija; 10. Stilo – la Cattolica; 11. Genga – S. Claudio al Chienti; 12. Veneția/Velence – S. Giacometto di Rialto



Planșa 5. Biserici cu plan în cruce în Europa Occidentală și Europa Centrală.

5. tábla. Keresztalaprajzú templomok Nyugat- és Közép-Európában.

1. Osnabrück-Wittekindenberg – Kreuzkirche; 2. Trier – Heiligkreuz; 3. Wieselburg – St. Ulrich; 4. Cracovia/Kraków – St. Salvator; 5. Unterhaun – Kreuzberg; 6. Praga/Prága – Vřehrad, St. Laurentius; 7. Halberstadt; 8. Beromünster; 9. Schuttern; 10. Köln – St. Pantoleon, Heiligkreuzkapelle; 11. Brandenburg – Harlungerberg.



Planşa 6. Biserici cu plan în cruce din Ungaria.

6. tábla. A magyarországi emlékművek.

1. Székesfehérvár; 2. Celldömölk, faza a 2-a de constr. / 2. építési fázis; 3. Vácszentlászló – Ligetpuszta; 4. Dupljaja/Duplaj (Sárbia/Szerbia) – Grad; 5. Szekszárd; 6. Zselicszentjakab.

CHURCHYARDS IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN BASIN FROM THE 11TH TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE 13TH CENTURIES. ON THE BEGINNING OF INSTITUTIONALIZED CHRISTIANITY

ERWIN GÁLL

Keywords: Christianity, church, burial custom, grave goods, settlement
Cuvinte cheie: creștinism, biserică, rit și ritual funerar, inventar funerar, habitat

In our effort to summarise the churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin, although a lot of questions remained unanswered, we have managed to find some interpretations for several problems concerning the sociological and historical phenomena of the different segments of the 11th–13th century society.

Churchyards are the most obvious and reliable indicators of institutionalised Christianity. As opposed to the other regions of Europe, there is no clear archaeological evidence of institutionalised Christianity in the Transylvanian Basin from before the 11th century.

We also formulated the question: to what extent could the population of these cemeteries be Christian? The characteristics of these cemeteries seem to show that the members of these communities were Christian. In several cases, unusual or strange burial customs can be documented. Although the Christian church banned some rites in the fight against paganism, based upon the archaeological finds, we can suppose a continuity of these in a few cases.

In the analysis of churchyards we could draw a detailed picture of the formation and development of the structure of the medieval settlement network. The connection between the power centres and these types of cemeteries may have been detected only in an indirect way. The use of two or three cemeteries in the centres well-known from the written sources may emphasise the possibility of the classification of society.

1. Introduction¹

In the past years, the research of 11th to 13th century churchyards produced significant new results in the Transylvanian Basin. A series of scholarly studies were written about the latest discoveries, several former excavation results were re-evaluated, and many preliminary research reports were published about former investigations.²

Even so, among the specific fields of medieval archaeology, the survey of medieval Christian cemeteries can be regarded as the least favoured issues in the Carpathian Basin, and especially in the

Transylvanian Basin. In the Romanian archaeology, Kurt Horedt was the first who referred to the laws of King Ladislaus I and King Coloman the Learned in the context of medieval churchyards;³ later his ideas spread in archaeological reasoning as axioms, it also highlights the generality of the 'mixed argumentation' characteristic of the 20th century. In archaeology the term 'gemischte Argumentation' is generally used for interpretations in Romania (independently of the national identity of the author). It means that when the analysis of archaeological finds or archaeological facts is made, it is supported by the interpretation of other archaeological data or hypotheses, or by historical facts and circumstances, or in some worse cases by historical hypotheses.⁴ In this case it would mean that Transylvanian archaeology dated every cemetery from the end of the 11th century based on the laws of King Ladislaus I and King Coloman the Learned without examining or carrying out a chronological analysis of each site. Nevertheless, in European

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³ Horedt 1958a, 145.

⁴ On the *gemischte Argumentation*, see Bálint 1995, 245–248; Niculescu 1997, 63–69; Brather 2004. The term was first used by Joachim Werner. Werner 1979, 9–10.

philosophy, which always tries to achieve certainty, it has been well known since the time of Aristotle that things of different characters or genders are very difficult to connect or to compare. It is possible only to a certain extent. In archaeology it means that historical facts and archaeological data can only be connected if the latter rely on a sound basis, otherwise a vague thing would be used to support uncertain fact that can hardly be connected to it.⁵

A very important aim of our research is, apart from the categorization and analysis of the archaeological data, to point out the non-scientific nature of this *mixed argumentation*.

I created a database on medieval cemeteries, which presently includes the information on 54 churchyards, which, compared to the Criş and the Nir Region, the Maramureş, or the Banat, seems to be more significant and better equipped with in depth studies.

2. The geography of the Transylvanian Basin

When studying the history of the 11th–13th centuries, an unavoidable question arises concerning what the concept of the Carpathian Basin meant to those people who lived in that time. From an archaeological point of view, it is the excavation sites, particularly the culturally more specified cemeteries that give us the only guidance. Based on these archaeological sites it can be stated that in a demographic aspect in the 11th–13th centuries (as far as it can be detected) the Carpathian Basin did not correspond to the geographical Carpathian Basin, which neither excludes nor proves the existence of a political-military rule over this area.

A major part of these areas appears as white spots on our maps in the 10th century. It warns us to treat the existing or non-existing

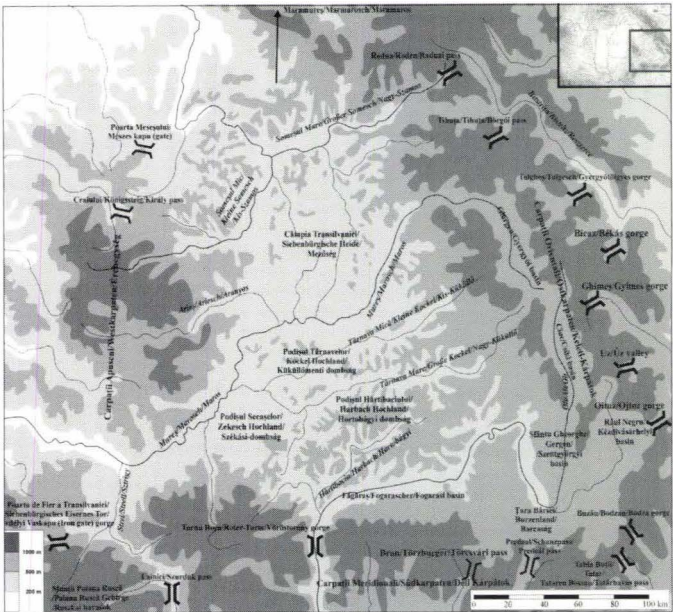


Fig. 1. Transylvanian Basin (basic map by Daniel Spânu)

connections between geographic concepts and the extension of a network of settlements with care not to mention the conclusions can be drawn based upon them. Geographically, the Carpathian Basin, which is situated in Central Europe, is divided into two parts: the central basins and the surrounding 1500-km-long and 150–200-km-wide mountain ranges. 51% of this 325000 km² is constituted by flatlands with altitudes lower than 200 m above sea level. The hills (201–500 ms) constitute 24%, the mountains lower than 1000 m 20% and the mountains higher than 1000 m 5% of the Carpathian Basin. The lowlands, the hills and the small intermountain basins provide good conditions both for breeding animals and for growing crops. The inner part of the basin is covered by a woody steppe surrounded by the thick forests which form zones changing according to the higher regions. The woody mountains of the Carpathian are connected to the central basins (the Great Plain/Nagyalföld and the Small Plain/Kisalföld, the Transylvanian Basin) by the terraced valleys of the concentric water system. The rivers arriving in the lowlands regularly flood huge areas. Until the 19th century, these regions made up 15% of the Carpathian Basin.

Geographically the Transylvanian Basin (around 35.000 km²) is semi-independent of the Carpathian Basin. The Basin is the range of the SE Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps. It spreads from the Alps of Bucovina, from the Alps of Maramureş, from the valley of the Upper-Tisza/Tisa, and from the source of the river of Suceava to the valley of the Danube at the Porţile de Fier. It spreads in a semicircular arch shape. At the western region of this huge geographical unit stands the Transylvanian Range (its Romanian name

⁵ In German archeology this method was criticized by Joachim Werner back in the 70s and with the motto 'Gettrent Marschier, vereint Schlagen' he promoted that archeology should adopt an independent standpoint and research position. Werner 1979, 9–10. As opposed to this, Reinhard Wenskus said that the aim of archeology could only serve historical purposes and they should be considered secondary to them. Wenskus 1961, 637.

is W Alps) (Carpații Apuseni/Westkarpaten/Érchegység), and to the S can find the Alps of Banat. This relief is opened to the W at two places: along the Mureș river at a narrower area, and along the Someș river at a wider area. Besides, the range of the Carpathians is dissected by saddles and gorges in the NE and in the S as well (e. g.: Rodna-pass, Bârgău-pass, Tulgheș-, Bicăz-, Ghimeș-, Uz-, Oituz-, Buzău-gorge, Tabla Buții/Tatar-pass, the Predeal-gorge, the Bran-Rucăr-Dragoslavele-pass, Turnu Roșu-gorge). It should be noted that the width of the E-Carpathians decreases towards S: in the N it is 170 km, at Deda it is 100 km, at Târgu Secuiesc it is 90 km. The 500–1000 m high areas are dominated by beech-woods, the higher mountains by pin woods, in the lower hills there are mainly oak-woods. Wooded steppe can only be found on a small area on the Câmpia Transilvaniei (to the N, SE and E from Cluj-Napoca) – and this is important when examining the 11th–13th centuries. The Basin is rich in rivers, its soil is wealthy in precious metal and salt.

3. General characteristics of burial customs

Burial customs are considered the most important elements in the definition of the 10th century cultural ‘horizon’. The burial customs mainly reflect the emotional reactions of the family members, relatives and the community when someone passes away,⁶ and the most important condition of the quality and the quantity of the grave furnishings was the wealth of the individual, the family or the community,

certainly in most cases it was closely related to the social status of the deceased. It is expressed clearly with the quality and quantity of the ritual sacrifices, weapons, clothes and jewellery placed in the grave. We have to bear in mind that the quantity of the objects and sacrifices largely depends upon the political or economic situation in a region, the significance of the roads crossing it, or whether it is in a central or peripheral situation and to all these the occasional foreign presents (!) should be added, which are palpable in some cases and might indicate the political significance of a person or a family.

The various aspects of burial customs are in close connection with the way the mourners’ grief is shown as the relationship of the deceased person with the mourners was differentiated during their lifetime and it stayed the same at the moment of death. The materialization of this psychological situation is the burial customs that can be seen in the graves, and the quality and quantity of grave furnishings connected to them. Therefore, one cannot talk about the grief of the mourners as it is different from time to time. So the ‘parcel of furnishings’ is also different in terms of its quality and quantity in each and every case. In our opinion, the feeling of grief is the core of the psychological phenomenon in connection with burials, the picture of the netherworld is a complementary element in the process of mourning and the burial, which can both relieve the grief of the mourners, on the other hand it can influence burial customs and the various objects placed in the grave, the grave furnishing. The process of this phenomenon is illustrated below:

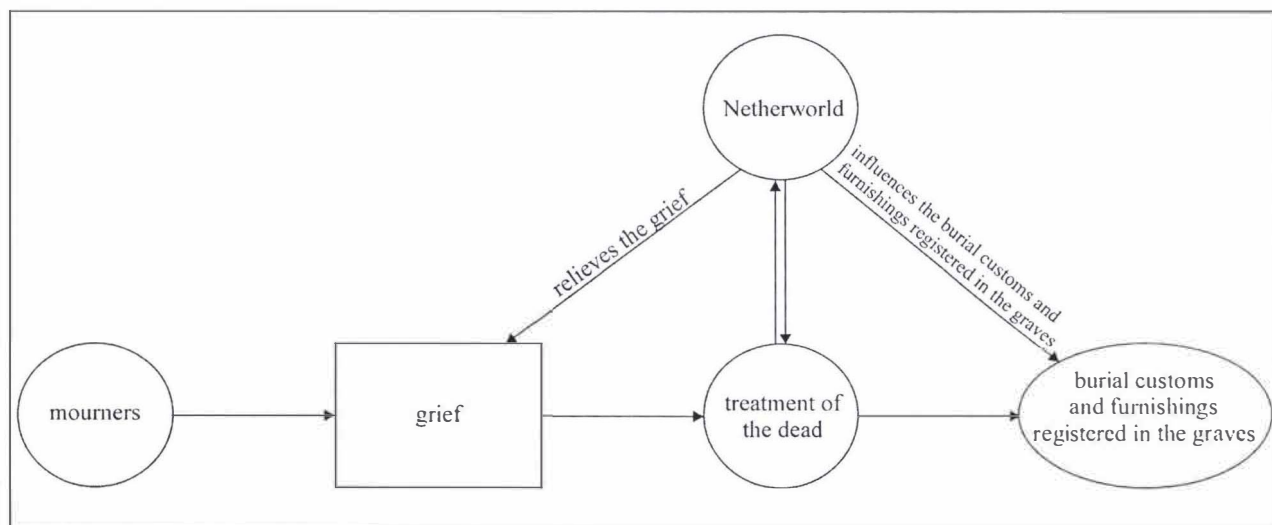


Fig. 2. The possible connection between the grief of the mourners and the picture of the netherworld

⁶ Brather 2008, 255, fig. 5.

The properly excavated grave contains the remains of a deceased person or people, but the grave goods found in the grave might be the representations of the prestige of the deceased person by the mourners and they can emphasise the importance of the family (too).⁷ It is quite understandable that the mourning community or family wants/wanted the deceased person to appear in shining glory when they escort/escorted him/her on their last way, in the presence of local community. So the 'furnishing parcel', found alongside the deceased person, was to indicate the economic potential, welfare, prestige, influence and power of the mourners and their legitimacy, and in consequence of this the acquired social position, status, rank of the deceased person.⁸ So we can speak of the symbolisation of the status of the deceased person, although it must be admitted that it happens in an indirect way. Therefore it might be risky to see them as the univoque reflections of the mobile, frequently changing or stagnating social positions of individuals from different social groups but it is undeniable that there must have been a close relationship between them, although, at least in theory, it might not have prevailed into modern times.

It can be firmly stated that they could symbolise the last status of the deceased person, so we can talk about a static other world representation of the status the individuals of a society achieved until they died.

The grave furnishing is only 'temporarily' visible to those who are left behind,⁹ but their mnemonic power is undeniable and this statement in the 10th century can absolutely be applied to the weapon and horse burials.¹⁰ In contrast with this, the outer elements of burials/cemeteries, such as the topographical location, mounds etc, and their integration into the landscape do not only affect the landscape itself but the state and identity of the community too. Based on this important social-psychological aspect, the topographical location of the burials seems to be connected to the level of organisation in a community and to symbolise the social differences between communities or groups of people.¹¹

⁷ For example: Härke 2000; Parker Pearson 2001.

⁸ In this sense we can cite Parker Pearson's words: '*Tombs are not just somewhere to put bodies: they are representations of power. Like ritual, funerary architecture legitimizes and extends the hegemonic order*'. Parker Pearson 2001, 196.

⁹ Effros 2003, 175.

¹⁰ Høilund Nielsen 1997, 129–148.

¹¹ In the 19th century in Gâmbaş, besides the two big cemeteries (the Calvinist and the Orthodox) there was the graveyard of the Zeyk family containing a few graves. From this point of view see: Effros 2003, 122.

However, we have to draw attention to the fact that each society, each community and micro community construes their own values, including the practices connected to burial customs. Therefore each micro region, each cemetery and within them every single grave should be analysed in its own context, 'its own world'.

Therefore the question may arise whether in each grave with a weapon a warrior can be suspected or it is just a distinct feature of the above mentioned picture of the netherworld or a burial custom.

At the same time we should pay attention to another threat, namely that in the early Middle Ages the graves without furnishings might not reflect a true picture of a whole civilisation, they can represent a dynamically changing picture of the other world in a society, and provide an archaeological picture of death as a phenomenon.¹² For instance the Christian conception of the other world, which led to unfurnished graves, did not mean that the Christian societies were poorer than their predecessors.¹³ Therefore the grave goods placed in the graves or left outside later also indicate the ideological discontinuity of funerary rites in the 10th and 11th centuries.

It is very important when comparing and analysing the burial customs of the 'pagan' 10th century and those of the Christian era (11th–13th century) that the grave goods placed in the graves or left out later indicate an ideological discontinuity of funerary rites in these three centuries. It might mean a mental change in the picture of the after life, which, little by little, might have changed the concept of the other world of the community. This after life picture from the 11th century was changed radically by Christianity.

The received burial rite in the 11th–13th centuries, according to the Christian standards, was the skeleton burial. The cremation burial rite, known in previous centuries, disappeared in the 9th century or at least became undetectable by archaeological means.¹⁴

Concerning the state of the spirit and the body between death and *parusia*, according to the Christian notion, a human being is the substantive combination of the soul and the body subsisting at a certain ontological level. In the investigated period, it was a widespread Christian opinion that in death the soul is separated from the body, the body perishes and the soul lives on and at the time

¹² Marthon 2005, 2.

¹³ Rush 1941.

¹⁴ In this sense, see: Gáll 2010, 375–378.

of *parousia*, on doomsday, the soul returns to the resurrecting body unifying with it and the whole intact human being becomes restored. So the soul is immortal, but it is only relatively immortal: only by way of divine mercy (according to an opinion) or by way of intelligence resembling to God (Genesis 1, 26–27) (according to another concept). In the absolute sense of the word, it is only god who is immortal (as opposed to e. g. standard Platonism).

In early literature, the word *coemeterium* or *cimiterium* (gr.: koimeterion) was used exclusively for the burial places of Jews and Christians. '*Ta kaloumena koimeteria*', has appeared in an imperial edict of 259, but the word occurs in Tertullian's *De anima* ([...]*in coemeterio corpus corpori iuxta collocando spatium accessui communicasse* LI¹⁵) and must be even older. Originally, the part of a Christian cemetery above the ground was called *coemeterium*, the underground section was called *crypta* (gr.: *krypte*, hidden). The Hungarian folk version of the Latin word, *cinterem* means not just the cemetery itself, but the chamber of the church intended for wake and the graveyard around the church. The word *cinterem* found its way as a loanword into the Transylvanian dialect of the Romanian language as *țintirim*. The German name of the cemetery is Friedhof, 'the yard of peace' or 'garden of peace' with the right of an asylum, it is originally *Freithof* (= *umfriedeter Ort*), i. e. a closed yard in connection with asylum right (*Freiung* means 'setting free' or *asylum*).¹⁶

4. The antecedents: Proto-Christian or half-pagan cemeteries?

The subject of our research is closely connected to the *Proto-Christian cemeteries*, both chronologically and geographically (11th–13th centuries). According to my point of view it is very important to distinguish the characteristics of the transitional period from the 10th century pagan horse-weapon burials, which underwent major changes following the 11th-century Christianisation, to the churchyard cemeteries characteristic of the medieval Christian funerals.

Therefore I would like to make some important observations. The political-religious and social changes began in the 10th century became observable in the burials from the

first quarter of the 11th century. According to their characteristics they can be considered the cemeteries of a 'transitional' period, so they show archaeological evidence of the more or less fast (mental) social process of conversion to Christianity.¹⁷ In connection with these cemeteries a number of questions may arise. From our research point the most important of them is: to what extent was the population of the graves Christian or pagan? These cemeteries suggest continuity or discontinuity, between the pagan culture and Christianity?

One must first settle the theoretical benchmarks of these notions, stating what we understand by continuity and discontinuity and when can they be used. In the 18th and 19th centuries, just as in the 20th century, historians believed it was possible to trace in a linear fashion cultural continuity until the most ancient times and that through this scientific method (sic!) it was possible to trace the history of a people down to its roots (it was not very clearly argued, but they must have envisaged the biological roots). We can thus state that they believed in a linear historical evolution most clearly indicated by language, equating languages and peoples. In fact, such terms of continuity and discontinuity do not exist. Absolute cultural and demographic discontinuities cannot be traced. This would be very unusual case. The phenomena of continuity and discontinuity can be followed in parallel in one and the same period and area. Which of these two receives more attention depends entirely on the specialist making the analysis. The concept of continuity cannot explain anything. It is in fact a relative (sentimental?) position towards an issue. Sebastian Brather noted that '*... ethnical identity can be preserved through cultural discontinuities and there are cultural continuities in the case of ethnical ruptures*'. Starting from this statement, it becomes clear that cultural continuity (archaeological artefacts) alone cannot lead to conclusions about ethnical continuity.¹⁸

Some of these 11th century cemeteries were direct continuation of 10th century pagan cemeteries without any temporal interruption (e. g. Halimba, Ibrány, Püspökladány, Sárretudvar).

¹⁵ Tertulliani Liber de Anima: http://www.tertullian.org/latin/de_anima.htm.

¹⁶ MKL 2007.

¹⁷ To give a comparison, in Poland horse-weapon burials, which refer to pagan mentality, are to be observed up to the mid-12th century. On this see: Jażdżewski 1949, 179; Gassowski 1950, 176; Miczkiewicz 1969, 300. As opposed to this, weapon burials are considered extremely rare in the Carpathian Basin in the 11th century. A few weapon burials have been registered from the 11th century. The list of them is given in: Révész 1997, 169–195.

¹⁸ Brather 2004, 537–538; Csányi et al. 2008, 519–534.

Such cemeteries are unknown in the Transylvanian Basin, the 11th century cemeteries had no 'pagan' phase (Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár–*Brândușei street*, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár–*Vânătorilor/Vadászok street*, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár–*Păclisa/Poklisa*, Hunedoara/Vajdahunyad, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur/Kolozsmonostor-the bust of George Rákóczi II*, Moldovenești).¹⁹ In these cases it can be supposed that one can talk about a Christianised population, as these cemeteries were found on the territory of the political-religious centres known from the written sources, where logically worshippers of the ancient deity were not tolerated. However, some customs clearly lingered on: in Grave 2 in Hunedoara and in one grave in Alba Iulia–*Vânătorilor street* arrow heads were found, and an arrow head in a destroyed grave in Moldovenești is also a faint sign that this tradition was carried on. In these graves the horse-weapon burials, characteristic for the 10th century, are missing, along with such pagan features as food furnishing intended for the other world (the pottery and animal bones found in the graves indicate this) or in the case of some ethnic groups the inconsistent orientation of the graves. In these burials the coins of the first Hungarian kings are attested as *oboli*, which were also found in some 10th century graves, although in smaller quantity.²⁰ It can be stated that these people began to be converted to Christianity, they may be considered the first generation of official Christians. The considerable amount of jewellery among the finds and some everyday tools (knives, strike-a-lights) may indicate the fact that medieval Christian Puritanism was not a characteristic feature of these people. Therefore we think that these cemeteries can be called *proto-Christian* as their topographical location and the *oboli* found in the graves clearly indicate the presence of Christianity.²¹

Analysing these cemeteries, another question of social interest arises: what was the status of this population? The classes of *nobiles*, *miles* and *servus* are well-known from the laws of Stephen I (1001–1038),²² but it would be impossible or not scientific to connect the population of these cemeteries to any of the social classes known from the written sources.²³

In the 11th century, the burials with weapons and horse slowly disappear, and the social differentiations cannot or very rarely can be identified by archaeological methods. In this, however, the written sources of the institution system of the medieval realm can help. From this point on, archaeology can only play an insignificant role in the reconstruction of social stratification. We can divide the cemeteries into two groups in a very simple way:

1. Cemeteries (without church) of the castle folk ('proto-Christian' or the cemeteries of the transitional period).²⁴ During the establishment of the Christian realm's system, in the first decades of the 11th century, Stephen I built a great number of castles.²⁵ In the vicinity or even in the inside precinct of these, a number of cemeteries were discovered of the castle warriors or the people who lived inside the castles, which is the best indicator of the construction period of these strongholds. Such cemeteries of the castle folk were discovered in: Alba Iulia–*Stația de Salvare/Mentőállomás*, Alba Iulia–*Vânătorilor Street*, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur-the bust of George Rákóczi II (?)*, Hunedoara, Moldovenești–*Jósika Gábor's garden*.²⁶

2. Cemeteries (without church) of rural character: Alba Iulia–*Brândușei Cemetery 2*, Alba Iulia–*Păclisa*, Deva, Noșlac.²⁷

As we have mentioned above, a significant number of these cemeteries were used already in the 10th century but the question remains if they were used by the same population or not. For example, in the case of the second cemetery in *Brândușei Street* it is very likely that a new population arrived and established a new cemetery next to the old one. This fact is attested, as we have explained it previously, also by the elements of the material culture besides the burial traditions (e.g. different types of knives, S-ended hair rings, square sectioned rings, bracelets and necklaces etc.). At the same time, we wish to draw attention to the possibility of a much larger list of possible cemeteries since we did not take into consideration the stray finds of unexplored cemeteries. This type of cemetery can be called a *proto-Christian*

¹⁹ Gáll 2013c, Vol I: 293, 507–536.

²⁰ Gáll 2004–2005, 369–373.

²¹ Gáll 2010, 268–270.

²² ÁKÍF 1999, 52.

²³ Gáll 2010, 3–43.

²⁴ We could not discuss in our analysis some cemeteries of the castle folk, since they were used until the thirteenth, in some cases until the fifteenth century. The re-evaluation of the cemetery from Cluj–*Mănăstur* was made by us: Gáll – Gergely 2009, 97–98, Pl. 43–44.

²⁵ Until today one of the best and most conclusive about fortress is the work of István Bóna. Bóna 1995; Bóna 1998.

²⁶ Gáll 2013, Vol. I: 842, 299. kép, 922.

²⁷ Gáll 2013, Vol. I: 842, 299. kép, 922.

cemetery.²⁸ Additionally, important differences could have also existed among the cemeteries of rural character, but it is impossible to determine them because of the poorness of the inventories. The quantity of their inventory (in the first place jewellery) was defined largely by the fact whether they were rural, hidden village cemeteries or cemeteries attached to the larger centers, where the traffic of merchandise, market places, made the acquisition of different goods much easier. In the end, it is important to highlight that the 11th century social differentiation within a cemetery is almost impossible to research, since in many cases grave goods were found only in child graves. It can be stated that social structures cannot be investigated in these cemeteries, and we do not see the possibility of drawing a more exact picture of populations of different origins in the Transylvanian Basin in the 11th century.

Besides these types of cemeteries, churchyards are already known from the beginning of the 11th century.²⁹ In the Transylvanian Basin, the existence of cemeteries of this type can only be supposed but it is sure that the powerful individuals of the 11th century should be looked for in such burials.

5. The Churchyards in Europe

Medieval funeral is closely connected to the religious beliefs of the people of that time, therefore its every feature is in connection with the theological doctrines or the code of discipline of the church. In the prime of the Middle Ages (12th–13th centuries) the church was responsible for the funeral of the deceased on its own right. The cemetery, compared to that of the early centuries of Christianity, underwent major changes, the bishop had the right to establish one either out of town or inside it, it was situated near or around the church, but the building of the church could have served the same purpose.³⁰

From the 4th century on, there is a break, a discontinuity of rites in the European Mediterranean culture due to the spread of Christianity: the custom of cremation burials was abandoned switching to inhumations. Certainly, a part of the population of the Roman era also buried their dead, but the graves with W-E orientation without any grave goods have been connected

with Christianity with more or less justification. The Christians when adopted inhumation burial rite, just followed the example of Jesus Christ, for the dead body was full of the hope of immortality (1 Corinthians 15:43). However, it is important to note that since the beginning of the evolution of the human race people of different origins with various cultural traditions have buried their dead, therefore one cannot talk about a complete discontinuity in the context of the Roman and the pagan world. Having adopted Christianity, these people integrated their earlier cultural values into the Christian picture of the (other) world, creating the religious and cultural syncretism of their values characteristic of their environment.

An excellent archaeological example of the complex phenomenon of continuity and discontinuity or religious syncretism, which can be observed parallel in many cases, can be seen a few hundred kilometers from Dacia, in Dalmacia. The cremation urns of the 1st–3rd centuries found near Split/Spalato, mainly in Salona, were made in the shape of houses. This representation was retained and it was the only difference that we could register skeletons in the sarcophags from the 4th–6th centuries, but the shape of a house as the dwelling place of the dead in the other world was retained (Fig. 3).

So in this case a disruption of the picture of the after life and customs can be observed (cremation burial→inhumation), but the house type,³¹ which had been retained from the pagan times and was successfully integrated into the framework of Christian values, can also be seen (maybe as group-identity symbol). Moreover, older religious values and a picture of the other world had also been retained along with this model, in this case in the culture of Dalmatian peoples. *'The living place is not an object, not a 'dwelling machine', but the universe itself, which man built for himself/herself when imitating cosmogony, the masterpiece of gods. The warming up or building of each living place is considered a new beginning, a new life'* - wrote Mircea Eliade. Certainly, the house-shaped urns and the sarcophags, from a later period, can be interpreted from this point of view, i. e. the 'living' place of the deceased.

So in the case of the late Roman cemeteries excavated in the different regions of Europe, in the territory of the former Empire, no discontinuity

²⁸ Gáll 2013, Vol. 1: 842, 299. kép, 922.

²⁹ For example Szombathely: Kiss 2005, 151–162.

³⁰ Szuromi 2005, 9–10.

³¹ It should be noted that house-shaped urns appear in several cultures such as ancient Central Asia (Manichaeism), China and Etruria. Eliade 1987, 51, 168–169.

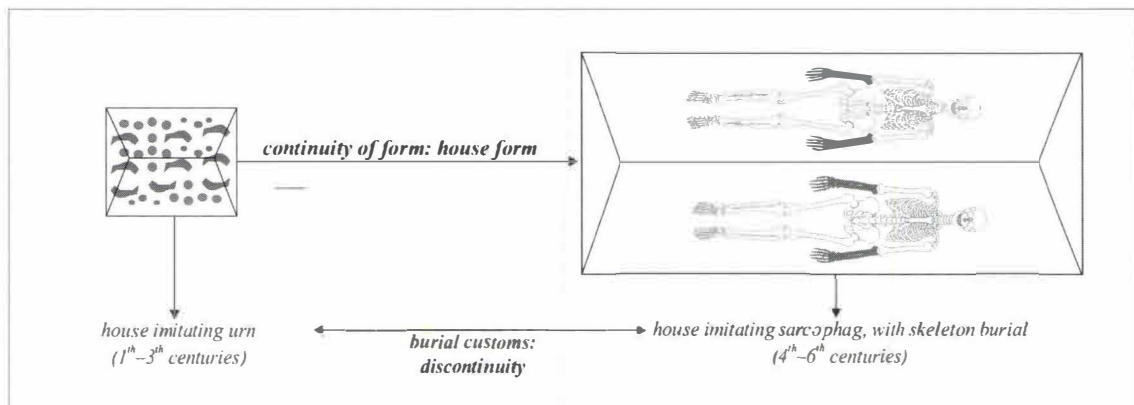


Fig. 3. House form graves

in the values and the picture of the other world of the pagan period can be detected. One can rather talk about a religious-mental syncretism.

In the early Christian period the graves of Christians were not separated from those of other religions, but from the 2nd century on memorials were built on the graves of the martyrs, which resulted in the creation of places of worship. After Constantine's edict of toleration (312), when peace was restored to the church, basilicas were sometimes built over portions of the catacombs, especially over the known burial place of some favourite martyrs. For instance, Ambrose Bishop of Milan (333–397)³² was buried under the altar of the basilica later named S. Ambrogio after him, which lent a new symbolic content to it, emphasising the connection between Christ and the priest presenting the offering, which granted him the burial inside the church. Ambrose himself thought it to be a privilege of priests to be buried inside the church, but in the following period this custom changed significantly. By the time of Pope St. Gregorius³³ Ambrose's conception gained common ground, even the pope considered burials in the churches useful as the relatives of the deceased person can remember the person buried there and they can pray for him when glancing at their tombs. However, he prohibited the building of churches in the place of former pagan cemeteries so that the graves of heathens would not become sanctified by consecration. Therefore it can be stated that burials in churches were not prohibited in the early Middle Ages yet.³⁴ From the 4th century on the so called *ad sanctos* burials spread both in the W and in the E. Graveyards were out of the boundaries of towns until the 7th century – there were several

churches in a city, but there only a few individuals, mostly persons revered as saints, or privileged people (as the emperors in the Apostoleion) were buried. According to Roman, Jewish etc customs, graveyards were outside the boundaries of towns or alongside roads or in free lands forming smaller or larger clusters (depending on whether it was a big town or a small village).³⁵ There was not set rule in the territory of the E empire, therefore we cannot talk about a system, but there are certain cases, e. g. in Kom al-Ahmar, Egypt, where there are thousands of graves in different orientation around and inside the church.³⁶

The conversion of people outside the antique world such as Germanic, Slavonic or 'eastern'³⁷ people to Christianity was the clash of a highly developed religion with a more simple one, a universal religious system with a gentile religious structure.³⁸ Simple religions lacked the theoretical and ideological foundations therefore we cannot talk about the confrontation of theories, but the triumph of Christianity or the everyday practical approach. A lot of conflicts may have arisen as millennia old values were facing other values: writing-reading, school, institutionalised jurisdiction, the Bible with its teachings such as sin, forgiving, temptation, redemption, and the father dwelling in heavens all contradicted the world of tribal legends, magic, tradition and oaths. According to Christianity, health, illness or recovery were not subject to the power of spirits, which constituted an integral part of more simple

³⁵ Bollók 2014.

³⁶ <http://www.uni-tue-bingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/altertums-und-kunstwissenschaften/ianes/forschung/aegyptologie/projekte/saruna.html>

³⁷ It is Csanád Bálint who draws our attention to the relative and in many cases incorrect use of this terminology in several articles. Bálint 1999, 13–16; Bálint 2004, 246–252; Bálint 2007, 545–567.

³⁸ Angenendt 2000, 14.

³² Dassmann 2004.

³³ Markus 1997.

³⁴ Duval 1988; Rebillard 1993, 975–1001.

religions.³⁹ Nevertheless, conversion to Christianity has brought social demands from the New Testament, such as Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: '*There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus*' (GAL. 3, 28). Among its positive consequence there was the slow demise of slavery in the Carolingian era and by the 9th century *servus* did not mean slave but vassal with important basic rights.⁴⁰

Clerical synods already dealt with laymen's burials inside or around the church in the early Middle Ages: in 561 the synod of Braga banned burials inside churches and it allowed only burials near the walls of churches. As opposed to this, the synod of Auxerre (558/578) excluded only *baptisteries*⁴¹ from burials. In the Langobard Kingdom it was only the bishops and the *custodes ecclesiastici* who could permit burials inside the churches after 774, however, the synod summoned by Charlemagne in Aachen strictly prohibited burials in the churches, but in as early as 813 bishops, abbots and priests of true faith were given exemption to this. Moreover, also in 813, the synod of Mainz allowed faithful laymen (*fideles laici*) to be buried in churches too. Later the synod of Trosly (878) banned the burials of clerical people inside churches and in 895, the synod of Tribur made it possible again. So from the 9th century on it can be observed that the number of people buried in churches were limited both by clerical and by secular powers.⁴²

The evolution of the conversion to Christianity on the territory of the Merovingian realm and the involvement of the Germanic aristocracy in this process can be observed well. Whereas around 600 they were buried in the 'sacred area', which was in the possession of the community, in rows of graves (*Reihengräberfeld*); around 800 the dead were buried around churches in the settlements. Based on the analysis of the cemeteries in southern Germany⁴³ the nobility built numerous 'private churches' in their own courts by the end of the 7th century in the Alemanni territories. They used them as burial places, as places of remembrance and as a representation of their social position and the symbol of their Christian religion.

So the cemeteries of this type may have appeared on the territory of the former

Merovingian realm in the 6th–7th centuries. In the Rhine region churches were built in the cemeteries used in earlier times and these cemeteries were used further, whereas on the left bank of the Rhine and S of the Danube churches were never built in the site of former temples but in other places (Marktoberdorf, Bad Dürbheim, Leonberg-Eltingen, Flonheim, Morken, München-Aubing).⁴⁴ Cemeteries with rows of graves were abandoned around the middle of the 8th century, although there are some data that they were used later too (e. g. Griesheim).⁴⁵ During the Carolingian era common people were forced to bury their dead around churches, and were regulated by the decrees of the synod of Aachen in 836 and the synod of Tibur in 895.⁴⁶

Taking these into consideration, pagan burial rites in that *proto-Christian* cemetery were abandoned between 750 and 800 in the territory of the realm. However, it is still subject to debates when burials around churches became common and how they gained ground in the different regions of the empire.⁴⁷

The spread of churchyards in Europe in the 8th–9th centuries is the most important and obvious sign of institutionalised Christianity in the territories occupied or influenced by the Carolingian empire as far as Carantania (before 828: Molzbichl, Moosburg; after 828: in the St Daniel church in Gailtalban, the church of St. Jacob and the church of St Martin in Villach, the churches in Hermagor, Lorenzenberg, the church of St Peter of Edling, the church of St Cross of Perau and St Peter),⁴⁸ and Pannonia ruled by the Franks (Zalavár–*Vársziget*, Zalavár–*Récésút*, Zalasabar–*Borjúállás sziget*),⁴⁹ and the cemeteries of the folk of Sopronkőhida–*Pitten/Pottenbrun* stretching from the southern bank of the Danube and from the Enns as far as the Transdanubian regions, where Christian burials rite can be observed from the middle of the 9th century on (e. g. Mautern–*Agapit church*).⁵⁰

After 811, under Carolingian influence old Moravian and Nitra principalities were established north of *Pannnonia provincia* and

³⁹ Diószegi 1971.

⁴⁰ Weidemann 1982, I. 264–320.

⁴¹ On the baptistery, see: Vanyó 1988, 106.

⁴² Kötting 1965, 29–35.

⁴³ Böhme 1993, 397–534; Böhme 2000, 75–109.

⁴⁴ Kötting 1965; Bierbrauer 1986, 19–40; Martin 1974, 139–142; Scholkmann 2000, 117; Fehring 1987, 79.

⁴⁵ Szöke 2005, 23.

⁴⁶ Hassenpflug 1999, 61–62.

⁴⁷ Stein 1967.

⁴⁸ Glaser–Karpf 1989; Fuchs 1991; Karpf–Vetterling 2006; Eichert 2010, 219–232.

⁴⁹ Szöke 2000, 310–342; Szöke 2002, 247–266; Szöke 2005, 19–29; Mordovin 2006, 9–32.

⁵⁰ Friesinger 1965, 79–114.

the Danube, and an old Croatian principality south of the River Sava.⁵¹ This is the time when churchyard cemeteries appear in the territory of the Moravian principality such as the churches in Mikulčice, Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště Sady, Modrá (Moravia), Levý Hradec, Budeč (Bohmen), Devin, Nitra (actually Slovakia, northern part of the former Hungarian Kingdom), which meant the (temporary) triumph of Christianity.⁵² However, the Christian faith of these communities was superficial. Although their deceased were buried near churches, there is a great amount of grave goods in their graves, mainly ornamented spurs and weapons (axes, sabres).⁵³ In the territory of the western Hungary churchyards were abandoned after the Hungarian conquest. The noble families coming from the eastern or southeastern regions of the Carolingian Empire, from Bavaria and the region of the Alps, who had been brought up in Christianity through generations, withdrew to the safer western regions and only those remained who had little to lose.⁵⁴ After the battle of Bratislava in 907, in the first half of 10th century the typical 'pagan' cemeteries of the conquering Hungarians appeared in these regions.⁵⁵

From the end of the 10th to the 12th century, Christianity and its state institutions triumphed in Central- and Northern Europe. As a result, from the 11th century, churchyard cemeteries can be documented in Poland,⁵⁶ as well as in Northern-Europe, mainly in Denmark, the southern regions of Norway and Southern-Sweden, here probably due to missionaries coming from the East.⁵⁷

In conclusion it can be stated that churchyards, which 'came into fashion' in the 7th – 8th centuries, became the obvious archaeological symbol of institutionalised Christianity in time. Churches and the graveyards around them are the archaeological signs of the western Christian state, bishopries, parishes and Christian communities. In short: medieval (western) Europe.

Finally, it must be mentioned that no regulations similar to those made in Central and Western Europe (by the aforementioned synods) were made in the Byzantine Empire.⁵⁸

6. The research of churchyards in the Carpathian Basin

The results of the research of churchyards (including burials inside the churches) in the Carpathian Basin were on the highest level in European research until the middle of the 1990's.⁵⁹ Until the early 70's of the past century the matter of the churchyards was particularly researched by Hungarian archaeologists. All western European synthesis papers were based on their results (for example: G. P. Fehring, I. Fingerlin).

The beginning goes back to the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1882 when the cemetery from the Árpáadian era was excavated by Béla Pósta in Rákospalota. Pósta's main achievement was that he did not only collect the finds but he also recorded the positions of skeletons and the structure of the cemetery section.⁶⁰ This was the conception he taught to his students, István Kovács, Márton Roska and János Banner in Cluj. Such burial elements as armor on the coffin or skeleton laid on ashes were first observed in the 30 graves excavated during the reconstructions of the cathedral in Alba Iulia in 1912-1913.⁶¹

The work pioneered by Béla Pósta was continued by Kálmán Darnay and Gyula Kisléghi Nagy with more or less professionalism.⁶² All in all, science in the Monarchy at the turn of the century was not interested in cemeteries that were difficult to research or those with poor furnishings.

After 1920 churchyards of this kind were mainly excavated on the Great Plain. These excavations were conducted by Kálmán Szabó, Alajos Bálint (Kaszaper) and László Gerevich (Csút).⁶³ László Gerevich was the first to analyse the map of the cemetery in Csút, and he managed to follow the changes in burial customs such as grave orientations and arm positions. Based on

⁵¹ Burić 2007, 105-123; Perkić 2008, 63-122; Petrinec 2005, 173-212.

⁵² Ruttkay 2005, 31-59; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1993, 557-620.

⁵³ Schulze-Dörrlamm 1993, abb. 12, abb. 23, abb. 29, abb. 36, abb. 41.

⁵⁴ Szőke 2005, 26.

⁵⁵ K. K. 1996.

⁵⁶ Zoll-Adamikowa 1988, 183-229; Zoll-Adamikowa 1995, 174-184; Kara – Kurnatowska 2000a, 323; Kara – Kurnatowska 2000b, 530.

⁵⁷ Kieffer-Olsen 1997, 185-189; Lagerlöf 1999; Staecker 2001, 187-258; Rundkvist 2003, 79-82; Vretemark – Axelsson 2008, 209-219.

⁵⁸ The connection between the churches and cemeteries in the late Antiquity stemmed from the issue of *ad sanctos* and medieval Byzantine cemeteries constitute a direct continuation of this. Bollók 2014.

⁵⁹ Ritoók 2010, 473.

⁶⁰ Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. Manuscript. in. nr.: 5/35/4. Ritoók 2010, 474.

⁶¹ Pósta 1917.

⁶² Darnay 1896, 254; Kisléghi Nagy 2010.

⁶³ Szabó 1938; Bálint 1936, 222-239; Bálint 1938, 139-190; Bálint 1939, 146-164; Gerevich 1943, 103-160, 500-513.

the topography of the graves containing furnishings, he recorded the changes in the use of this area and the chronology of the cemetery. It was István Méri, who established the methodology for churchyards excavations in his investigations carried out in Chidea during World War II which have remained valid up to this date.⁶⁴

In the states from the territory of the former Monarchy, only in Czechoslovakia churchyards were excavated between the two world wars.⁶⁵

After World War II the research of churchyards became an underestimated field of archaeology. The reasons are understandable: cemeteries that are difficult to research and have poor grave goods did not attract archaeologists. On the other hand, two trends became the mainstream: find-centred and construction-centred research.⁶⁶ Due to find-centred research the 12th century cultural horizon has been clarified with the fact that hair rings with S-shaped ends do not give exact dates, they can just roughly dated to the 11th–13th centuries, the big sized rings with churns were not used as bracelets but earrings, etc.⁶⁷ However, during this period some churchyard cemeteries were completely excavated in Czechoslovakia (e. g. the cemetery in Ducové excavated in 1968–1975, the cemetery in Krásno was excavated in 1952–1955).⁶⁸

Hungarian archaeology managed to catch up only in the 90s: in the last two decades the sites in Főnyed–Gólyásfa, Esztergom–Zsidód, Zalavár–Kápolna, Budapest–Kána, Hajdúdorog–Kati-dűlő⁶⁹ were completely excavated, but none of them have been published completely so far.

Ágnes Ritoók observed in one of her studies what bears major significance in the future analysis of the churchyards in the Carpathian Basin: except for the churchyards in Ducové,⁷⁰ no cemetery can be dated to a time earlier than the Árpadian era, apart from the 9th century cemeteries which were abandoned at the beginning of the 10th century.⁷¹

7. The present stage of the research of churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin

Although his achievement bore international importance,⁷² mainly in the research of prehistory, the Roman era and the time of the Great Migration, no cemetery was excavated besides the early modern age cemetery in Alba Iulia. During the Roman era excavations in Moigrad a few graves were excavated by Árpád Buday indicating a cemetery, but this excavation was not continued (there were some stray anonym *denarii* finds from the 12th century too). However, as it has been mentioned above, the methodology of the excavations of churchyard cemeteries was defined by István Méri during World War II, based on his excavations in Chidea.⁷³ The excavation carried out in the main square of Cluj in 1943 is connected to Méri too,⁷⁴ where János Herepei had already collected eight hair rings with S-shaped end since 1927, which led to his removal from the university.⁷⁵

As a result, this area of medieval archaeology did not yield too much in the field of the research of the cemeteries of the time of the Great Migration until the 1950s. Unfortunately, the situation has not changed too much up to this date as no site has been fully excavated for different reasons. As has been mentioned above, Kurt Horedt was the first who defined the upper chronological limit of these Christian cemeteries in the Romanian literature in 1958, based on the laws of King Ladislaus I and King Coloman the Learned.⁷⁶

Based on our data collection carried out until the beginning of the autumn of 2013, we have managed to compile a data base (Fig. 4).

8. The geographical spread of churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin (Pl. 1)

About the geographical spread of the cemeteries one can see that they can be found ranging from the northern part of the basin to the SE part of Transylvania. Their clusters only indicate the present stage of excavations. These churchyard excavations gained momentum when the early medieval castles were excavated in the 1960s

⁶⁴ After the reunion of Hungary and northern Transylvania in 1940 I. Méri worked in Cluj; Méri 1944.

⁶⁵ Ruttkay 2005, 31.

⁶⁶ Ritoók 2010, 474.

⁶⁷ Szőke 1962, 88; Parádi 1975, 119–161; Bóna 1978, 99–157.

⁶⁸ With the statistics of churches and churchyard cemeteries: Ruttkay 2005, 31–39.

⁶⁹ Főnyed–Gólyásfa: M. Aradi 1998, 113–154; Esztergom–Zsidód: Molnár 2005, 109–114; Zalavár–Kápolna: Ritoók 2005, 173–183; Budapest–Kána: Terei 2010, 81–112; Hajdúdorog–Kati-dűlő: Fodor 2005, 197–212.

⁷⁰ Ruttkay 2005, 31–49.

⁷¹ Ritoók 2010, 477.

⁷² On Béla Pósta's archaeological school: Gáll 2013a, 128–160 (with all relevant literature).

⁷³ Méri 1944, 3–4.

⁷⁴ Méri 1986.

⁷⁵ Herepei 2004, 82–83.

⁷⁶ Horedt 1958a, 145.

Sites (numbering of Plate 1)	Number of graves	Anthropo- logical analysis	¹⁴ C analysis of skeletons	DNS analysis	Year/ years of excavation
1. Cluj-Napoca– <i>Mănăştur</i> (g.: Abstdorf; h.: Kolozsmonostor) (Gáll et al. 2010, 140–164, Pl. 44–55) (Pl. 6–19)	142				1977, 1978
2. Cluj-Napoca (g.: Klausenburg, Kleusenburch; h.: Kolozsvár; j.: גרוזנווילק, Klotznburch; lat.: Claudiopolis; old-r.: Clush) ¹ – <i>Piaţa</i> <i>Centrală</i> , actually: Piaţa Unirii (Fő tér) (Gáll et al. 2010, 165–171, Pl. 56–58) (Pl. 20)	31	1 (Gáll et al. 2010, 173–174)			1943, 2007
3. Dăbâca (g.: Dobeschdorf h.: Doboka)– <i>A. Tămaş's garden</i> (Gáll 2013b, 159–210) (Pl. 35–38)	approximately 95				1966–1967
4. Dăbâca– <i>Castle Area IV</i> (Gáll 2011) (Pl. 21–34, 38.A)	577 graves in which approximately 679 human skeletons				1964, 1965, 1968, 1969, 1973, 1976, 1977, 1986
5. Dăbâca– <i>Boldăgă/Boldogasszony</i> (Unpublished) (Pl. 39)	138 ²				1982, 1985
6. Jucu (g.: Schucken; h.: Nemeszúk)- Nokia Tatarom (Unpublished. Ioan Stanciu's data)	approximately 80 human skeletons				2007
7. Chidea (h.: Kide) (Méri 1944)	116 ³				1943
8. Alba Iulia (g.: Karlsburg, Weissenburg; h.: Gyulafehérvár; old-r.: Bălgrad)– <i>Roman Catholic Cathedral</i> (Marcu-Istrate 2008) (Pl. 46)	50 ⁴				1953, 2001–2002
9. Alba Iulia– <i>Roman Bath</i> (Horedt 1958b, 49–63)	56 ?				1902–1905, 1906–1908
10. Orăştie (g.: Broos; g.: Szászváros)– <i>Round Church</i> (Unpublished. C.c.a. 1995, 62–65; C.c.a. 1997, 33; Pinter 2011, 9–38) (Pl. 48.A)	?				1993–1997
11. Streisângeorgiu (h.: Sztrigyszentgyörgy) (Popa 1976, 37–64) (Pl. 49–50)	approximately 38 human skeletons				1975–1976
12. Geoagiu de Jos (g.: Gergesdorf; h.: Algyógy) (Petrov 1996, 403–413) (Pl. 40)	218				1994–1995, 1997–1998, 2000, 2003, 2004
13. Simeria Veche (h.: Ópiski) (Heitel 1972, 2, 154: note 6, 142: Harta 1)	?				1960–1970

Fig. 4. Churchyards from the second half of the 11th–first half of the 13th centuries

¹ Abbreviations of names of the settlements: g.: German; h.: Hungarian; j.: Jiddish; lat.: Latin; old-r.: old Romanian

² Some burials are datable to 17th century.

³ It is not exactly known how many graves can be dated to the

11th–13th centuries.

⁴ After the archaeologist, ‘the second and the third burial horizon’ could be dated from the finish of 11th to the 13th century. Marcu Istrate 2008, 110–112.

Sites (numbering of Plate 1)	Number of graves	Anthropo- logical analysis	¹⁴ C analysis of skeletons	DNS analysis	Year/ years of excavation
14. Rodna (g.: Altrodenau, Rodne; h.: Óradna; old-r.: Rogna, Rocna) (Vătăşianu et al. 1957, 215)	2				1955
15. Moreşti (g.: Mühlendorf; h.: Malomfalva; old-r.: Malomfalău)– <i>Ciţfalău/Csittfalva</i> (Horedt 1984) (Pl. 44–45)	55				1952, 1954
16. Sighişoara (g.: Schässburg, Schäsbrich, h.: Segesvár)– <i>Dealul Viilor/Reiselberg/Malomdomb</i> (Harhoiu–Ioniţă 2008, 199–223; Gáll 2014) (Pl. 47.2)	135				1978–2005
17. Sighişoara– <i>Biserica din Deal</i> (CCA 2000, 96)	?				1998–1999
18. Sighişoara– <i>Biserica mănăstirii</i> (CCA. 2006, 328–329; Crângaci-Ţiplic 2004–2007, 58, note 86)	?				2005
19. Ulieş (h.: Kányád) (Derzsi-Sófalvi 2008, 267–285; Fóthi et al. 2012, 522–523, 37. táblázat)	56 ⁵	56 human skeletons			2005–2006
20. Feldioara– <i>Lutheran Church</i> (g.: Marienburg, Märrembirg; h.: Barcaföldvár, Földvár) (Ioniţă et al. 2004, 44) (Pl. 43)	109				1990–1995, 1998–1999, 2006 ⁶
21. Drăuşeni (g.: Draas; h.: Homoróddaróc) (Dumitrache 1979, 155–198) (Pl. 47.1)	98 ⁷				1973, 1976–1977, 1994 (un- published)
22. Viscri (g.: Deutsch-Weisskurch; h.: Szászfehéregyháza) (Dumitrache 1981, 253–285; Velter 2002, 186, 352) (Pl. 48.B)	?(2 ⁸)				1970–1971
23. Mediaş (g.: Mediasch; h.: Medgyes) (Crângaci Ţiplic 2004–2007, 56–57, notes 71–73)	3				?
24. Cricău (g.: Krakau; h.: Boroskrakkó) (Heitel–Bogdan 1968, 483–496)	?				1961, 1964–1966
25. Sebeş (g.: Mühlbach, Melnbach; h.: Szászsebes; old-r.: Sebeşul Săsesc, Sas-Sebeş) (Heitel 1969, 6–7; Crângaci Ţiplic 2004–2007, 57, note 79)	?				1961
26. Sibiu (g.: Hermannstadt; h.: Nagyszeben) (Marcu-Istrate et al. 2007, 65–70; Marcu-Istrate 2013, 371–391)	1833 ⁹				2005

Fig. 4. Churchyards from the second half of the 11th–first half of the 13th centuries⁵ The most graves can be dated to the 12–13th centuries. Derzsi – Sófalvi 2008, 267–285.⁶ The graves excavated in 2006 are unpublished.⁷ Graves are dated to the 12–13th centuries.⁸ Dumitrache has mentioned 2 graves with inventory from these centuries.⁹ It is not exactly known how many graves can be dated to the 12th–13th centuries out of the 1833 graves.

Sites (numbering of Plate 1)	Number of graves	Anthropo- logical analysis	¹⁴ C analysis of skeletons	DNS analysis	Year/ years of excavation
28. Odorheiu Secuiesc–Sântimreu/ Szentimre (g.: Oderhellen, Hofmarkt; h.: Székelyudvarhely; lat.: Areopolis) (Nyárádi 2012, 155–192; Fóthi et al. 2012, 523–524, 38. táblázat)	destroyed graves	30			2006
27. Mugeni (g.: Begesen; h.: Bögöz) ¹⁰ (informations from Zsolt Nyárádi)	1?				2009
29. Șirioara (h.: Sajósárvár) (Iambor 2005, 196–197) (Pl. 51)	78				1972–1973
30. Sângeorgiu de Mureș (g.: Sankt Georgen; h.: Marosszentgyörgy) (Benkő 2012, note 397; Zrínyi 1976, 146)	destroyed graves				old collection, 2010
31. Gârbova (g.: Urwegen, Urbijen, Ausendref; h.: Szászorbó; old-r.: Gârbova Săsească) (Heitel 1972, 143, fig. 3)	?				?
32. Moșna (g.: Maešn, Meschen ; h.: Szászmuzsna; old-r.: Moșna, Mojna, Meșindorf) (CCA 2000, 65)	destroyed graves from the 12 th –13 th centuries ¹¹				?
33. Târgu Mureș (g.: Neumarkt am Mieresch; h.: Marosvásárhely, Székelyvásárhely; lat.: Novum Forum Siculorum)–Castle (Heitel 1972, 154)	?				?
34. Sânvășii (h.: Szentlászló) (Unpublished. Zoltán Soós's information)	3				2009
35. Reci (h.: Réty)–Dobolyka (Unpublished) (Székely 1990, 8–9, 15. ábra)	?				1988
36. Forțeni (h.: Farcád) (Unpublished) (Benkő 2012, note 405)	Few destroyed graves (?)				2001
37. Bâra (g.: Kreutzdorf; h.: Berekeresztúr) (Unpublished)	destroyed graves				2004
38. Moldovenești (g.: Burgdorf; h.: Várfalva; old-r.: Varfalău)–Unitarian Church (Horedt 1952, 318–320)	8				1951
39. Avrămești (h.: Szentábrahám) (Benkő 1992, 213, 223, 34. kép; Fóthi et al. 2012, 507–519, 21. táblázat)	176 graves ¹²	185 human skeletons			1986–1987
40. Miercurea Ciuc–Șumuleu (g.: Schomlenberg; h.: -Csíksomlyó)– parish church (Botár 2009, 61–65)	2		1		2005

Fig. 4. Churchyards from the second half of the 11th–first half of the 13th centuries

¹⁰<http://www.szekelyhon.ro/archivum/offline/cikk/78057/arpad-kori-sirt-tartak-fel>.

¹¹ *‘Pe latura de N a incintei a fost cercetată latura de S a navei bisericii vechi. Au fost descoperite mai multe morminte tăiate de acesta...’* <http://cronica.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=1272>.

¹² Unknown number of graves dated to the 12th–13th centuries.

Sites (numbering of Plate 1)	Number of graves	Anthropo- logical analysis	¹⁴ C analysis of skeletons	DNS analysis	Year/ years of excavation
41. Gilău (g.: Julmarkt; h.: Gyalu)– György Rákóczy I's castle (Isac et al. 2012a, 165–176; Isac et al. 2012b, 301–312) (Pl. 41–42)	6				1997
42. Văleni (h.: Magyarvalkó) (Unpublished. Unknown graves from the 12 th century. Csongor Derzsi's data)	destroyed graves				1974
43. Săcădate (h.: Szakadát) (Heitel 1972, 154)	?				?
44. Sâncraiu de Mureș (g.: Weichseldorf; h.: Marosszentkirály) (Unpublished. Unknown graves)	destroyed graves				beginning of the 20 th century
45. Cârța (g.: Kiertz; h.: Kertz) (Unpublished. Unknown graves from the 12 th century?)					1976
46. Cipău-Sfântu Gheorghe (h.: Csapószentgyörgy) (Vlassa 1965, 25–27; Rusu 1966, 402–405, fig. 6/ 1–2, 4–8, 10–13)	cemetery from the 11 th –14 th century				before 1965
47. Moigrad–Porolissum–Archaeological park (h.: Mojgrád;) (informations from Űnige Bencze; Exhibitions from Cluj- Napoca, april 2012)	12 th century ¹³				1914, 2010–2011
48. Sic (g.: Secken, Markstuhl; h.: Szék, Székakna) ¹⁴ (informations from Zsolt Csók)	13 th century (6 human skeletons)	4 (2006), 2 (2013)			2006, 2013
49. Cristuru Secuiesc (h.: Székelykeresztúr) (Benkő 1992, 153–154, 158; Fóthi et al. 2012, 520–522, 32. táblázat)	12 th –13 th century ¹⁵	70 skeletons			1968, 1979
50. Almașu (h.: Nagymás, Almás) (Horedt 1986, 139, Note 327)	12 th –13 th century				before 1955
51. Brădești (h.: Fenyéd) (informations from Zsolt Nyárádi)	12 th –13 th century				2010
52. Petriceni (h.: Kézdikővár, Peselnek) (Székely 1990, 7–8, 12, 13a. ábra)	destroyed graves				between 1977 and 1989
53. Chileni (g.: Kilön; h.: Kilyén) (Székely 1986, 215–224)	destroyed graves				1981
54. Lueta (h.: Lövéte) (informations from Zsolt Nyárádi)	few graves ¹⁶				2010, 2011, 2013

Fig. 4. Churchyards from the second half of the 11th–first half of the 13th centuries¹³ 39 graves excavated in 2010–2011.¹⁵ Unknown number of graves datable to the 12th–13th centuries.¹⁴ <http://www.cultural-heritage.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2008/rapoarte/158.html>.

in many cases with political aims,⁷⁷ and these archaeological sources 'were stumbled upon'.⁷⁸

It was not pure coincidence as these were churches in the castles and the churchyards in Dăbâca, Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur, Şirioara. Most of these churchyards were explored along the Someşul Mic were found (Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur, Jucu, Gilău), respectively in the valleys in its tributary (Chidea, Dăbâca, Sic).

Another cluster of sites is to be found along the middle and lower reaches of the Mureş: one group was found around the centre of County Fehér, Alba Iulia (Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*, Alba Iulia–*Roman Bath*, Cricău), and to the E, in the side valleys of the River Mureş (Gârbova, Sebeş). Two other sites were found in the lower reaches of the Mureş (Orăştie, Simeria), and in the valleys of Strei (Streisângeorgiu), and Geoagiu (Geoagiu de Jos). As the geographical environment in the lower of Mureş is similar to that of the Someşul Mic, it is not surprising that the churchyards, which can be connected to the cemeteries of the earlier pagan era and the transitional or proto-Christian period, were found in the western parts of the Transylvanian Basin.

Another group of churchyards was found near Târgu-Mureş in the upper reaches of the Mureş. A group of them was found in the close geographical region of the Mureş (Moreşti, Târgu-Mureş, Sâncraiu de Mureş, Sângeorgiu de Mureş) and another group has been excavated in the past few years in the valley of a stream on the left side of Mureş (Bâra, Maiad, Sânvăşii, Eremieni). This concentration of the cemeteries may be explained by the fact that such a great number of archaeological finds has been found on the territory belonging to the museum of County Mureş because several experts of this historical period work in this museum.

Another cluster of sites was found in the upper and lower reaches of the Târnava Mare (Brădeşti, Mediaş, Moşna, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Sighişoara), and the surrounding area (Avrămeşti, Drăuşeni, Viscri).

In the eastern part of the Transylvanian Basin cemeteries excavated in the upper and middle reaches of the Mureş and the Târnava Mare (Brădeşti, Mediaş, Moreşti, Moşna, Odorheiu

Secuiesc, Sighişoara, Sâncraiu de Mureş, Sângeorgiu de Mureş, Sânvăşii, Târgu-Mureş) are the signs of the 12th century network of settlements.⁷⁹

Apart from these clusters of sites we know a cemetery, found on the border of the Carpathian Basin, at Cârţa, probably used by the abbey and its servants. 12th century finds were excavated in the cemetery in Văleni (near Gilău). A few graves were excavated in Moldoveneşti, near the River Arieş. Three other sites are known from this era in the Olt valley (Cârţa, Săcădate), and in the region of its side river, the Cibin (Sibiu). In the upper reaches of the Olt, in the Szekler Land (Ciuc, Sfântu Gheorghe and Râul Negru basins), the churchyard of Miercurea Ciuc–Şumuleu, Chilieni, Petriceni, Reci was excavated a few years ago. Feldioara (Țara Bărsei) was also investigated in the Olt valley.

What conclusions may be drawn?

1. The map of the sites shows that huge areas have remained unresearched such as the region of Câmpia Transilvaniei, the whole region of the River Târnava Mică, the lower reaches of the Târnava Mare, the whole upper reaches of the Mureş, north of Târgu Mureş.

2. Despite the present poor stage of research, in the valleys of the larger rivers (Mureş, Olt, Someş, Târnava Mare) and in the valleys of smaller rivers and streams (Cibin, Geoagiu, Niraj, Strei, etc.) a big amount of archaeological finds of this kind was found.

3. The above mentioned, stray finds from Văleni also indicate that in this region churchyards indicate both institutionalised Christianity and the network of settlements.

4. The churchyard cemeteries excavated in the valleys of small rivers and streams and at high altitudes seem to prove that:

4.a. The theory of Kurt Horedt about the territorial integration of the Transylvanian Basin in the Hungarian Kingdom (from a chronological, sociological, political and military aspect) cannot be defended (later it will be discussed in detail).

4.b. Our next observation is connected to this: in the future the territory of research should be extended to the side valleys.

⁷⁷ On its scientific and political evaluation see: Bóna 1998, 35–37. It is perhaps best described with an appropriate remark by Bóna: '...so a new struggle has begun for the castles'.

⁷⁸ It was not a successful scientific attempt, but it is a fact that the castles were dated to an earlier period and the cemeteries to a later one. On such an attempt see e. g. Iambor 2005.

⁷⁹ Based upon the increasing numbers of cemeteries, settlements and stray finds excavated in the upper valley of the Târnava and the Ciuc Basin we can talk about a network of 12th century settlements: Gáll 2014.

9. The topographical location of the churchyards
(Pl. 1, Pl. 6-7, Pl. 20-21, Pl. 40, Pl. 41, Pl. 51)

The choice of the burial site was also - although indirectly - a part of the burial customs of community. There is another characteristic feature of the churchyards which István Méri already drew our attention to: i. e. medieval cemeteries were usually in the centre of the settlement so they were limited to the area of the settlement.⁸⁰

As none of the cemeteries and settlements has been excavated so far, we have no idea how these cemeteries fitted in the landscape from a topographical aspect in the Transylvanian Basin.

We can do nothing else but sum up the available data:

A. Castle cemeteries around churches

1. In a castle: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur*, Feldioara (?), Orăștie–*Round Church*, Sighișoara–*Biserica din Deal*, Șirioara.

2. In an outer castle district: Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*, Dăbâca–*A. Tămaș's Garden*.

Questionable: Târgu Mureș.

B. Churchyards excavated around castle: Alba Iulia–*Roman Bath*, Dăbâca–*Boldâgă*, Moldovenești–*Unitarian Church*.

C. Churchyards in rural settlements: Avrâmești, Bâra, Cârța, Chidea, Drăușeni, Eremieni, Feldioara, Gârbova, Geoagiu de Jos, Jucu, Morești, Moșna, Mugeni, Odorheiu Secuiesc

-Sântimreu, Săcădate, Sânvășii, Sfântu Gheorghe, Sighișoara–*Dealul Viilor*, Simeria Veche, Sâncraiu de Mureș, Miercurea Ciuc–Șumuleu, Viscri, Ulieș. Problematic, questionable: Gilău.

E. (Perhaps) the cemetery of a monastery surrounded by walls: Moigrad–*Porolissum*, Sighișoara–*the cemetery of the monastery*, Sic (?). Without data: Cricău, Mediaș, Sebeș, Târgu Mureș.

10. Churches

(Fig. 5; Pl. 6, Pl. 22, Pl. 35, Pl. 39, Pl. 40A, Pl. 44, Pl. 47.1.A-48, Pl. 49)

The spiritual centre of the (Christian) cemetery is the church.⁸¹ However - in spite of most other sites - in Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur* or Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV* it was not found in the middle of the cemetery, but in its E half of the cemeteries. The simple small church was excavated almost on the NE edge of the plateau.

The orientation of the churches is E-W with the shrine on the E side and the nave in the W.⁸²

The churches of the Árpadian era cemeteries found in the Transylvanian Basin are relatively small just like most of the others known in other areas of the Hungarian Kingdom.⁸³ In this region even the largest one is shorter than 15 metres, which is in connection with the economic capacity and demographic size of the communities. Unfortunately, the churches from Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăstur Abbey* are not known.

Church	Length	Width	Inner of the nave	Foundation	Width of foundations
Dăbâca– <i>Castle Area IV</i>	11,50 m	6,00 m	6,00 × 4,00 m	lime+sand, stone	1, 25; 0,75 – 0,80 m
Dăbâca– <i>A. Tămaș's garden Church</i>	6,90 m	cca. 4,80 m	4,30 × 4,00 m	clay, stone, carved limestone	0,80 m
Dăbâca– <i>Boldâgă Church 1</i>	13,19 m	5,75 m	6,10 × 4,75 m	lime+sand, stone	1,00 m
Dăbâca– <i>Boldâgă Church 2</i>	17,70 m	?	13,00 × 8,00 m	lime+sand, stone	?
Dăbâca– <i>Boldâgă Church 3</i>	19,70 m	?	cca. 13,00 × 8,00 m	lime+sand, stone	1,25 m
Ulieș– <i>Church 1</i>	-	-	-	rammed earth, black earth, yellow clay, stones	0,90–1,00 m
Geoagiu de Jos	9,00	5,5 m; 2,00 m	7,00 m; 5,5 m	roman brick	0,70 m
Orăștie– <i>Round Church</i>	10,66 m	9,33 m	6,87 × 6,56 m	earth, sand, mortar	1,06 m
Streisângeorgiu	10,00 m	5,75 m	8,5 m; 5,75 m	stones	1,00 m

Fig. 5. The measurements data of churches.

⁸⁰ Méri 1944, 5.

⁸¹ Rush 1941.

⁸² Szatmári 2005, 28.

⁸³ For example, see: Szatmári 2005; Valter 2005.

11. Burial customs

11.1. The preparation of the grave

In many cases there is no way to examine the graves in churchyards. Unfortunately, it is a fact that in many cases the archaeologist did not observe their shape even when they had the opportunity, for example towards the edge of cemeteries with a small number of graves, not to mention any possible wooden constructions or coffins found in the graves (e.g. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur, Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, Șirioara).

11.2. The shape and size of the graves

(Pl. 2, Pl. 15: Grave 77, Pl. 43, Pl. 47.2.B: Graves 170, 173)

In contrast to the subjective analyses of the depths of the graves, the length and width appearing in the ground can be documented in a more objective way. Unfortunately, in many cemeteries the shape of the grave was not noticed or could not be noticed. It is mainly valid for cemeteries in northern Transylvania: e.g. among the 577 graves in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV the shapes of the graves were documented only in five cases (Graves 45, 403–405, 408, 410).

The burials in the cemeteries in Dăbâca-A. Tămaș's garden and Șirioara were not examined from this point of view.

Where it has been observed, the graves had simple rectangular shape with rounded corners, in some cases they are trapeze-shaped, wider at the head of the skeleton, tapering towards the feet. In the much better documented S Transylvanian churchyards there is a grave shape completely unknown in the 10th–11th century cemeteries: graves formed in the shape of a human body, which has been identified as 'mummy shaped' or 'head-niche' in literature.⁸⁴ In the Romanian literature these grave shapes were connected to the the incoming Germanic population,⁸⁵ but this ethnic concept can justly be criticised based on the present archaeological data.⁸⁶

11.3. The depth of the graves

When analysing graves, it might seem subjective to examine their depth as opposed to their length and width which are conspicuous in the ground. This means a major problem to the statistical analysis of grave depths that one cannot be certain

to what extent their present day depths reflects their original depths. In our statistical analysis we should take the topographical situation of sites into consideration and the disturbances in the cemeteries caused for example by works.

Unfortunately, due to the inadequacy of the archaeological documentation there is not enough sufficient information concerning the grave depths in many churchyards in Transylvania. For example, in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, all the available such measures were registered between 20 and 120 cm (Fig. 6–7).

Summarising the previous data, according to the analysis above we can draw the conclusion that the grave depths registered in the 11th–13th century Dăbâca cemetery are in accordance with the depths registered in the he graves from the time of the Hungarian conquest.⁸⁷

On contrary, grave depths in Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur, were between 90 and 320 cm, but in case of most of them the depths values varied between 201 and 250 cm (Fig. 8–9).

These grave depths certainly may not reflect the medieval conditions; they can be explained away by the sediments built up during the centuries. Unfortunately, the archaeologists did not make an attempt to register the depths in the trenches where the remains of graves began to occur.

The documented depths of the graves in Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală are significant to the research. Méri measured the depths of graves at two levels: the first from the contemporary surface of 1943 (which was generally around 200 cm), whereas the original depth can be measured 50–80 cm lower than the medieval surface.

Radu Harhoiu's observations are very important too: owing to his research philosophical attitude similar to that of Méri, in the case of Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor the grave pits were never dug deeper than 50 cm measured from the original surface. In Feldioara grave depths of 95–192 cm were registered, and in the graveyard in Drăușeni, they were between 100–210 cm, but as it has been demonstrated, there can be huge difference between the level of today's surface and that of the time when a grave was dug.

Surveying the 11th–13th century data at our disposal, it can be stated that on the one hand, due to excavation technique No. 1, only the depths registered in the excavations in Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală, Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor and with some reservations those registered

⁸⁴ Ioniță et al. 2004, 46–59.

⁸⁵ Ioniță et al. 2004, 46–59.

⁸⁶ Gáll 2012b, 299–300; Gáll 2014.

⁸⁷ Gáll 2004–2005, 339–341; Gáll 2013c, Vol. I: 595–597.

in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV can be accepted, on the other hand, we can assume that the depths of medieval graves were between 40–120 cm at the time of digging.

11.4. The orientation of the graves (Pl. 7–9, Pl. 20, Pl. 22, Pl. 31, Pl. 35.B, Pl. 40, Pl. 41.2, Pl. 43–44, Pl. 49, Pl. 51.2.A)

One of the most characteristic features of the burial rites is the orientation of the graves. Most 11th–13th century graves in the Carpathian Basin are oriented W–E, or the variations of this.

However, some questions arise in connection with both the cemetery in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV and other cemeteries, namely, how can we evaluate the divergences within 45° from the dominant orientation (in this case it is W–E)?

There are only few graves whose orientation differs from the dominant one. Among the 577 graves (with 679 skeletons) registered in the cemetery from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV the orientation of 453 graves have been registered. There were only 20 graves with axis different from the W–E axis to a higher degree, i. e. 14.9 % of the 453 graves. SW–NE orientation was registered in 6 cases, NW–SE in 12 cases, NNW–SSE in 2 cases. From the Cluj–Mănăştur cemetery we knew 3 graves which are oriented in the NNW–SSE direction. According to a widely accepted view in the literature written on burial customs, they can be explained by objective reasons, namely by their connection with the position of the sun in different seasons.

However, in Dăbâca it is strange that these different orientations were found in a low percentage, approximately 4.19% of the burials. Scanning the cemetery map it becomes strange that NNE–SSE orientations are exclusively found in the SE zone of the cemetery with one exception; whereas graves

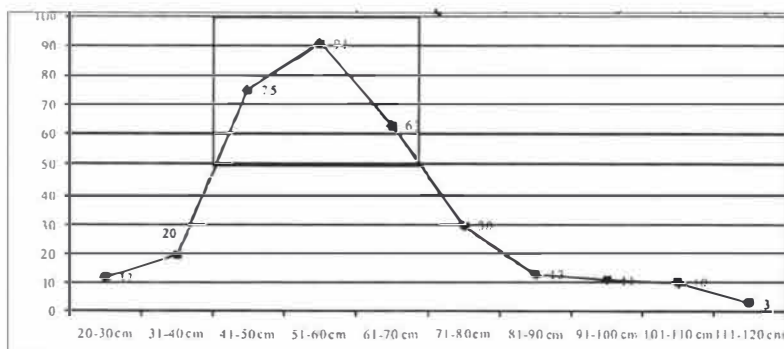


Fig. 6. The average grave depth in the churchyard cemetery from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV on a scale of 10 cm and their number

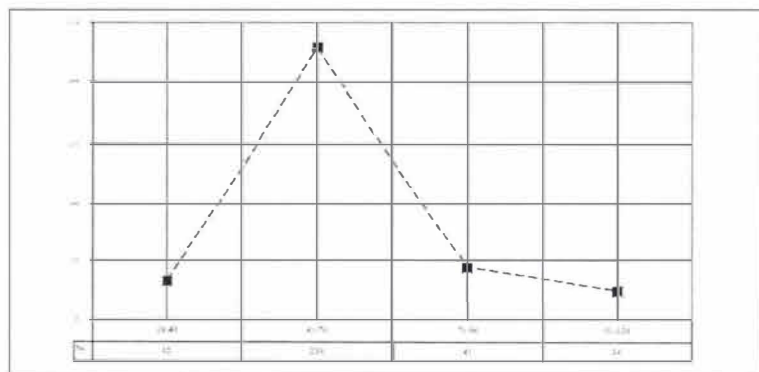


Fig. 7. The average grave depths in the churchyard cemetery from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV on a scale of 20-30 cm and their number

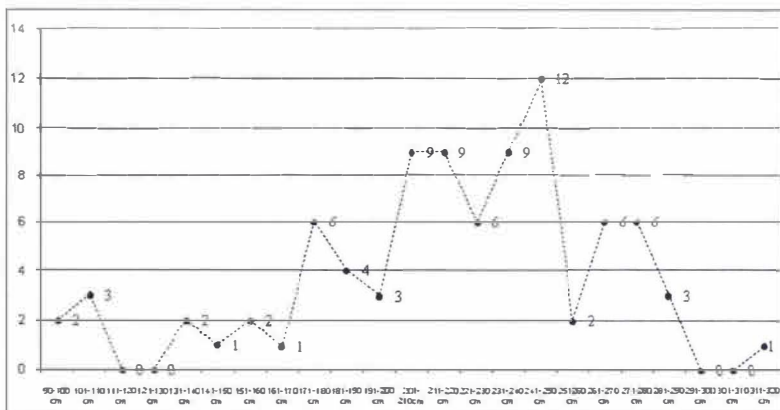


Fig. 8. The average grave depth in the churchyard cemetery from Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur on a scale of 10 cm and their number

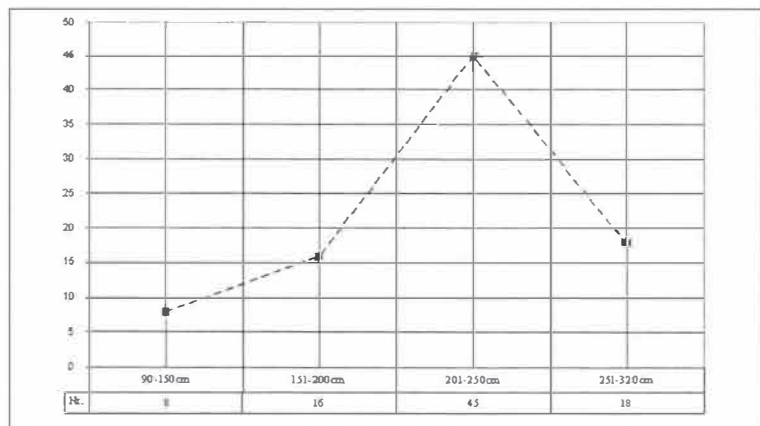


Fig. 9. The average grave depth in the churchyard cemetery from Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur on a scale of 50 cm and their number

with SW-NE orientation were found in the NE part of the cemetery with two exceptions found among graves oriented NW-SE. These observations testify the differences between the burials found in the NE part of the cemetery and those in the SW.

Certainly, these few cases might as well be considered accidental, but at the same time they draw attention to the fact that orientation can hardly be explained by the different position of the sun. Even these days graves are dug according to the orientation of the surrounding graves or tombs and it could not have been different a thousand years ago.⁸⁸ Therefore it is not understandable why some graves are oriented W-E and others differ from this orientation. It might be worth to make a seriation on the gender and age of the deceased and the degrees of orientation in the case of cemeteries with better documentation and anthropological research findings.

It can be firmly stated that Transylvanian communities oriented their graves W and E and in these cemeteries the assumption can hardly be defended that the graves were oriented according to the sunsets and sunrises in the different seasons.⁸⁹

The Graves 141 and 432 oriented almost N and S are in the E side of the cemetery from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. In Hungarian literature reverse orientations are usually explained away by the fear of the return of the dead,⁹⁰ which is a logical assumption in the case of cemeteries where the percentage of reverse oriented graves is insignificant. In the case of Dăbâca it is possible that the body was oriented almost N for fear of the return of the deceased person. It can be noted that in this case a pagan custom or a prevailing version of a pagan custom can be observed, which allows us to suppose that the families of the community in the 11th–13th century Dăbâca must have known some customs reflecting pagan mentality, which were tolerated by Christianity. A great number of similar reversely oriented graves have been documented in Carpathian Basin from the 10th–11th centuries,⁹¹ so we can talk about the remains of a pagan custom prevailing in the Carpathian Basin in an 11th–12th century context.

⁸⁸ A similarly sceptical point of view is presented in the analysis made by Attila Kiss. See Kiss 1983, 122.

⁸⁹ Csalog 1967, 232; Csalog 1969, 191.

⁹⁰ Kiss 1983, 158; Szabó 1964, 120–129; K. K. 1996, 39.

⁹¹ Reverse orientations registered in churchyard cemeteries have not been collected. Perhaps microregional research, which promise the most, could aim to carry out such analyses. Just a few examples: Tettamanti 1975, 98; Gáll 2004–2005, 343–347.

It should be noted that later orientations opposite to the W-E orientation are the mental 'products' of the later Middle Ages when W-E orientation and the puritan grave furnishing lost its 11th–13th century symbolic importance as a result of the final victory of Christianity over 'paganism'.

11.5. Limestone, stone and brick cover graves, graves with brick or stone frames (Fig. 10; Pl. 2, Pl. 28, Pl. 35.A)

Limestone and stone cover graves can be considered characteristic for the burials in the Carpathian Basin in the 11th–13th centuries. Almost thirty years ago Sarolta Tettamanti wrote: '*Brick graves (in many variants) can all be found in churchyards, except for Alba Iulia (389). Brick from the Roman times can only be found in the graves here and in Băta.*'⁹²

Those graves where stone/stones were found can be divided into two major groups based upon their functions:

1. Practical constructions (Pl. 2)

2. Stones placed in the graves for religious reasons (?)

1. Built graves (Pl. 2):

1.1. Graves with carved brick frame: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral, Alba Iulia–Roman Bath, Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală: Grave 21, Jucu: Graves 5, 13, 23 and 83, Sic.

1.2. Graves with carved brick frames in shape of human body: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral, Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur: Grave 92.

1.2.a. Partially surrounded with stones in the region of the head: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 251.

1.3.1. Graves with carved brick or stone frames and graves covered with them: Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur: Grave 93, Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală: Graves 1, 3–5, 8–14.

1.3.2. Partially surrounded graves with brick or stone frames and graves covered with them: Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală: Grave 7, Morești: Grave 16/1952, Grave 7/1954.

2. According to the position of the stones in the graves, three cases can be distinguished: stones in the grave, stones on the body or its parts, and stone under the skull.

2.1. Stones in the grave: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 45, 120, 121, 195, 216, 320, 332, 334, 339, 350, 377, 383, 396, 465, 468 and 486.B–C, Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden: Graves 2–3, 22.A, 37, Jucu: Graves 72, 84 and 88.

⁹² Tettamanti 1975, 95.

2.2. Stones on the skeleton or a part of it: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 114, 129, 130, 162, 181,⁹³ 186.C, 192, 196, 205, 215, 220.B,⁹⁴ 254,⁹⁵ 274, 310, 330,⁹⁶ 349,⁹⁷ 375, 408 and 413, Jucu: Grave 65.⁹⁸

Questionable cases: Gilău: Grave 3.⁹⁹

3. Stone under the skull: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 316.

Concerning these graves, our first observation can be made on the geographical area of their occurrence. As can be seen on the maps, both the custom of built graves and the stones placed or thrown in the graves were registered in the graves excavated in the western part of the Basin. Certainly, it should be mentioned that this observation can be considered relative based on the present stage of research, but it is remarkable that in the properly excavated cemeteries in Feldioara and Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor this custom is completely missing. And if we take the example of stones placed in the graves, we cannot talk about the lack of any technological knowledge or community work requiring more physical energy.

It is also a remarkable fact that these burials are known from the cemeteries of county centres (Alba Iulia, Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur, Dăbâca) or the neighbouring areas (Gilău, Jucu). Graves 92–93 in Cluj–Mănăştur, which lie almost next to each other and have highly elaborated stone frames and covers, can be distinguished from the rest of the graves in the cemetery.

In the centre-periphery model, the archaeological evidence of the influence made by the later on the previous can be seen on the built graves. Possibly, a technologically much poorer imitation of the Cluj–Mănăştur–Calvaria: Graves 92–93 (see Fig. 10.A–B) with brick frames and covers can be observed in the case of the built graves in Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală: Grave 21, Jucu–Tetaron: Graves 5, 13, 23 and 83 (and maybe Gilău: Grave 3?). It remains a question how far the cultural radiation of the centre in Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur (a county centre and a Benedictine

monastery) reached. If we think of the quantity and the quality of the renovated built graves in the cemeteries lying 2, 4, and 18 km away from the castle, it seems clear that the highly elaborated and probably valuable tombs did not only have a mnemonic and memory keeping power but they could also have influenced or changed the cultural customs of those living in the surrounding area by representing the prestige of the deceased ones.

Some of built graves are constituted by the graves formed in the shape of human body and those called *head-niche graves* or *mummy-shaped grave* in the literature. In Romanian literature, *mummy-shaped graves* were interpreted as ethnic features and connected to immigrant hospites. A weak point in this theory, is the fact that graves built in the graves dug in the shape of human bodies required skill and material investment. Their parallels were mainly or exclusively registered in the centre of the vast County Fehér, in Alba Iulia. It is quite obvious that the graves built in the centre of the county could not follow this custom, they could not possibly have taken it over from the rural communities in S Transylvania, but it was a characteristic burial custom of the Christian elite in the contemporary Europe. In the case of Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral it cannot be ruled out that in the *mummy-shaped grave* were buried the bishops or archbishops of the 12th–13th century Transylvania, a possibility that was also taken into consideration also D. Marcu.¹⁰⁰ Similar grave shapes were found in the excavations of the kindred centers (Babócsa–Nárciszos-Basakert), near basilica (Požega) and in monasteries (Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur, Báta, Cikádor, Frumuşeni Grave 111, Vokány, Somogyvár, Rakovac, Mačvanska Mitrovica, Ópusztaszer–Monostor: Grave 915 or Csongrád–Ellésmonostor: Grave 102) (see Fig. 10.H).¹⁰¹ In conclusion it can be stated that brick graves built in human body shape did not indicate any ethnic identity but it was a burial fashion among the different elites in Christian Europe, which could have been imitated by ordinary people. However, we do not mean by this that no *hospites* were buried in the S Transylvanian cemeteries, we just want to point out that it would be a methodological mistake to see a *hospes* in each *mummy-shaped grave* pit (some ideas on this question see later).

Contrary to built graves, which may have been connected to the symbolisation of the

⁹³ The documentation clearly shows that the stone was originally placed on the right foot.

⁹⁴ The documentation clearly shows that the stone was originally placed on the left hand bone.

⁹⁵ The head of the deceased person was surrounded by stones and another large stone was placed on the head.

⁹⁶ The head of the deceased person was surrounded with stones and a small stone was placed on the head.

⁹⁷ The documentation clearly shows that the stone was originally placed on the right shinbone, which has decayed.

⁹⁸ On the skull.

⁹⁹ Stones in the grave. Their positions was not registered.

¹⁰⁰ Marcu 2005, 238.

¹⁰¹ Pap 2002, 4. kép 1, 4; Rusu – Burnichioiu 2011, 65–69; Sîmegi 1997, 155; Sîmegi 1997, 155; Sîmegi 2006, 148; Stanojev 2000, 394; Stanojev 2005, 61, note 16.

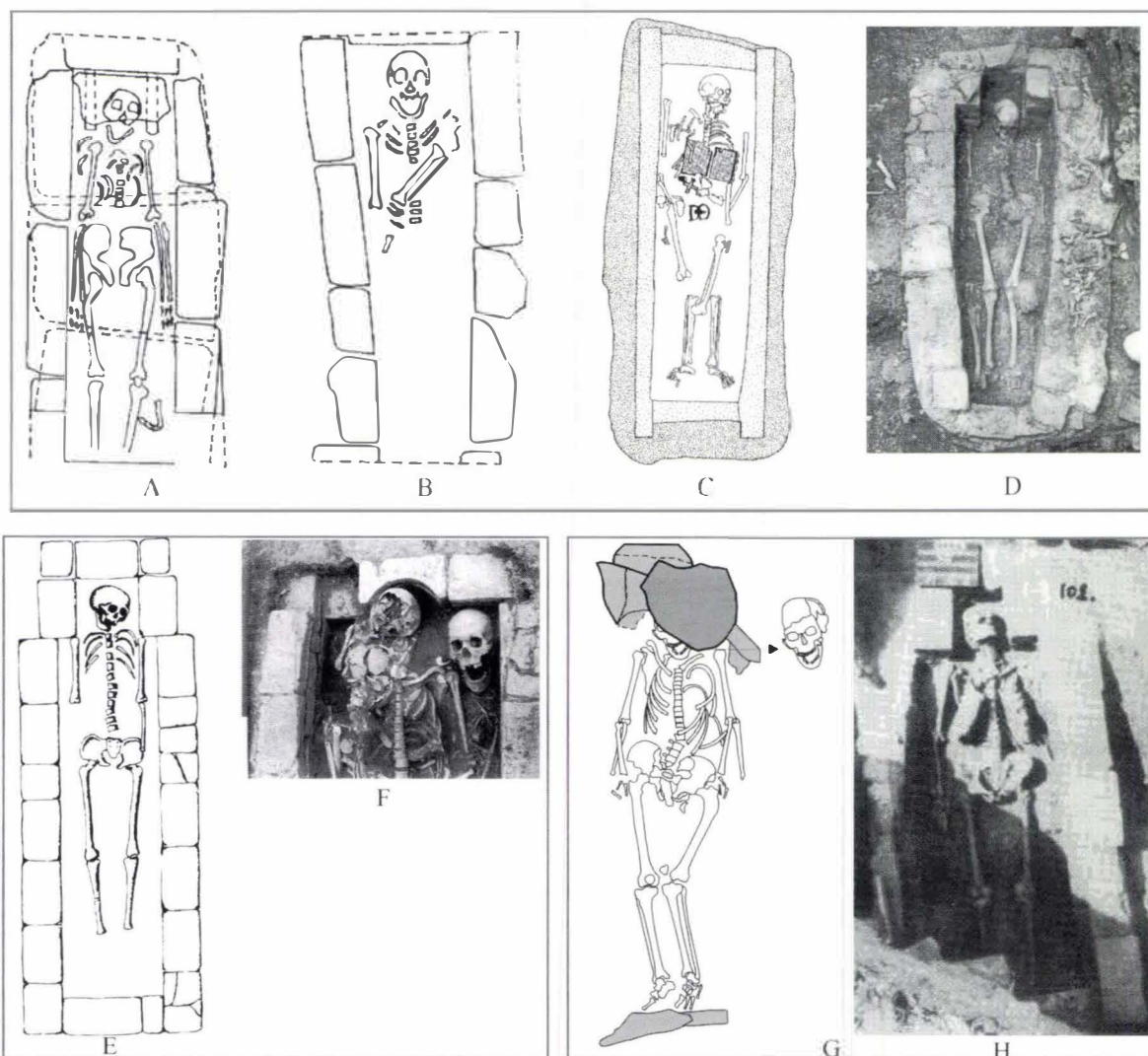


Fig. 10. A-B. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Graves 92-93: graves with brick frames and brick covers (after Iambor et al. 1981); C. Grigorie from Armenia bishop's burial (died in 1093) (after Bóna 1998, 45. kép); D. Alba Iulia-Roman Catholic Cathedral. Grave 91/2001 (after Marcu 2005, Pl. 3); E. Babócsa-Nárciszos-Basakert-grave (after Magyar 2005, 4. táb. 2); F. Szentes. Grave 2 (after Türk 2005, 5. kép); G. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Grave 251 (after Gáll 2011, 22. táb.); H. Csongrád-Ellésmonostor. Grave 102 (after Pap 2002, 4. kép. 4)

economic-social potential and prestige of a person or a family, stones placed in the graves are completely different. This custom can be categorised as a pagan one and it was clearly common in previous eras, but it was not put on the black-list from the beginning of the 11th century, it can be detected archaeologically in the next two centuries. Unfortunately, as it can be seen on our map, the documentation of this custom is quite poor: this custom is only known in northern Transylvania with full documentation.

The research of their locations in the cemeteries is possible only in two cases. In the cemetery section in Jucu, built graves are to be observed in the E part of the cemetery section.

Certainly, the background of this phenomenon cannot be observed only by archaeological means.

11.6. The position of the arm bones in the graves (Fig. 11-14; Pl. 29)

When studying the position of the arms, one must take into consideration some aspects which are completely independent of the position of the body (and the arms) as they were put in the grave (e.g. the decomposition process of the body).

By completing the chart used in another study of ours,¹⁰² the positions of the lower arm

¹⁰² Gáll 2004-2005, 369: fig. 8.

bones are divided into 24 subgroups,¹⁰³ which constitute 7 main groups:

Arm position variants I, and IV–VI have been classified into Group I. This position means that the arms were lying alongside the body and for several reasons the bones of the forearms ended up on the brim of the pelvis. It could have been caused by wrapping the body in a shroud or the decomposition of the body. From the 582 registered cases 492 belong to this group; this makes up 84.53% of the documented arm positions.

Arm positions II–III, IX, XV, XIX–XX belong to Group II. In this case one arm was lying alongside the body and the other was laid across the stomach or pelvis. This was the situation in 30 cases which constitute 5.15% of the arm positions.

In Group III we find one arm or both arms put across the chest. Arm position variants VII–VIII, X–XII, XVI–XVII belong to this group.

We only know one case; it constitutes 2.23% of the documented cases (13 graves).

Arm position XIV belongs to Group IV when the arms were put over the pubic vertebrae or the sacrum forming a cross or folding them together. 32 cases have been registered making up 5.49%.

Arm position XIII constitutes Group V. 5 cases are known making up 0.85% of the documented cases.

Arm position XVIII constitutes Group VI. Only two cases is known making up 0.34% of the documented cases.

Group VII is constituted by arm positions XXI–XXIV. Their characteristic feature is that one or both forearms were positioned under the pelvis.

8 cases are known making up 1.37% of all the arm positions.

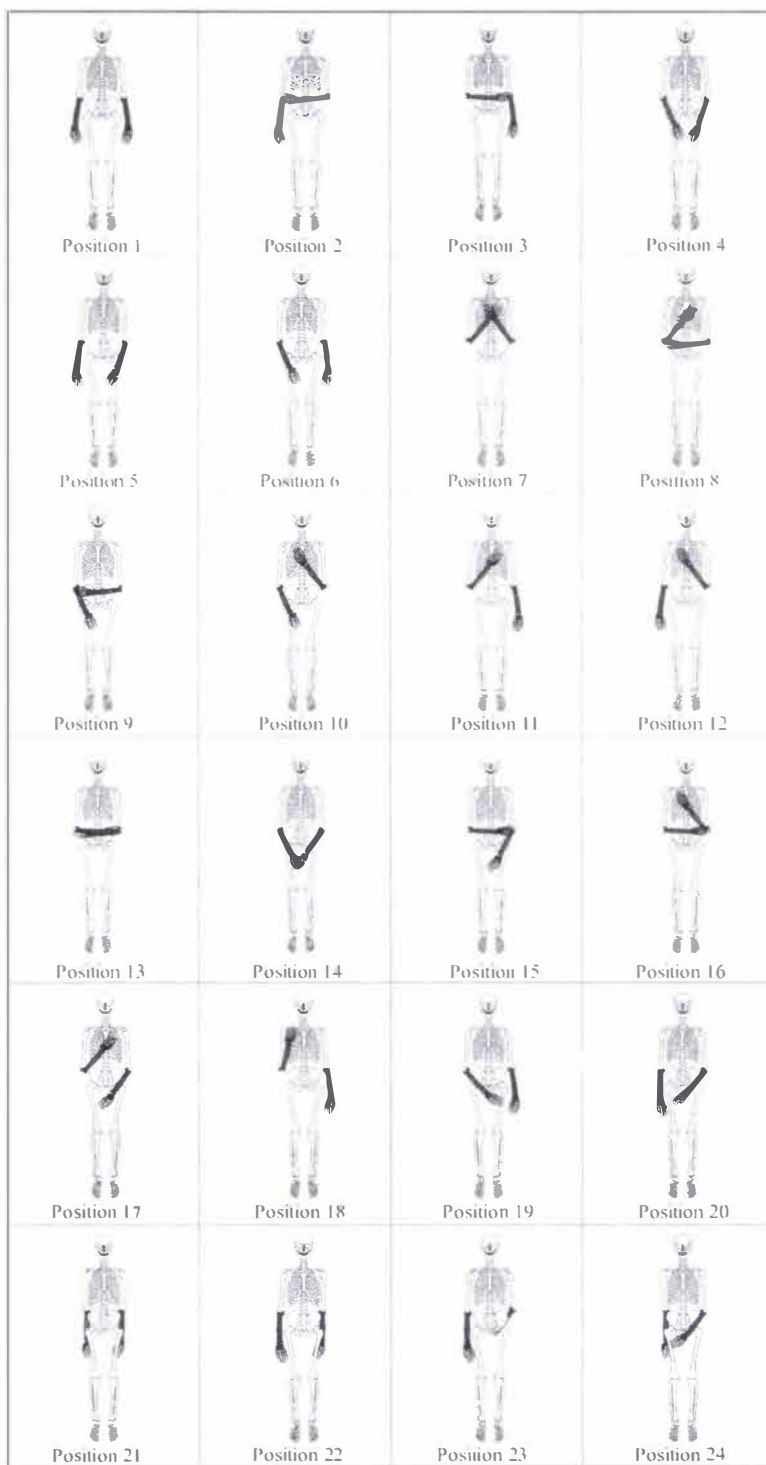


Fig. 11. Position of the arm bones in the graves

The statistical analyses clearly show that the arm position variants of Group I were documented in the greatest number (84.77%), the other arm positions can only be detected in a far smaller number in the Transylvanian cemeteries.

The statistical proportions are in correlation with those in other cemeteries of the Árpáadian era, from another parts of Carpathian basin.¹⁰⁴ The cases of Groups II–VII can be considered exceptional in the churchyards from Transylvania Basin.

¹⁰³ Gáll 2011, 23: 13. kép.

¹⁰⁴ Ritoók 2010, 486.

In the first step, we are doing our remarks on the arm positions:

1. Arm positions from Group 1 could be registered in the most cases.

2. In Dăbâca–Castle Area IV cemetery arm positions different from Group 1 could be registered around the church, towards the edge of the cemetery these arm positions almost completely disappear. (Pl. 29)

3. Arm position XIV, when the arms are crossed above the pelvis or the sacrum, is mainly known from the graves around the church in Dabâca–Castle Area IV cemetery. On the E and W edges of the cemetery it is completely unknown. The only exception is Grave 427, which was the grave of a person, isolated within the cemetery. The question may arise: can the fact that these graves are so close to the church be explained by their Christian confession or their status in the Christian religion?

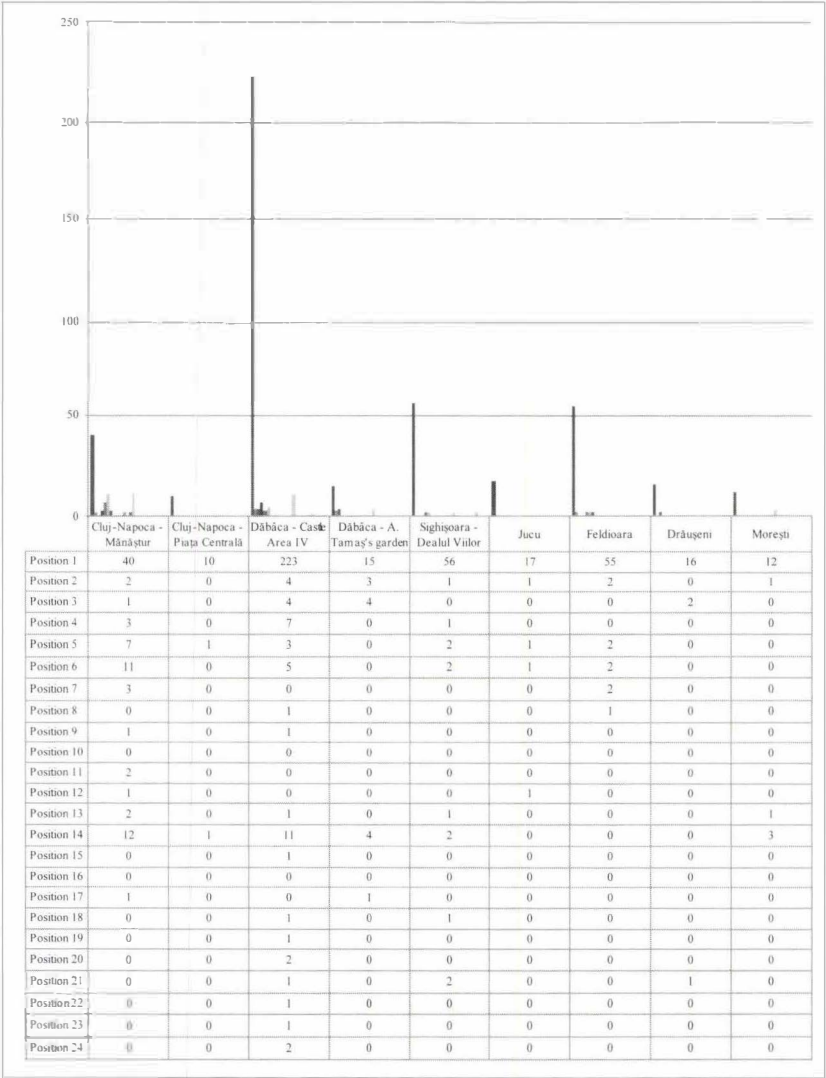


Fig. 12. Arm positions in the graves

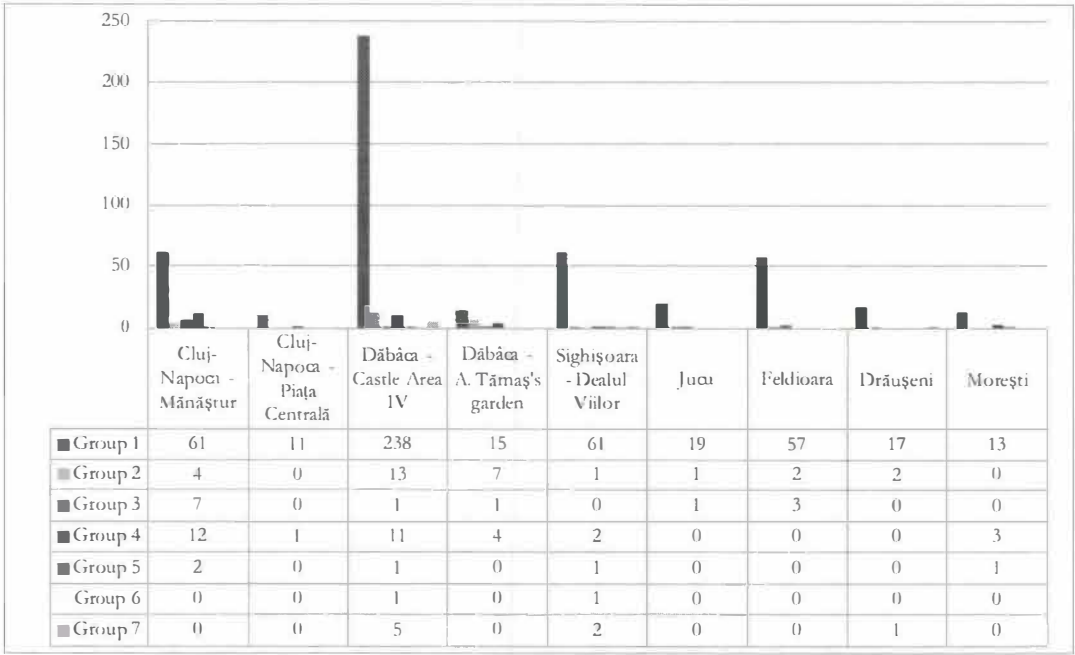


Fig. 13. Arm positions in the churchyards

Graves	The approximate age of the skeleton	Arm position
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 53	Adult	Position 2
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 132	Adult	Position 2
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 138	Adult	Position 2
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 199	Adult	Position 2
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 139	Adult	Position 3
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 146	Juvenil	Position 3
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 157.A	Adult	Position 3
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 364	Juvenil	Position 3
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 162	Adult	Position 8
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 160	Adult	Position 9
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 484	Adult	Position 13
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 15	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 24	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 70	Juvenil or adult?	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 80	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 98	Infans II or Juvenil?	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 163.A	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 175.A	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 178.A	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 206	Juvenil or Adult?	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 424	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 467	Juvenil or Adult?	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 486	Adult	Position 14
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 477	Adult	Position 18
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 357.B	Adult	Position 19
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 90	Juvenil or Adult?	Position 20
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 241	Adult	Position 20
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 68	Adult	Position 21
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 280	Infans II or Juvenil?	Position 22
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 3	Infans I	Position 23
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 324	Adult	Position 24
Dăbâca–Castle Area IV Grave 343	Juvenil or Adult?	Position 24

Fig. 14. Arm positions in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV.

11.7. Double burials

(Pl. 13: Graves 51–53; Pl. 36: Grave 35.A–B; Pl. 44.B: Graves 16–17; Pl. 51: Graves 7–8, 25–26)

Double burials were known throughout the early Middle Ages, but it was not a common practice. For burying married couples together, Szabolcs Szuromi cites the Canon Law which was in effect until 1230.¹⁰⁵

In the cemeteries investigated by us there are some cases when two adults must have been

buried at the same time such as Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 210–211.A, 278/281, Graves 327–328, Morești: Graves 16–17/1954 and Șirioara: Graves 7–8, 25–26. The case of Graves 51–53 from Cluj–Mănăstur is more interesting, because in this case each of the three skeletons belonged to adults. Unfortunately, the skeletons have not been registered, although a DNA analysis on them surely could cast light on certain sociological phenomena issues.

¹⁰⁵ Szuromi 2002, 103–105.

In Cluj-*Mănăstur*: Graves 124-125,¹⁰⁶ Dăbâca-Castle Area IV: Graves 232-233 and 356-357, Dăbâca-A. *Tămaş's garden*: Grave 35.A-B, Feldioara: Grave 4.A-B, Grave 42.A-B, Grave 43.A-B, Grave 93.A-B, Grave 66.A-B, Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor: Grave 25.A-B, Grave 28.A-B, Grave 31.A-B and Grave 81.A-B, Graves 133-133.A, Graves 135, 135.A and 136 a child and an adult were buried. Unfortunately, the anthropological analysis of the skeletons is not available for us, therefore we cannot know from a biological point of view if they were the mother or father of these children. In Dăbâca-Castle Area IV: Graves 441-442, Feldioara: Grave 66 and Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor: Grave 103.A-B the skeletons of two small infants were found (and a third child was buried above them).

11.8. Unusual positions (Pl. 30-31, Pl. 47.2)

The burial customs observable in the cemeteries around the churches do not only give us usual information that can be used for making generalisations but occasionally they show unusual features, dissimilar to the ordinary pattern. These phenomena draw attention to the fact that besides the common Christian features even in the cemeteries around churches (micro)regional characteristics and certain pagan traditions that had been preserved from older times should also be taken into account. These add specific elements to the Christian Árpadian era and the Transylvanian Basin in the 11th-13th centuries.

Skeletons laid on their right or left side in an almost shrunk position documented in different positions form one of the special phenomena in these cemeteries.

In Grave 108 in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV the legs were pulled on the left side, in Grave 424 the upper body was laid on its right side and the legs were pulled up at an angle of 45° on the right side. In both cases we can clearly talk about partial shrinkage.¹⁰⁷ The legs of the skeleton in Grave 314 are apart and the legs of the skeleton in Grave 411 are slightly pulled up. In this case the person is supposed to have been buried with legs tied up. The 'skull burial' in Grave 400 is extremely rare and the only information we can find about it in the documentation is that '*craniu izolat*', i. e. (a sole skull). We think that it might have been reburied when a grave was dug. According to its

size it obviously belonged to an adult.¹⁰⁸ A terrible case can be recorded in Grave 257: the skull must have been cut off the skeleton lying on its back and it was placed between the shoulders on its left side. Graves 414 and 235 are testaments to similar brutal deeds: in both cases the deceased or killed(?) person was thrown into the grave. The arms of the skeleton in Grave 414 must have been tied while pulled up and in Grave 235 the upper body of the person thrown in the grave turned to the right together with the skull and the legs were pulled up and tied. In this last case one can talk about a partially shrunk burial.

It was interesting to map the locations of these irregular cases: these skeletons from Dăbâca-Castle Area IV were mainly found towards the edges of the cemetery, which might refer to their exclusion from the community or the church or to some superstition of the pagan times. (Pl. 31)

In the cemetery in Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor, two similar phenomena have been registered. Four skeletons were buried in the common grave no. 119, which could have been thrown in the grave based on their positions. Their position in the churchyard – they were buried on the verge of the cemetery – highlights their peripheral social status.

Grave 151 in Sighişoara-Dealul Viilor might refer to the profession of the members of the community; however, without a deep anthropological analysis these remarks of ours remain hypothetical. The skull of the skeleton in the above mentioned grave is missing, which can be in connection with military actions or the warrior status of the person mentioned.

11.9. Oboli in the graves (Fig. 15-17; Pl. 3)

Probably the most difficult task is the interpretation of different coin positions in the graves as *oboli* or as clothing accessories; i. e. as parts of the burial customs or as parts of clothing.

Another question is when it appeared in the Carpathian Basin. According to P. Radoměský and B. Szőke the custom spread in the 11th century,¹⁰⁹ while others believe that it appeared through Byzantine influences,¹¹⁰ or Frankish

¹⁰⁶ In the grave from Cluj-Napoca-*Mănăstur* probably was buried a man.

¹⁰⁷ Tettamanti 1975, 102.

¹⁰⁸ On sole skull burials see: Tettamanti 1975, 102; Bálint 1978, 266; Révész 1996, 192, Pl. 58; Gáll 2004-2005, 371-372. As a Bulgarian parallel from the 10th-11th centuries, we can mention Grave 43 with stone frame and stone cover in Preslav, in which a similar skull with braided neckring was found. Dimitrov 1995, 42-70.

¹⁰⁹ Radoměský 1955, 3-7; Szőke 1962, 92.

¹¹⁰ Bálint 1976, 240.

influence through the Moravians.¹¹¹ B. M. Szőke, following B. Szőke, argues that the custom was reintroduced.¹¹² It seems certain that this custom became more widespread in the 11th century, yet there is substantial amount of evidence from the 10th century as well. Based on the data provided by L. Kovács, 56 cases have been identified in the Carpathian Basin. One of the earliest examples is grave in cemetery II at Karos. According to Kovács's theory, the Hungarians may have brought this custom with them from the E.¹¹³

Burials with *oboli* first appear in the southern part of the Partium and in the Banat in the 10th century (Șiclău–Gropoaie: Graves 7 and 9, Uivar-Grave X) and later this practice spread towards E appearing in the Transylvanian Basin. This process is indicated by graves with the coins of Stephen I in them. As for the origin of the custom, we can accept László Kovács's suggestion; i. e. the custom of giving *oboli* was introduced by the conquering Hungarians, with some precautions in the light of a N–S orientated grave with an obulus in Uivar¹¹⁴ and the finds near the Lower Danube (e.g. the graves with *oboli* in Sultana).¹¹⁵ Instead, the author suspects a custom coming from two directions: E (the conquering Hungarians) and SE (a cultural influence from the Lower Danube region).¹¹⁶

Coins, as *oboli*, were found in 12 cemeteries.

It may be the most difficult task to decide whether the coins found in different locations can be interpreted as *oboli* or part of fashion elements. They are to be found on four body parts: 1. Near the skull, in the skull, in the mouth: 40 cases; 2. On the chest: 5 cases; 3. On or under the pelvis: 0 cases; 4. Near the hands or placed in the hands: 7 cases.

Coins – probably *oboli* – were found in the following cemeteries used in the 11–12th/first half of the 13th centuries: Almașu (H73), Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral,¹¹⁷ Alba Iulia–

Roman Bath: Grave 46 and another grave (H73 and Béla II [1131–1141]), Gilău: Grave 5 (H73), Chidea unknown number of the graves (Béla II the Blind [1131–1141], Ladislaus II [1162–1163]), Cluj-Napoca–Mănăștur: Grave 9 (Pl. 10.2), 53 (Pl. 13.3), 121 (Pl. 16.1), 137 (Pl. 19.19) and 158 (Pl. 18.2),¹¹⁸ Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden next to the Grave 38 (H89) (Pl. 38B.5),¹¹⁹ Drăușeni: Grave 4 and graves from 1994,¹²⁰ Moldovenești–Unitarian Church,¹²¹ Moigrad (H49, H50, H53, H56, H66a, H73 (2), H76, H81, H113, H124), Morești,¹²² Streisângeorgiu: Grave 46, 57 and a disturbed grave,¹²³ Geoagiu de Jos: Graves 4, 8, 10, 24, 40, 41, 42, 59,¹²⁴ Rodna,¹²⁵ Șirioara – unknown number of the grave,¹²⁶ Viscri (H149, H154).

The coin belonging to Grave 1 Dăbâca–Castle Area IV was found quite a long way away from these burials to be considered *obulus*. The treasure from Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor: Grave 28.B, which contains 37 coins, can not be introduced in *oboli* category (H69 [35 pieces], H127 [2 pieces]).

The graves containing coins in the Dăbâca–Castle Area IV cemetery (Graves 34, 39, 53, 79, 188, 190, 391 and 483) are located in its central part except Grave 39, which is dated by an anonym 12th century coin. This one indicates that in the case of the churchyards, the horizontal analyses simultaneously have to be done combined with vertical analyses. The above mentioned grave also indicates that the outer parts of the cemetery were used with the central sections at the same time.

H118 from C XI 2 Grave 3, H118 from C XII 7, H150 from C XII 8; from graves excavated in 1975: H150 from C XIII 5/6 Grave 10, H54 from C VIIla 5/6, H67 from C XIII 3, H117–H122 from C VIIla 4, H124 from C VIIla 5/6, H148 from C XIII 7, H161 from C VIIla 4, H161 from C VIIla 6, H164 from C XIII 4; from graves excavated in 1976: H56 from X XVIII 3 Grave ?, H72 from X XVIII 3 Grave 71, H148 from C XVIII 2, H174 from C XVIII 3, anonym denarius from C XVII 1; anonym denarii from graves excavated in 2000/2001.

¹¹⁸ Grave 9: H183; Grave 53: H95; Grave 121: H106, Grave 137: anonym denarius; Grave 158: H96.

¹¹⁹ Next to the Grave 38: H89; Trench/1966-9, 20 metres: coin issued by Béla II (1131–1141) (?).

¹²⁰ Grave 4: H161; coin from graves excavated in 1994: H164.

¹²¹ Coins from Ladislaus I (1077–1095) (1), Coloman the Learned (1095–1116) (1), Béla II (1131–1141) (2), Árpádan coin (1).

¹²² The stray coins issued by Stephen II (1116–1131) and Béla II (1131–1141) were found on the surface 'Fläche B'. The finds have not been published, their types cannot be identified.

¹²³ Grave 46: H99; disturbed Grave: H140.

¹²⁴ Coins from Ladislaus I (1077–1095) (Grave 41) and Coloman the Learned (1095–1116) (Graves 4, 8, 10, 24, 40, 42, 59).

¹²⁵ One anonym denar from the 12th century.

¹²⁶ Anonym denar from the 12th century.

¹¹¹ Kolníková 1967, 214–216.

¹¹² Szőke – Vándor 1987, 77–78.

¹¹³ Kovács 2004b, 46–47.

¹¹⁴ Gáll 2013c, Vol. I: 505, Vol. II: 274. táb. 1.

¹¹⁵ Fiedler 1992, 170.

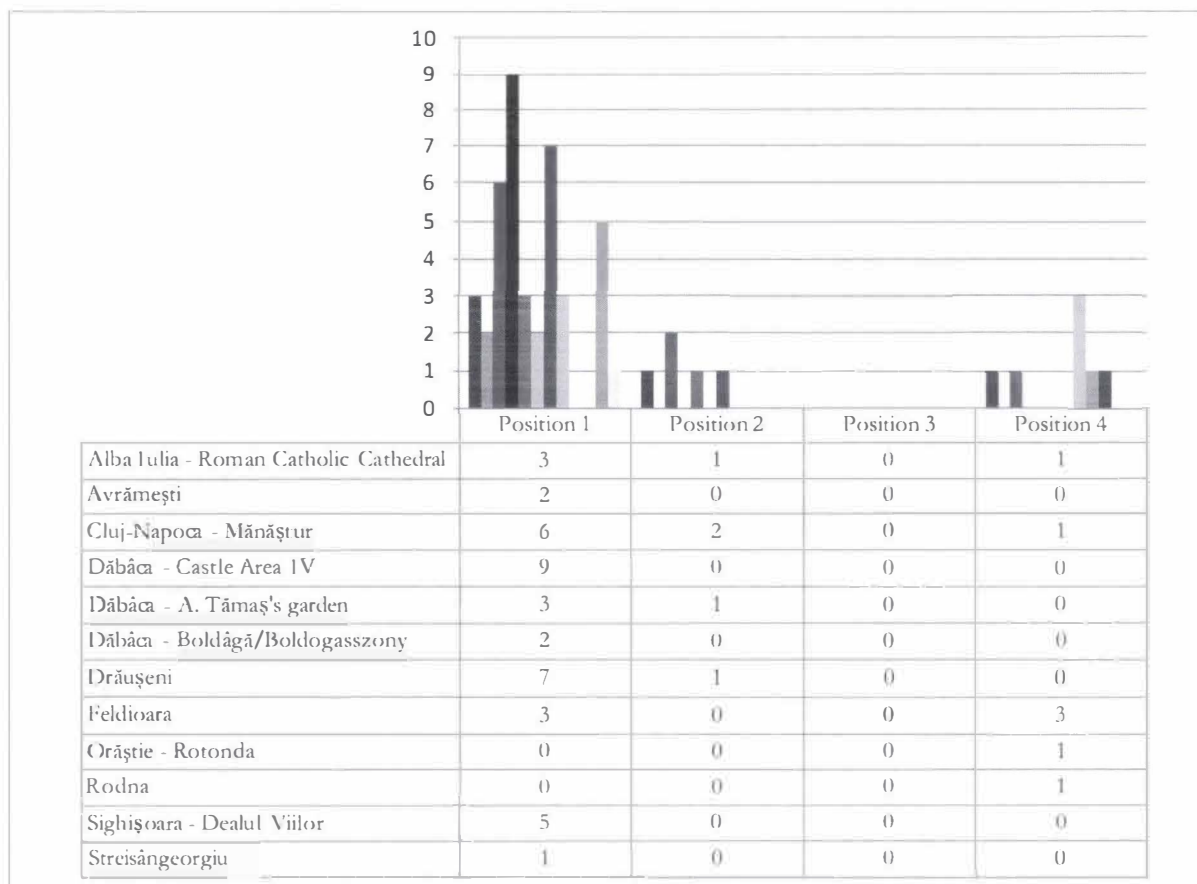
¹¹⁶ Gáll 2004–2005, 373; Gáll 2013c, Vol. I: 616, 877.

¹¹⁷ From graves excavated in 1953: H47a, H73, H91, H124, H183; from graves excavated in 1965: denarii from Coloman the Learned (1095–1116), Stephen II (1116–1131), Béla II the Blind (1131–1141), Géza II (1141–1161), Stephen III (1162–1172), Béla III (1172–1196); from graves excavated in 1973: H91 from C VIIla 7, H138 from C VIIla 3, anonym denarius from C VIIla 8; from graves excavated in 1974: H32 from C VIIla 7, H32 from C XI 4, H32 from C XI Grave 6, H49 from C XI 8, H66a from C VIII, H92 from C XI 4,

Site-grave number	The years when the king who issued the coin reigned	Coin type (H*)	Weight	Skeleton	Position in the grave
Alba Iulia– <i>Roman Catholic Cathedral</i> . Grave excavated in 1975	Anonym denarius	H139		?	in the mouth
-Grave II/1973	Andrew II (1205-1235)	?		maturus	in the left hand
-Grave 1/2000	Anonym denarius	?		infans	near the skull
-Grave 3/2000	Anonym denarius	?			in the mouth
-Grave 91/2003	Anonym denarius	?		maturus	on the chest
Avrâmești	Anonym denarius	H152		juvenilis	left of the skull
-Grave 12					
-Grave 18	Anonym denarius	H127		adultus-maturus	in the mouth
Cluj-Napoca– <i>Mănăstur</i>	Béla II (1131-1141)	H49		adultus-maturus	on mandible
-Grave 1 (Pl. 10.1)					
-Grave 10 (Pl. 10.3)	Ladislaus I (1077-1095)	H22		adultus-maturus	on mandible
-Grave 32 (Pl. 12.1)	Ladislaus I (1077-1095)	H24		adultus-maturus	on the chest
-Grave 41 (Pl. 12.1)	Ladislaus I (1077-1095)	H25		adultus-maturus	in the mouth
-Grave 64 (Pl. 13.1)	Anonym denarius	H189		infans	on mandible
-Grave 75 (Pl. 15.1)	Ladislaus I (1077-1095)	H22			on mandible
-Grave 112	Anonym denarius	?		adultus-maturus	on the chest
-Grave 124 (Pl. 16.1)	Ladislaus I (1077-1095)	H22		adultus-maturus	in the right hand
-Grave 130 (Pl. 17.1)	Andrew I (1046-1060)	H9		adultus-maturus	in the mouth
Dăbâca– <i>Castle Area IV</i>	?	?		Infans I (?)	Next to the left of the skull
-Grave 1					
-Grave 34	?	?	–	adultus-maturus	on or in the skull
-Grave 39 (Pl. 38.A.3)	Anonym denarius	H91	0,402 gr.	juvenilis	in the mouth
-Grave 53	?	?	–	adultus-maturus	on mandible
-Grave 79 (Pl. 38.A.2)	Coloman the Learned (1095–1116)	H41	0,248 gr.	adultus-maturus	in the mouth
-Grave 145 (Pl. 38.A.4)	Anonym denarius	H101	0,262 gr.	?	the skull
-Grave 188	Béla III (1172–1196)	H183	–	Infans II	in the mouth
-Grave 190	?	?	–	juvenilis	in the mouth
-Grave 391 (Pl. 38.A.1)	Coloman the Learned (1095–1116)	H42a	0,100 gr.	adultus-maturus	behind the destroyed skull
-Grave 483	Anonym denarius	?	–	Infans ?	in the mouth
Dăbâca– <i>A. Tămaș's garden</i>	Anonym denarius	?	?	maturus	on the right part of the chest
-Grave 2 (Pl. 38.B.1)					
-Grave 12A (Pl. 38.B.2)	Anonym denarius	H100	0,298 gr.	infans	near the skull
-Grave 15 (Pl. 38.B.3)	Anonym denarius	H102	0,269 gr.	?	near the skull
-Grave 26B (Pl. 38.B.4)	Anonym denarius	H96a	0,155 gr.	?	in the place of the skull
Dăbâca– <i>Boldăgă</i>	Anonym denarius	?	–	?	in the mouth
-Grave 6					
-Grave 57	Anonym denarius	?	–		in the mouth
Drăușeni	Anonym denarius	H140		infans	on the inner part of the maxillary
-Grave 4.B					
-Grave 8	Anonym denarius	H158			in the mouth
-Grave 11	Anonym denarius	H127?		maturus	in the skull
-Grave 23	Anonym denarius	H113		juvenilis	near the skull

*After L. Huszár's system. Huszár 1979.

-Grave 41	Árpádian coin	?		maturus	Under skull
-Grave 48	Árpádian coin?	?		maturus	on the inner part of the maxillary
-Grave 49	Árpádian coin?	?		maturus	near the skull
-Grave 95	Anonym denarius	?		?	in the chest
Feldioara					
-Grave 26	Árpádian coin	?			in the mouth
-Grave 58	Anonym denarius	H156			in the right hand
-Grave 93	Anonym denarius	H127			to the left of the skull
-Grave 98/1	Anonym denarius	H127			in the left hand
-Grave 98/2	Anonym denarius	H152			in the right hand
-Grave 98/3	Anonym denarius	H140			in the mouth
Orăștie–Round Church					
-Grave 44	Anonym denarius	H139 (2)			in the right and left hand
Rodna					
-Grave 'A'	Anonym denarius	?		adultus-maturus	in the left hand
Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor					
-Grave 30	Anonym denarius	H156		Infans I	in the mouth
-Grave 76	Anonym denarius	?		adultus	under mandible
-Grave 81.A	Anonym denarius?	?		adultus	on the mouth
-Grave 85	Anonym denarius	H139		adultus	in the mouth
-Grave 109	Anonym denarius?	?		adultus-maturus	in the mouth
Streisângeorgiu					
-Grave 57	Anonym denarius	H99		adultus-maturus	in the mouth

Fig. 15. *Oboli* in the gravesFig. 16. *Oboli* in the graves and their positions

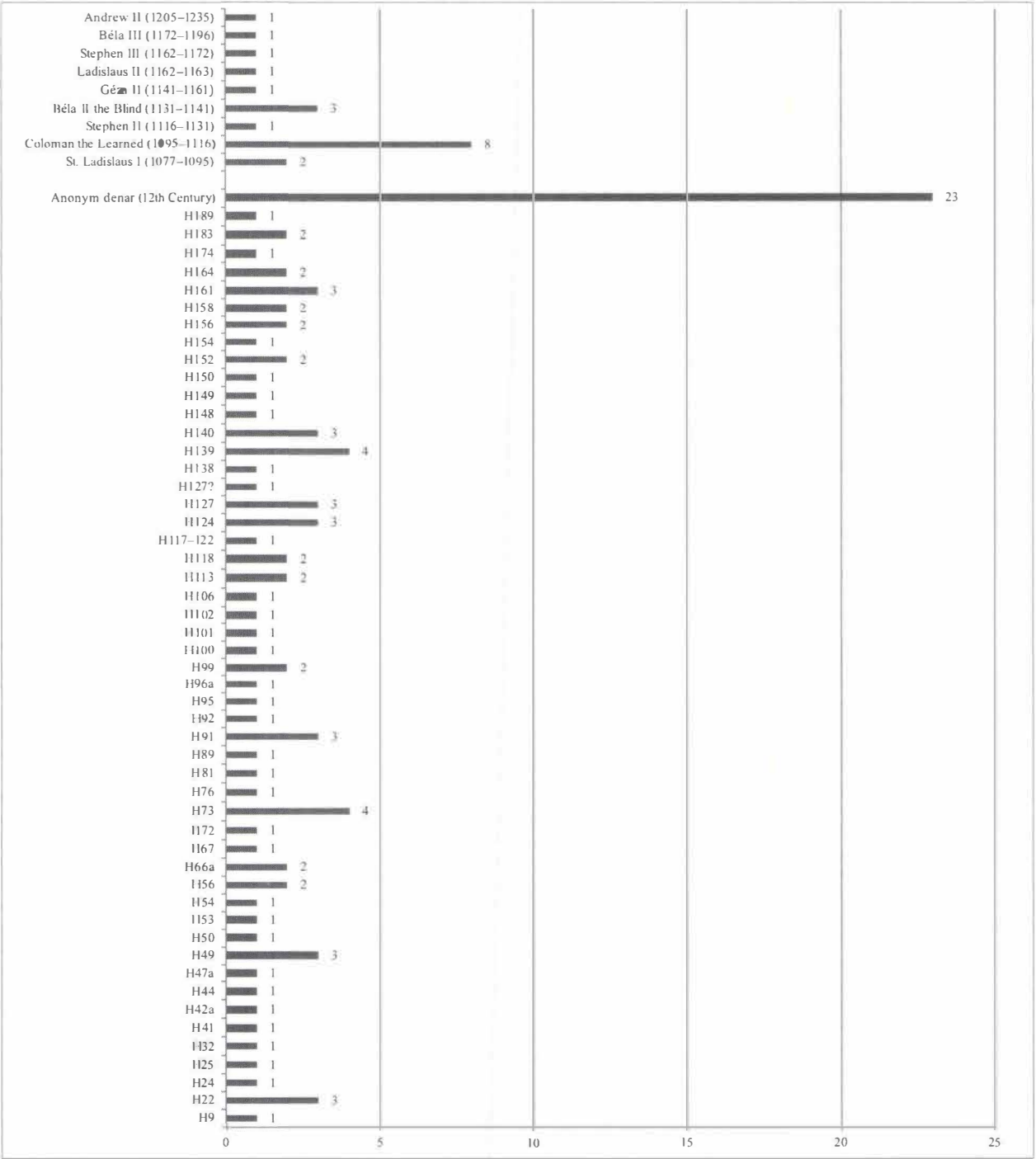


Fig. 17. Coin finds in the graves

The coin finds in the graves, although not perfectly, show the lines of the net of both the religious institutions and the worldly settlements established by the Hungarian state in the 12th century, certainly, along with the net of religious institutions indicating the increasing dominance and institutionalisation of Christianity.

At the end of our analysis, without drawing conclusions, we would like to add some observations:

1. Based on the customs of the population found in the Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, Sighişoara cemetery, one can suppose a pagan-christian syncretism. The varied concentration of the different burial customs may refer to a heterogeneous community with different mentality, customs and identification.
2. Based on the burial customs, the problem of gender as a social-cultural construction cannot be followed in contrast to the burial customs of the pagan era.

12. The finds

12.1. Introduction

In funerary symbolism, as in everyday life, the femininity is and always has been expressed by jewellery, as opposed to the furnishing of (free) men, which were characterised by weapons in the early Middle Ages. The prestige, rank and status gained in this time period cannot be represented otherwise in the graves either, so the appearance of weapons in the graves is not surprising.

The situation is different with jewellery. Jewellery is mainly known from female graves, which is a phenomenon that cannot be considered general by far. In the archaeological finds, gender should not be interpreted in its biological sense, but as a cultural and social construction, therefore it is not surprising that object representing masculinity can also be found in female graves and the other way round, especially in 'pagan times',¹²⁷ which showed various burial customs.

The (burial) practice of the Christian population brought a simplification of the burial customs (of course, only from an archaeological point of view), so the poor grave furnishings make the research of gender almost impossible.

At the same time, it is nearly impossible to calculate the chronological margins of the use of fashion elements (hair ring, finger ring, bracelets, etc.), opposed to weapons, which disappeared from graves. The elements of fashion (jewellery) are not so much connected to practical issues, and as social-psychological phenomena spread and go out of fashion. In the case of use of an object depended completely on a person or a community, therefore should be investigated independently in each and every archaeological situation. For these social-psychological reasons it is very difficult to draw up a chronological frame of the use of jewellery. Burials are very important sources, because they usually reflect the material culture of the population in the Árpád era. According to some surveys, only 1% of the graves from the time of the Hungarian Conquest and the Árpád era have been excavated so far.¹²⁸

12.2. Hair rings

(Fig. 18-22; Pl. 4, Pl. 10-19, Pl. 20, Pl. 32-34, Pl. 37, Pl. 40, Pl. 42, Pl. 45-46, 47.1.A, Pl. 50-51)

Each used type and sub-type of lock-ring jewellery and/or hair rings was a classical fashion design, therefore a considerable amount was found in the 11th-13th century graves both in the Carpathian Basin and in the whole CE European region.¹²⁹ We have information of these jewels from 32 sites of 54 (Alba Iulia-Cathedral, Alba Iulia-Roman Bath, Avrămești, Brădești, Chidea, Cipău-Sfântu Gheorghe, Cluj-Napoca-Mănăștur, Cluj-Napoca-Piața Centrală, Cristuru Secuiesc, Dăbâca-A. Tămaș' garden, Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, Dăbâca-Boldăgă/Boldogasszony, Drăușeni, Feldioara, Geoagiu de Jos, Gilău, Jucu, Mediaș, Morești, Mugeni, Odorheiu Secuiesc-Sântimreu, Sâncraiu de Mureș, Sângeorgiu de Mureș, Sânvășii, Sibiu, Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor, Șirioara, Streisângeorgiu, Miercurea Ciuc-Șumuleu, Văleni, Viscri, Ulieș).

In many cases their function remains ambiguous, not just because they are single finds but also their functionality is debatable: their position in the grave may refer to a hair ring, a hair ring, but they might as well have been used as earrings.¹³⁰ Their material, on which we have made a statistical analysis, is silver and bronze alloy. Because of the variety of forms, patterns and sizes among the hair rings, their typological and size-focussed categorisation is demonstrated in a table. The underlying rule was that the size of the hair rings should be compared to their shape, cross-section and ornamentation.¹³¹

The statistical analysis reveals that the bronze hair rings constitute the majority in the graves of the churchyards from Transylvanian Basin (172 silver pieces compared to the 184 bronze ones and 2 copper alloy).

¹²⁹ In Poland, plain hair rings are known only in small quantity, whereas hair rings with S-shaped ends in large quantity. The situation is similar in the northern parts of Bohemia and Slovakia. We know a lot fewer hair rings from Bulgarian graves. Fiedler 1992; Jazdzewski 1949, 91-191; Marciniak 1960, 141-186.

¹³⁰ Several examples relating to this issue: Gáll 2013c, I, 649-653.

¹³¹ This analysis contains 386 hair ring samples from the funerary sites in Alba Iulia-Cathedral, Alba Iulia-Roman Bath, Avrămești, Cluj-Napoca-Mănăștur, Cluj-Napoca, Cristuru Secuiesc, Dăbâca-A. Tămaș' garden, Dăbâca-Castle Area IV, Dăbâca-Boldăgă/Boldogasszony, Drăușeni, Geoagiu de Jos, Gilău, Morești, Odorheiu Secuiesc-Sântimreu, Sighișoara-Dealul Viilor, Streisângeorgiu, Miercurea Ciuc-Șumuleu, Ulieș.

¹²⁷ A few examples from the time of the Hungarian Conquest, the Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia, see: Gáll 2013c, 335.

¹²⁸ K. K. 1996, 37.

Hair ring-size → Hair ring form/profile/decoration ↓	Little size (L.s.) ← 1,7 cm	Medium size (M.s.) 1,8 – 2,2 cm	Big size (B.s.) 2,3 – 3,5 cm	Giant size (G.s.) 3,6 →
Plain round or pear-shaped hair ring with round cross-section, its ends are opposite (1a)	3-Ag, 3-Br	1-Ag, 2-Br	2-Ag, 5-Br	3-Br
Plain round or pear-shaped hair ring with round cross section and overlapping ends (1b)	1-Ag, 3-Br		1-Br	2-Br
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a round ring (2a1.1.)	39-Ag, 25-Br	19-Ag, 18-Br	24-Ag, 7-Br	4-Br
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a pear-oval shaped ring (2a1.2)	14-Ag, 34-Br	8-Ag, 22-Br	6-Ag, 23-Br, 1-Cu	12-Br
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a very thick pear-oval shaped ring – Nitra type (2a1.2.A)	1-Ag			
Pressed hair ring with S-shaped ends (2a1.3)	1-Ag, 4-Br	1-Ag, 1-Br	1-Ag, 3-Br	
Round or oval hair ring with S-shaped ends and square-shaped cross section (2a2.1)			5-Br	
Round braided hair ring with S-shaped ends and square-shaped cross section (2a2.2)		1-Br	3-Br	
With a round hair ring with S-shaped ends, with grooved ends (2b1.1)	12-Ag, 1-Br	7-Ag, 2-Br	9-Ag, 6-Br	
With a pear or oval shaped hair ring with S-shaped and grooved ends (2b1.2)	16-Ag, 2-Br	10-Ag, 2-Br	2-Ag, 2-Br, 1-Cu	
Round hair ring with S-shaped ends and grooved ends and square-shaped cross section (2b2.1)	1-Br			
Pear-shaped hair ring with S-shaped and grooved ends and square-shaped cross section (2b2.2)		1-Br	1-Ag	
Hair ring with twisted ends (3)	2-Ag	1-Br		

Fig. 18. The types-subtypes of hair rings on the base of their form and size

It is important to note that among those with grooves at their S ends there are only few made of bronze: out of the 57 hair rings with grooved ends 49 were made of silver and only 12 were made of bronze alloy, respectively one from copper alloy.

According to the finds, it is obvious that in the 11th–13th century graves of the churchyards from Transylvanian Basin there were dominantly one or two hair rings.¹³² There are only a few cases where more hair rings were registered. For example in 118 graves in *Dăbâca–Castle Area IV* in most cases 1 hair ring (70 cases) or 2 hair rings were found (30 cases), but also 3 hair rings were found in a considerable number (12). Four hair rings were found in 4 burials, moreover, 5 and 6 hair rings were found in one grave respectively.¹³³ Similarly, in the 142 graves in the *Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur* cemetery 1 hair ring (18 cases) and two hair rings (21 cases) are known, 3 hair rings were found in 5 graves, 4 hair rings in 4, 5 hair rings in

2, and 6 hair rings in 1 grave.¹³⁴ In the 55 graves in the *Moreşti* cemetery 1 hair ring (3 cases) and two hair rings (3 cases) are known, 3 hair rings were found in 2 graves, 5 hair rings in 1, and 7 hair rings in 1 grave.¹³⁵

This may show that 10th century garment remained in use but the change in hair ring types may indicate that alongside the old hairdo a new hairstyle might have come in fashion.

The hair ring in *Dăbâca–Castle Area IV*: Grave 192 can be connected to the old fashion, where the position of the ring clearly shows that it functioned as a lock-ring.

With the hair rings with S-shaped ends, headgears consisting of coloured ribbons might have become popular mainly with women,¹³⁶ but such finds are also known from male graves.

It remains a question whether in these cases we can talk about similar hair style or not. Could the jewel called hair ring with S-shaped end have been used in another function (as earring)?

¹³² The same observation could be made on the 10–11th century finds from the Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat. Gáll 2013c, Vol. I: 652, 198. kép.
¹³³ Gáll 2011, 35–36.

¹³⁴ Gáll et al. 2010, 68–69.
¹³⁵ Gáll et al. 2010, 68–69.
¹³⁶ Szöke – Vándor 1987, 57–59.

Lockring size → Lockring form/ profile/decoration ↓	Little size (L.s.) ←1,7 cm	Medium size (M.s.) 1,8 – 2,2 cm	Big size (B.s.) 2,3 – 3,5 cm	Giant size (G.s.) 3,6 cm →
Plain round or pear-shaped hair ring with round cross-section, its ends are opposite (1a)				
Plain round or pear-shaped hair ring with round cross section and overlapping ends (1b)				
Hair ring with S-shaped ends with a round ring (2a1.1.)				
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a pear-oval shaped ring (2a1.2)				
Hair ring with S-shaped ends and a very thick pear-oval shaped ring – Nitra type (2a1.2.A)				
Pressed hair ring with S-shaped ends (2a1.3)				
Round or oval hair ring with S-shaped ends and square-shaped cross section (2a2.1)				
Round braided hair ring with S-shaped ends and square-shaped cross section (2a2.2)				
With a round hair ring with S-shaped ends, with grooved ends (2b1.1)				
With a pear or oval shaped hair ring with S-shaped and grooved ends (2b1.2)				
Round hair ring with S- shaped ends and grooved ends and square-shaped cross section (2b2.1)				
Pear-shaped hair ring with S-shaped and grooved ends and square-shaped cross section (2b2.2)				
Hair ring with twisted ends (3)				

Fig. 19. The types-subtypes of hair rings on the base of their form and size

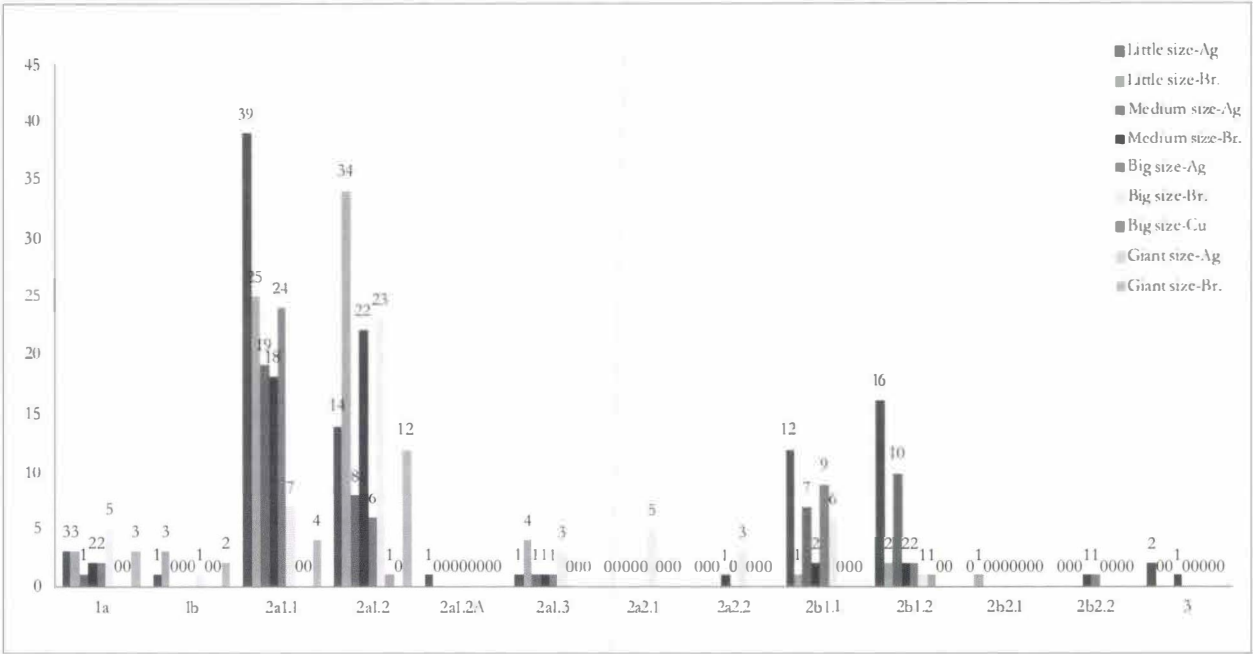


Fig. 20. The quantity of types-subtypes of hair rings on the base of their form and size

At the same time, did the popularity of the hair rings with S-shaped ends change the hair style? Is it possible that the so-called hair rings had another function? Is it possible that each hair ring with S-shaped ends could only be used on ribbons? We would like to emphasise: the use of jewellery is not (only) practical or mechanical but also a social-psychological issue, i. e. the extent to which a jewel is used and the use of this jewel in a particular society (not to mention microsocieties) may differ essentially. It is important to raise this question because in most cases one hair ring was found in the graves as can be seen from the statistical combinations. We will discuss this issue below.

First of all, we tried to observe the position of the single hair rings found in the graves. These hair rings were found in varied positions: in most cases, on the left side of the skull or next to it. One may ask how we can imagine the position of the above mentioned (hair) ribbon. It is important to note that in 5 cases, these hair rings were found right on the place of the ears (next to the left ear:

Graves 346, 422; on the place of the right ear: Graves 40, 43, 79, 423, and 428, near the place of the right ear: Grave 38). The question may arise whether they were or not worn as earrings. In other cases it cannot be excluded that these hair rings were used as hair rings: this possibility arises in the case of the position of the hair ring found in Grave 187, and it can be supposed to have been a hair ring in Grave 377.A too.

A similar question may arise in connection with those graves where *two* hair rings were found. In the case of Grave 365 it can be supposed that the two rings functioned as hair rings. In the case of Grave 92 the positions of the hair rings found near the jaw (a) and near the left shoulder (b) allow us to suppose two presumptions: 1. there were two hair rings; 2. they were ornaments on two long ribbons.

It is noteworthy that in most cases the two hair rings were found on the same side of the skull either on the left or on the right, and this phenomenon is more striking when the hair rings are not registered near the skulls but on them. These data

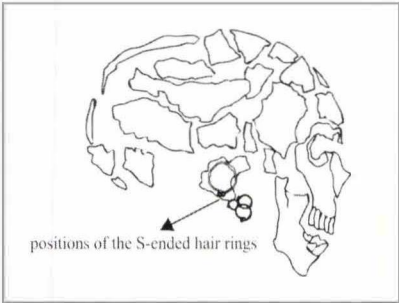
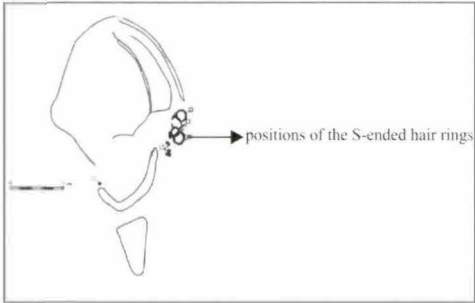


Fig. 21. Rábásömjén–near the church: Grave 38 and Miercurea Ciuc–Şumuleu: Grave 10 (Pap 2012, Fig. 11; Benkő 2012, 37. á. 1)

go to show that hair rings might vary functions in these cases too: they could have been used as hair rings but they could also have embellished some kind of ribbon or band. In the case of Grave 310 we cannot exclude the possibility that they were earrings.

Therefore the table showing the hairstyles characteristic of the genders indicates hair rings on hair buns and ribbons and hair rings functioning as earrings with the female sex, whereas with males they could have functioned as hair rings or earrings:

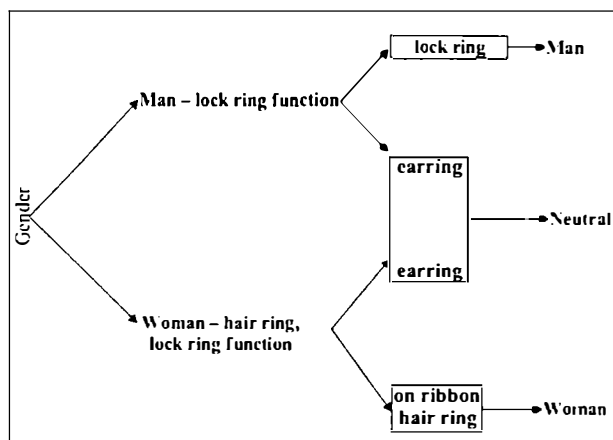


Fig. 22. Gender and hairstyles

The hair style worn by the conquering Hungarians was basically different from that of those people who they found in the Carpathian Basin. It is attested by several written sources. For example *Liutprand's* ambassador report from 968 that the bishop of Cremona met the ambassador of the Bulgarians, 'whose hair was clipped in Hungarian style'.¹³⁷ According to *Regino*, 'they cut their hair to the skin with knives'.¹³⁸

According to the *Chronicon Pictum* (Vienna Illuminated Chronicle), Vata shaved his head leaving three locks in pagan style in the 11th century.

Both the archeological finds and the written sources allow us to suppose two hairstyles in the 10th century:

I. Braided male hairstyle (the interpretation of the hair rings found in female graves remains a question). The Vienna Illuminated Chronicle and the plain hair rings in the archeological finds may refer to this.

II. Hair locks. The data given by the Vienna Illuminated Chronicle and *Regino* may refer to this.

However, this hairstyle began to change at the turn of the 10th–11th centuries when more and more graves are registered where more plain hair rings were found (3–6) as opposed to the one or two plain hair rings, which was characteristic for the graves of the previous era (one can suppose one or two hair locks). It is also important to note that the 10th century 'Hungarian' hairstyle, which was considered archaic, remained fashionable for a long time. The change in the shape of the hair rings, knowing the hair rings found in the Dăbâca graves, indicate the change of the hairstyle, the possibility cannot be excluded that based on the above mentioned examples. The hair rings with S-shaped ends could also have been used as lock-rings, or even earrings as similarly to the 10th century hairstyle. At the same time one or two hair rings remained dominant in the 11th–13th centuries. The hairstyle with one and with two hairlocks is to be seen on page 21 in the Vienna Illuminated Chronicle written in the 14th century, which allows us to suppose that this hairstyle was worn throughout the Middle Ages. Moreover, according to the research conducted by Alice Gáborján, we know that it remained in use as far as the 20th century.¹³⁹

12.3. Hairpins

(Fig. 23; Pl. 20, Pl. 32, Pl. 38, Pl. 45)

The different types of this jewellery, worn mainly by women, are known from ancient Egypt, and hairpins were worn by the Etruscans, the ancient Greeks and the Romans. Ballhead hairpins are known from the finds found in the different types of cemeteries of the researched era in the Transylvanian Basin. Its early similar variants made of gold and silver were registered in the graves in Aregonde, France (dated to 584),¹⁴⁰ and in Grave 131 in Břeclav–Pohansko, which datable to the 9th century.¹⁴¹

This type of jewellery was categorised among the characteristics of the 12th century Hungarian Kingdom back in 1978,¹⁴² which was in connection with the change of the hairstyle.¹⁴³ However, they are not known from all the 12th century cemeteries, and their quantity also changed.

¹³⁹ Gáborján 1997, 239–240.

¹⁴⁰ Périn 2008, 432–435.

¹⁴¹ Kalousek 1971, 87, Pl. 133/1.

¹⁴² Bóna 1978, 140–141.

¹⁴³ Bárdos 1978, 194.

¹³⁷ MGHS 1915, 185; Bálint 2006, 332.

¹³⁸ Györffy 1975, 25, 27.

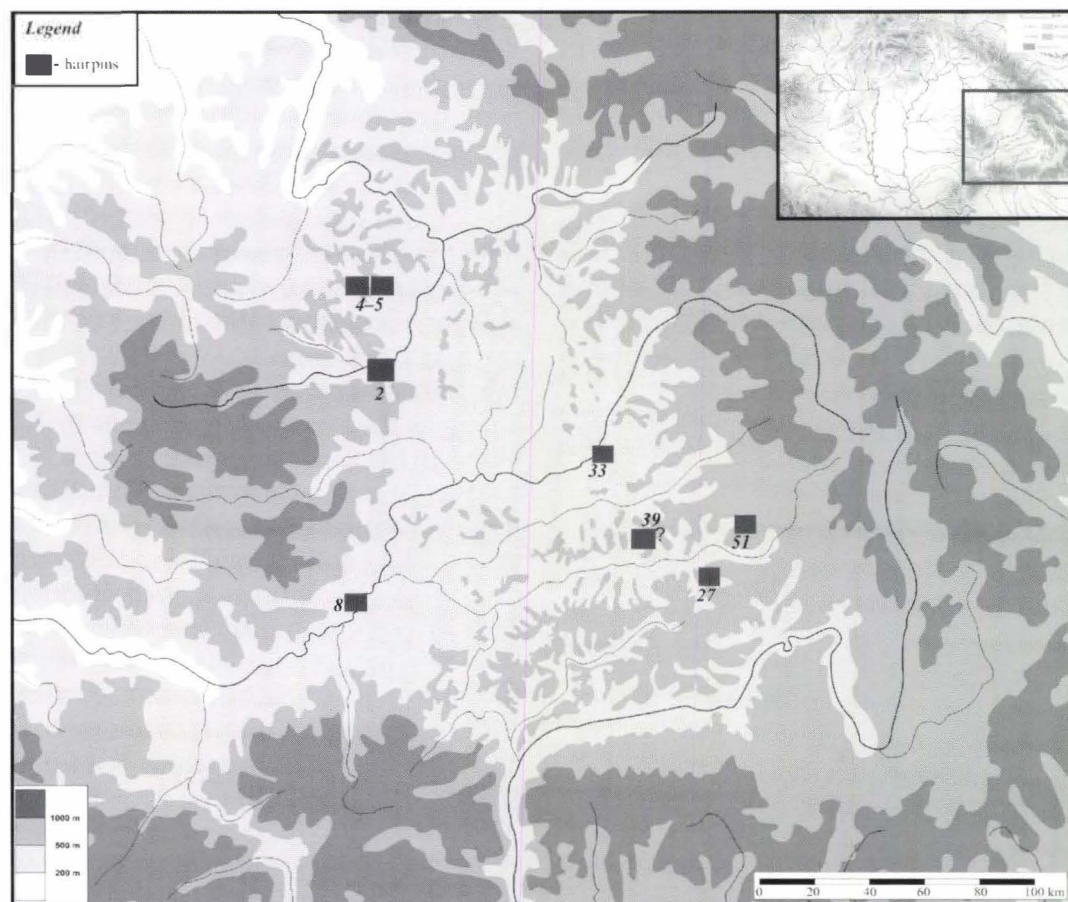


Fig. 23. The distribution of hairpins in the churchyards in Transylvanian Basin (11th–13th centuries)

A large number of them were found in the cemetery in Morești–Cîțfalău, where altogether 70 pieces were registered by Kurt Horedt in Graves 2, 8, 9, 16 and 18 in 1952 and in Graves 4, 13 and 23 in 1954 and some as stray finds.¹⁴⁴ The pieces found in the regional centres and the rural settlements of the Transylvanian Basin can be dated to the 12th century or thereafter: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*,¹⁴⁵ maybe Avrâmești: Grave 173,¹⁴⁶ Brădești¹⁴⁷, Cluj-Napoca–*Piața Centrală*: Grave 21,¹⁴⁸ Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: Grave 172 and 322,¹⁴⁹ Dăbâca–*Boldâgă*: Grave 11,¹⁵⁰ Mugeni,¹⁵¹ Târgu Mureș,¹⁵² Ulieș: Grave 43.¹⁵³

This kind of hairpin is not known from the 12th century cemeteries in all other regions of the Hungarian Kingdom. Such examples can be

registered in Kiszána: Grave 55 (1 piece),¹⁵⁴ Békés: Grave 75 (1 piece),¹⁵⁵ however, in Kaposvár,¹⁵⁶ they were registered among the materials of settlement excavations.¹⁵⁷

Only one single piece was found in Grave 21 in Cluj-Napoca–*Piața Centrală*, Grave 55 in Kiszána, Grave 75 in Békés, in Graves 149 and 272 in Kaposvár, and in Grave 4 in the 1954 area in Morești, but in other graves of the cemeteries in Kaposvár and Morești as many as a dozen hair pins were found, which might indicate their differing hairstyle.

As long as we know, their comprehensive analysis in the Carpathian Basin has not been carried out so far. In most cases, based on the position of hairpins in the graves, nor their functionality neither their function was questionable.

¹⁴⁴ Horedt 1984, abb. 33–36.

¹⁴⁵ Protase 1956, 15–19.

¹⁴⁶ Benkő 2012, 157.

¹⁴⁷ Unpublished. Benkő 2012, 157.

¹⁴⁸ Gáll et al. 2010, 72, Pl. 58/12.

¹⁴⁹ Gáll 2011, 41, 39. táb. 4, 43. táb. 9, 58. táb.

¹⁵⁰ Unpublished.

¹⁵¹ Unpublished. I would like to thank Zsolt Nyárádi for these data.

¹⁵² Heitel 1972, 154, fig. 7.

¹⁵³ Derzsi – Sófalvi 2008, 269, 275.

¹⁵⁴ Szabó 1970–71, 72: 4. kép 3.

¹⁵⁵ Trogmayer 1962, 13, 22, 25.

¹⁵⁶ Kaposvár–*Road Nr. 61* Grave 94 (9 examples), Grave 99 (15 examples), Grave 107 (12 examples), Grave 149 (1 example), Grave 183 (6 examples), Grave 184 (3 examples), Grave 272 (1 example). Bárdos 1978, II. táb. 14–30, III. táb. 1–7, 14–25, IV. táb. 14, 20–28, VI. táb. 8.

¹⁵⁷ A ballhead pin was found by Balázs Gergely in a dwelling pit in Székely (County Szabolcs-Szatmár). Unpublished.

The hairpins were characteristic of the W-European fashion hairstyle; they were another form of the westernisation within the Hungarian Kingdom in the 12th century.

12.4. Pearls

(Pl. 11, Pl. 16, Pl. 33, Pl. 37)

Cases: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*: Grave 73/1973 (1 piece-?), Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur*: Grave 17 (5 pieces–Au Foil, glass), Grave 123 (1 glass, 5 clay pieces),¹⁵⁸ Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: Grave 36 (? pieces–the material they were made of is unknown), Grave 37 (148 pieces–glasspaste, shell, coral), Grave 146 (12 pieces–coral), Grave 234 (90 pieces–glass paste),¹⁵⁹ Dăbâca–*A. Tâmaş' garden*: Grave 37–Feldioara: Grave 21 (4 pieces), Jucu: Grave 3 (1 example made of glass), Grave 62 (unknown number), Grave 76 (48 pieces), Grave 88 (unknown number), Moreşti: Grave 1.A (1 piece).

Pearls can be considered trade products, therefore they must have been much more common in trading and political-military centres and at the junctions of trading routes. According to the observations, pearl types of different sizes, shapes and techniques were found in female and child graves whereas *strings of beads* were only found in female or biologically female child or adolescent graves. This observation was made in connection with the graves from Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*, Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur*, Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV* and Jucu. In Grave 73/1973 Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*, in Grave 123 Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur* a child, in Grave 36 Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV* the skeleton of an *infant* I or II was documented, and the 148 glass paste beads may indicate that the adult in Grave 37 must have been a female,¹⁶⁰ in Grave 146 an adolescent lay, whereas in Grave 234 the skeleton of a small child was found. The cases in Jucu are even more characteristic: in Grave 3 a child skeleton, in Grave 62 an *infans* II, in Grave 76 a small girl was registered and in Grave 88 the skeleton of a child was found. According to their biological characteristics, it seems clear that strings of beads were mainly placed in the graves of young and probably female graves. There are no available data on the size, age and sex of the skeleton in Grave 17 Cluj–*Mănăştur*. It is also

important that in many cases these strings of beads were found together with hair rings with S-shaped ends applied on textile ribbons (see Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur*: Grave 123, Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*, Jucu: Grave 76). Why these strings of beads were placed in these graves and what reasoning or emotional approaches might have been behind them will remain the secret of those bygone days. The presence of these strings of beads, which are considered to contribute to female beauty, in children graves may lead to the following conclusions that

1. the *male-female binary opposition* might have begun from a very early age in the early Middle Ages

2. the archeological evidence of the parents' pains

12.5. Finger rings

(Fig. 24–25; Pl. 5, Pl. 10–12, Pl. 14–15, Pl. 18–19, Pl. 32–33, Pl. 37, Pl. 40, Pl. 42, Pl. 45, Pl. 47.1.B, Pl. 50)

The very diversified types of finger rings found in the Transylvanian Basin churchyards were made of silver, gilt silver, bronze or glass.

The types of finger rings:

1a. Simple open strap ring without ornaments: Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral* (1 piece–Br.), Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 13 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 85 (1 piece–Ag), Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: stray find (1 piece–Ag), Grave 108 (1 piece–Ag), Jucu: Grave 53 (1 piece–Br.).

1b1. Ornamented, open strap ring, with ornamentation incised in lines and punched in small rectangular shapes ordered in rows or in double rows: Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: Grave 114 (1 piece–Br.).

1b2. Ornamented, open strap ring, with ornamentation incised and punched in a serrated shape on its surface, in several lines: Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 41 (1 piece–Ag).

1b3. Ornamented open strap ring, with ornamentation incised and punched in a serrated shape on its surface, with a cross at the end: Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 75 (1 piece–Ag).

1b4. Ornamented open strap ring, with triangle-shaped incised and punched ornamentation: Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 141 (1 piece–Ag).

1c. A strap ring ornamented with two grooving: Cluj–*Mănăştur*: Grave 24 (1 piece–Ag).

1d. Simple, open strap ring with primitive zigzag scratches: Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*: stray find from Trench 3/1969 (1 piece–Ag).

¹⁵⁸ Iambor – Matei 1979, 602, Pl. VII. m. 17. 8; Iambor – Matei 1983, 135, Pl. VI. m. 123. 1–6; Gáll et al. 2010, 80–81, Pl. 16/5. a–c; Pl. 48/7. a–e.

¹⁵⁹ I would like to thank Luminița Săsărean for these data.

¹⁶⁰ Analogies we know from the Esztergom–*Zsidód* churchyards. Molnár 2005, 5. kép.

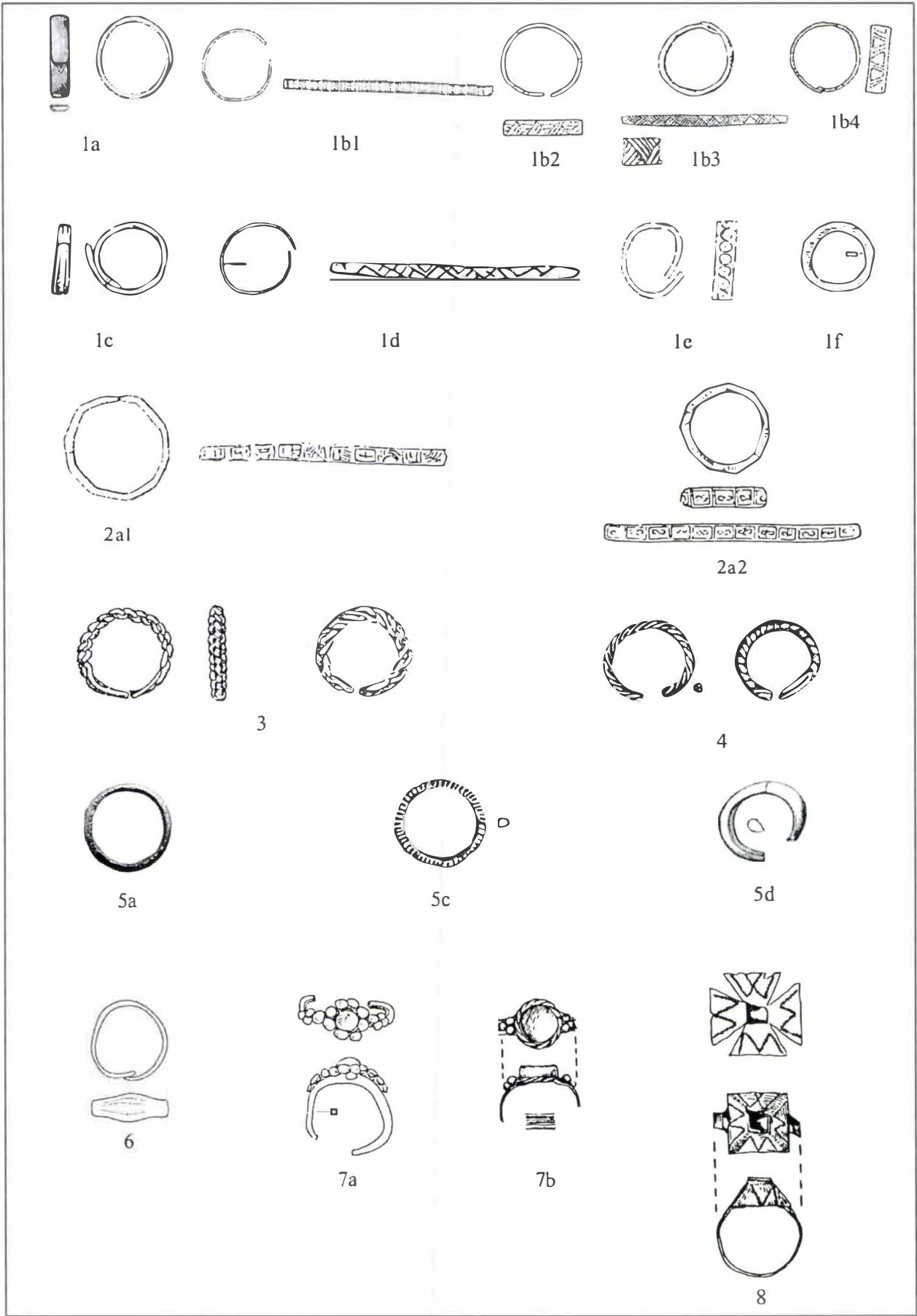


Fig. 24. The types-subtypes of finger rings on the base of their forms and decoration

1e. Strap ring ornamented with concentric circles: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral: Grave 15 (1 piece–Br.).

1f. Cast, closed, strap ring without ornaments: Morești: Grave 16/1952 (1 piece–Br.).

2a1–2a2. Octagonal ring with ‘rune’ inscription: Cluj–Mănăștur: Grave 17 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 45 (1 piece–Ag).

3. Braided wire finger ring with hammered ends: Cluj–Mănăștur: Grave 2 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 60 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 86 (1 piece–Ag), Grave 159 (1 piece–Ag), Dăbâca–A. Tămaș’s garden from a destroyed grave (1 piece–Br.), Drăușeni: Grave 5 (1 piece–Ag).

4. Braided open finger ring: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral (1 piece–Br., 6 pieces–Ag), Alba Iulia–Roman Bath stray finds (24 pieces–Br.), Cluj–Mănăștur: Grave 157 (1 piece–Ag), Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 68 (1 piece–Br.), Grave 146 (1 piece–Br.), Grave 282 (1 piece–Gilded Ag), Geoagiu de Jos: Grave 10 (1 piece–Br.), Morești: Grave 6/1952 (1 piece–Br.), Streisângeorgiu: Grave 51, stray find (2 pieces–Ag and Br.).

5a. Cast, closed wire finger ring with semicircular cross-section: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 116 (1 piece–Br.).

5b. Cast, closed wire finger ring with lenticular cross-section: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral (1 piece–Br.).

5c. Cast ring imitating braids, with semicircular cross-section: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave

190.A (1 piece–Br.).

5d. Yellowish-brown glass ring with semicircular cross-section: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV - from the church’s trench (1 piece–glass).

6. Ornamented headed ring (by widening the head and the strap): Gilău: Grave 2 (1 piece–Br.).

7a. Bezel set ring ornamented with granulation: Cluj–Mănăștur: Grave 10 (1 piece–Ag).

7b. Bezel set ring ornamented with granulation and filigree: Drăușeni: Grave 8 (1 piece–Br.), Grave 42.B (1 piece–Br.).

8. Pyramid shaped bezel set ring (decoration in forms of the letters M and W was incised on the pyramidal head soldered on the strap): Drăușeni: Grave 3 (1 piece–Br.).

12.5.1. Statistical data on the rings (the material they were made of, their quantity in the graves)

Some of the rings found in the graves in the Transylvanian Basin were made of silver (27), gilded silver (1), bronze (41) and glass (1). Unfortunately, there are 28 stray finds. They must have been furnishings in graves that were ransacked. However, the data concerning the positions of the rings are available only in few cases:

1.a. On the fourth finger on the right hand: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 68 and 114.

1.b. On ‘a finger’ on the right hand: Cluj–Mănăștur Grave 75 and 157, Drăușeni: Graves 3 and 8, Jucu: Grave 53.

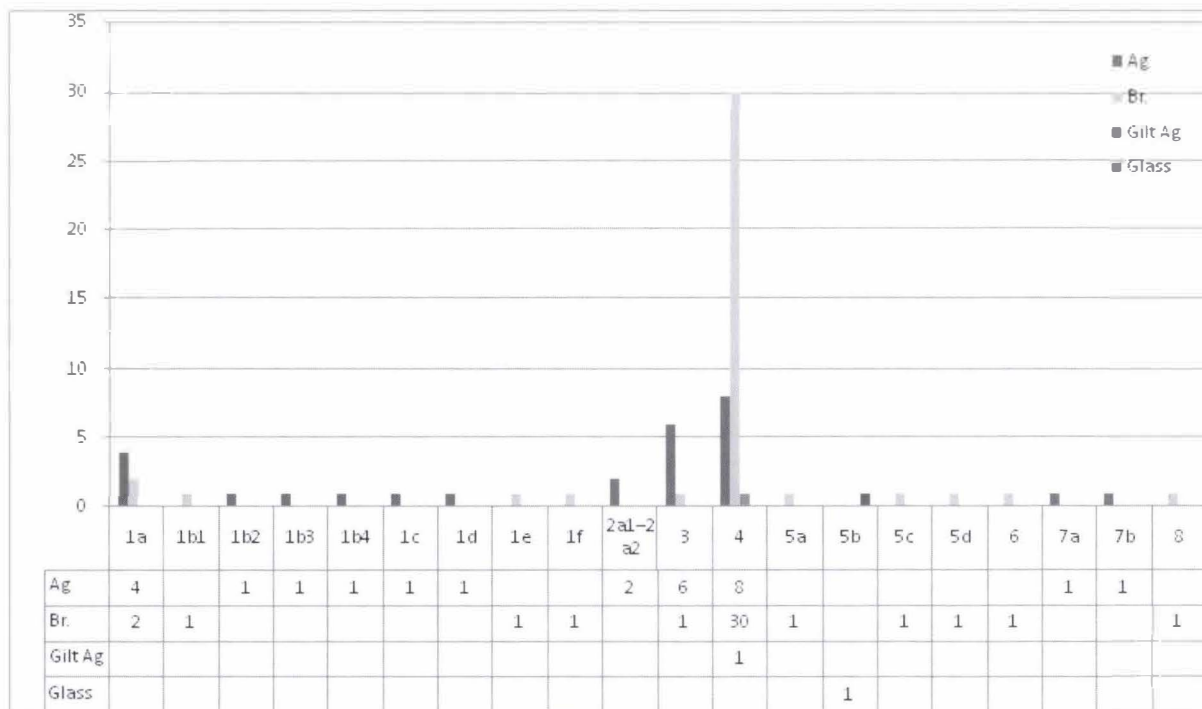


Fig. 25. The quantity of finger rings types-subtypes

2.a. On the second finger on the left hand: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 190.A.

2.b. On 'a finger' on the left hand: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral: Grave 15/2000.

12.5.2. Finger rings in the graves in Transylvania

Although there are many different types of strap rings in the 11th–13th century Transylvanian cemeteries, their validity for dating is usually low. Mainly because their use is of long standing: the simple open and punched strap rings (Types 1a, 1b1–1b4,) were found both in the Avar graves and in the graves of the conquering Hungarians, as well as the zig-zag patterned scratched rings.¹⁶¹ However, the zig-zag patterns on the ring found in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV is not the work of the ring maker but that of the owner who must have seen this pattern somewhere and tried to copy it. It is in stark contrast with the elaborated items in Graves 41, 75 and 141 in Cluj–Mănăştur.¹⁶² It must be noted that the item found in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV was also made of high quality silver. The ring with grooving in Cluj–Mănăştur (Type 1c) was found in the earliest phase of the cemetery, and the type 1b4 ring in Grave 141 is dated by the burial right next to it with a coin of King Ladislaus I to the end of the 11th century. The type 1b3 ring found in Grave 75 is also dated by an H22 coin of King Ladislaus I to the end of the century, whereas the H25 type coin dates the 1b2 type ring to the end of the century quite exactly. At other sites these types of rings are known from the Avar era, and – in smaller quantity – from the 10th-century burials.¹⁶³

An analysis of the rune-inscribed rings can be read in the work of Béla Miklós Szőke and László Vándor.¹⁶⁴ The two pieces from Cluj–Mănăştur can be dated to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.

The open braided rings of type 3 are all dated from the 11th century (6 pieces). Braided rings are known in the greatest number, which were found in the graves excavated in different parts of the cemetery.¹⁶⁵ It is important to note that the surface of the silver finger ring from

Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 282 was gilded, like the surface of the two silver hair rings with S-shaped ends from this burial. So in this case, the artefacts may have been made by the same master as ordered goods.

The closed bronze ring with semicircular cross-section found in Grave 116 (Dăbâca–Castle Area IV) on the edge of the cemetery can also be dated between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 13th century.

We have to mention of the *glass ring* found in the section of the church from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Although its context is unknown, it cannot be excluded that this ring was an import product coming from the Lower Danube region with other mass products (such as the green glazed pottery dated back to the 11th–12th centuries).¹⁶⁶

The type 8 ring with pyramid shaped head, found in SE Transylvania (Drăușeni: Grave 3), is exceptional because of the decoration in the form of letters M and W.¹⁶⁷ Even the type of this ring is unknown in 11th–12th century graves. Two close parallels were found in 13th century treasure finds near Balmazújváros and Nagykamarás,¹⁶⁸ respectively in Grave 59.A from Zăbala.¹⁶⁹ Based upon its context, the ring can be dated to the second half of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th century.

As opposed to the graves with *strings of beads*, in the graves containing finger rings mainly adults were buried. In 16 graves most of the skeletons belong to adults (Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur: Graves 2, 60, 86, 75, 141 and 157, Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 68, 108, 114 and 116, Drăușeni: Grave 3, 5 and 42.B, Gilău: Grave 2, Jucu: Grave 53), but we can register two adolescents (Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Graves 146 and 190) and three infants too (Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur: Graves 17 and 159, Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 282). In conclusion, customs of finger ring may be related first of all of to the age.

In the analysis of the topographical locations of the rings found in the Dăbâca cemetery it was conspicuous that, in contrast with the hair rings with S-shaped ends, half of the rings that could be mapped were not found in the central graves of the cemetery, but mainly (4 pieces from 4 graves) in the SE part of the churchyard.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶¹ The punched strap ring (Type 1b1), which is a similar technological solution to that of the ring in Cluj–Napoca–Mănăştur: Grave 114, was already detectable since the 9th century in the western part of the Carpathian Basin. Szőke – Vándor 1987, 74.

¹⁶² Iambor – Matei 1979, 602, Pl. VIII/m. 41/1; Iambor et al. 1981, 140, Pl. V/m. 75/4; Gáll et al. 2010, 77, 79, Pl. 49/4, Pl. 52/4.

¹⁶³ Istvánovits 2003, 305.

¹⁶⁴ Szőke – Vándor 1987, 57–61.

¹⁶⁵ Szőke 1962, 97; Giesler 1981, 113, Types 29–30.

¹⁶⁶ A glass bracelet dating to the 12th century was found in Morești. Their insignificant quantity may lead to the assumption that they were imported goods, but the possibility of migrating persons cannot be excluded either.

¹⁶⁷ Dumitrache 1979, 174.

¹⁶⁸ Parádi 1975, 10. kép 1, 15. kép 1.

¹⁶⁹ Benkő 2012, 25. ábra 16.

¹⁷⁰ Gáll 2011, 61. táb.

When mapping the spots where rings were found, it should be noted that almost all of them were found in cemeteries in the western part of the Transylvanian basin, mainly in the churchyards of the county centres, in relatively small quantities. The variety of the types of rings indicates the existence of workshops in these political-administrative centres, but foreign trade may have played a role too. The rare occurrence of rings in the E half of the Transylvanian basin can be explained by several different reasons, but it must have been driven by most of all the economic situation, although the two cemeteries in SE Transylvania may indicate that in some communities this lack of furnishings may be traced back to mental reasons. Based upon the grave goods found in the cemetery in Drăușeni (where the experts suppose the presence of *hospites*), the received conception that ‘*Székely cemeteries are rich and the cemeteries of the hospites are poor*’¹⁷¹ cannot be held. For example the grave goods in Drăușeni are much richer than those in the cemetery in Avrămești or Lueta (the most graves without grave goods). Drăușeni, which has been categorised a *hospes-settlement*, does not have any poorer furnishings than those in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, Dăbâca–A. Tămaș’s Garden, Morești or the churchyards in Avrămești, Lueta or Petriceni, which is in the Szeklerland but had at least as poor furnishings as the cemetery excavated in Feldioara.

12.6. Big churn rings (Pl. 38.A)

In the cemetery in Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, a bronze churn ring was also found with a bronze plate on one end. According to its dating and parallels it is datable to the 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁷²

Nándor Parádi thought that it was a bracelet, but in his excavations, Mihály Kulcsár observed that these big size rings were used as earrings.¹⁷³

In the Dăbâca cemetery, they cannot be connected to graves and they have rarely been found in the 12th–13th century cemeteries in Transylvania.

12.7. Bracelets (Pl. 46, Pl. 50)

In contrast with the great number of bracelets in the cemeteries of earlier periods, in the churchyard cemeteries bracelets are rare, only few of them were found: Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral: Grave 9 and 78, Alba Iulia–Roman Bath stray finds (2 pieces), Streisângeorgiu – stray find. At Alba Iulia–Roman Bath a strap- and a twisted bracelet were found, in Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral two twisted bracelets with a rhomboid cross-section items and in Streisângeorgiu a similar twisted type. Although they do not have much relevance for dating, they are likely to indicate the early graves of these cemeteries.¹⁷⁴

The material culture from churchyards from the Transylvanian Basin dated to the 11th–13th centuries comprise fashion commodities common in the Hungarian Kingdom and in Central and Eastern Europe. Similarly to other objects, the jewels of this era cannot symbolise more than a jewel of any kind could: fashion, commerce, social status. As it has been shown above, the objects cannot be connected to a gender, only their functionality bears with *gender symbolism* (Fig. 26).

Finds	Female	Neutral	Male
Tin hairpin (Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 172)		•	
Plain hairpin-in a ribbon, on a band (ex.: Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: Grave 322)	•		
Hair rings used as hair rings			•
Hair rings used as earrings		•	
Hair rings in a ribbon	•		
String of pearls	•		
Finger rings		•	
Bracelets		•	

Fig. 26. Gender and functionality

¹⁷¹ Ioniță 2010, 389–400.

¹⁷² Parádi 1975, 149.

¹⁷³ Kulcsár 1992–1995, 249–275.

¹⁷⁴ Dienes 1964, 20; Jakimowicz 1931, 254; Révész 1996, 90–91; Sternberger 1958, I, abb. 95; Szabó 1978–1979, 19, 31, 12. ábra; Szőke 1962, 71–72, 94–96.

13. Limited conclusions

13.1. The chronology. One method, three cases (Fig. 27)

The characteristics of the churchyard cemeteries, in opposition to the cemeteries with row-grave cemeteries, are the existence of the church or its remains and the density of the graves. In many cases we find multiple graves or the superpositions of graves.

I could not follow the commonly favoured 'grave layer' method, when graves are dated according to the depths of the graves. As István Méri, the founder of the methodology of the analyses concerning churchyard cemeteries put it: graves in the same depth can not be necessarily dated to the same era.¹⁷⁵

Therefore we agree with Ágnes Ritoók, who replaced the term 'grave layer' with 'horizon'. This is not related to spacial coordinates like it is common in the practice of the grave-layer method of analysis, but rather reflects a chronological scheme.¹⁷⁶

In my opinion, in the central of the cemetery, horizontal analysis should be combined with vertical analysis, which means the simultaneous analyse of the superpositions, depths and orientations. In the middle section of the cemetery a great number of superpositions, graves dug on top of one another can be observed, whereas towards the edges they are in one layer, here the classic horizontal analysis can be conducted. In the figure below we show the research tendency or 'strategy' applied in these cemeteries:

Based on the theoretical approach outlined above, in the central part of the cemetery, we divided the graves into vertical and horizontal *grave groups*. This method was replaced with the horizontal method towards the edge of the cemetery because there is only one layer of graves. However, based on the poor finds in the cemetery, it can be stated that the central part of the churchyard and its outer parts must have been used at the same time, so one cannot count with the gradual, horizontal expansion of the core of the cemetery. As for the chronology of the burials, it must be noted that among the burials found in grave groups close to one another, those can be considered contemporary which have the same orientation.

13.1.1. The case of Dăbâca–Castle Area IV (Fig. 28–29; Pl. 22–34)

In the middle of the cemetery, we tried to divide the graves into vertical and horizontal grave groups. This method was replaced with the horizontal method towards the edge of the cemetery because there is only one layer of graves. However, based on the poor finds, it can be stated that the central and the outer parts of the churchyard must have been used at the same time, so one cannot count with the gradual, horizontal expansion of the core of the cemetery. As for the chronology of the burials, it must be noted that among the burials found in grave groups close to each other, those can be considered contemporary which have the same orientation.

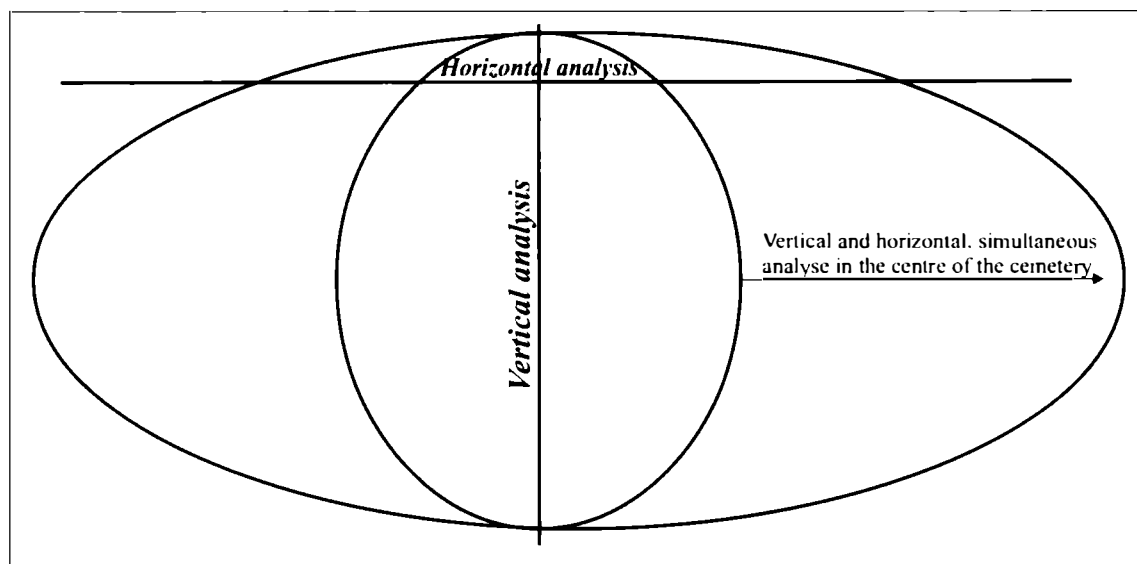


Fig. 27. Model of simultaneous analyse for superpositions

¹⁷⁵ Méri 1944, 28.

¹⁷⁶ Ritoók 2005, 175.

Those graves can be considered the first chronological horizon of the cemetery, whose orientation is identical to that of the church. This is supported by the *H42a* coin of King Coloman the Learned from the Grave 391. Certainly, the chronological horizons outlined below are relative, their main conclusion is that those graves derive from the same time period which have in the same orientation. This means that the graves which disturb, cut or overlay the above mentioned ones and usually have different orientations are

from another era. It may be explained by the fact that after two or three decades the heaps above the graves flattened and their orientation was forgotten and therefore was not followed by the new graves. Another question arises then, namely why did not they continue to follow the orientation of the church?

Based on such an analysis, the chronological horizons of the following grave groups could be distinguished in the central section of the cemetery:

Grave group	Earlier burials?	Burial horizon I	Burial horizon II	Burial horizon III
Grave group I (the <i>H42a</i> denarius of Coloman the Learned)	Graves 390 and 409	Graves 332, 333, 372, 374, 376, 377, 379, 384, 387, 388, 391, 396, 398, 399, 402, 404, 406, 434	Graves 334, 382, 371, 375, 381, 389, 392, 403, 405, 407, 431, 433	Graves 332, 378, 383, 386, 408, 410, 432
Grave group II		Graves 326–328, 330, 370	Graves 329, 331, 366–367, 369, 371, 429	Graves 330, 368
Grave group III		Graves 352, 357	Graves 351, 353–354, 358, 361–363, 365, 430	Graves 356, 364, 411–412,
Grave group IV		Graves 136, 137 and 142	Graves 139, 140, 149–150	Graves 141, 143–145
Grave group V		Graves 199, 218, 202, 203, 232–233	Graves 200–202	
Grave group VI		Graves 223–224	Graves 217, 279	Grave 222
Grave group VII			Graves 196–197, 278, 281–282	
Grave group VIII		Graves 194–195, 213	Graves 230–231, 275	
Grave group IX	Grave 226?	Graves 190–191, 193, 212, 215–216, 226, 228, 283	Graves 187, 189, 192, 219, 227, 229	Graves 188 and 284
Grave group X		Graves 182–183	Graves 185, 454–455	Grave 186
Grave group XI		Graves 19, 25, 26–28, 29–30, 33, 35, 220, 440, 446–449	Graves 15, 17, 21, 23–24, 31–32, 442–443, 438–439, 450, 452	Graves 18, 22, 34, 439, 441
Grave group XII		Graves 178, 179–180, 270–271, 269, 273	Grave 177.	Graves 176, 268
Grave group XIII			Graves 172 ¹ –174	
Grave group XIV		Graves 160–171, 272	Graves 225, 221	
1964 excavation ²		Graves 1, 3–11	Graves 2, 14–16	Grave 13 [?]
1986 excavation		Graves 483–490		
1965 excavation		Graves 94, 97–99, 101., 103–104	Graves 95–96, 103, 105–106	
1986 excavation		Graves 483–490		
		Graves 48, 53–57, 60, 64., 71, 73–75, 79–82	Graves 45, 49, 50–52, 58–59, 63, 65, 72, 76, 78, 86	Graves 62, 70, 87

Fig. 28. Grave groups and chronological horizons in the central part of the churchyard

¹ This grave is dated by the grave goods including the large hair ring with S-shaped ends and the tin hairpin to the 12th century

² In sections C1–C2/1964 we sorted those graves into this group which were disturbed by later burials. According

to the descriptions of the archeologists, during the 1964 excavations 90 skulls were collected, whose graves were destroyed by later burials. Such density of the graves can only be explained by the proximity of the church.

The same method was used towards the edges of the churchyard, but here the cemetery became one layered, therefore we could decide based only on the orientation.

As the material culture became unified, it does not provide grounds for a more exact chronological analysis.

Graves	Burial horizon I	Burial horizon II	Burial horizon III
the grave group of the 1965 trench	Graves 39, 41, 90	Graves 36–38, 40, 42–46, 66–69, 88–89, 91–93	
Grave Group I 1968 trench	-	Graves 124–125, 127	Graves 123, 126
Grave Group II 1968 trench	-	Grave 117	Graves 115–116, 118–119
Grave Group III 1968 trench	Graves 109, 135, 148	Graves 107–108, 110–112, 114, 120, 122, 131–134, 146–147	Grave 121
the grave group of the 1969 trench	Graves 205–208, 237, 239–242, 244, 247, 249, 255–25., 259–260, 264	Graves 209–211, 234–236, 243, 245–246, 248, 250–254, 257, 261–263	Graves 238 and 258
the grave group of the 1973 trenches 7–8	Graves 297–300, 309	Graves 295–296, 301	Grave 302 (?)
the grave group of the 1973 trenches 9–10	Graves 310, 313–317, 318–319, 321–325	Graves 311, 320	
the grave group of the 1976 trench	Graves 344, 350, 420, 424–425, 427, 436	Graves 335–338, 340–343, 345–349, 414–417, 419, 421, 426, 428, 435	Graves 339, 418, 422–423
Grave Group I of the 1977 trench	Graves 461, 465	Graves 453, 457–460, 462–464, 466	
Grave Group II of the 1977 trench	Graves 467, 475	Graves 471, 468–470, 473–474	Grave 472
Grave Group III of the 1977 trench	Graves 476–477, 479–482	Grave 478	

Fig. 29. Grave groups and chronological horizons in the edge of the churchyards

Based on these two tables the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. All the known, excavated parts, of the cemetery were used simultaneously.
2. Approximately, the same amount of graves belong to burial horizons I and II, but the number of graves in burial horizon III is much smaller.
3. On the edges of the cemetery the number of graves in horizon I is smaller than in horizon II, which may indicate that the churchyard expanded to some extent, but the number of graves belonging to burial horizon III is even smaller.
4. Based on the superpositions, the finds and the location, the orientation and the depths of the graves, horizon I can be dated to 1090–1140, horizon II to 1140–1190 and the graves of horizon III to 1190–1220.

13.1.2. *The case of Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur: one or two churchyards? (Pl. 7–8)*

As I have already mentioned, during the excavation in the Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur, only cemetery sections were documented due to the wrong research strategy. The most important characteristic of churchyard cemeteries, i. e. the layers of graves due to the graves dug on top of one another (big concentration of the graves), can be observed in two places of the site in Cluj–Mănăştur.¹⁷⁷ Therefore one can assume two cemeteries existing at the same time as the finds are dated to the same era in both places.

The first cluster of graves, in which a few skeletons were disturbed during the construction of the round church in the 12th century, was found near the present day church. The graves were dug on top of one another in many cases. The earliest coin dating the cluster is the H22 coin of King Ladislaus I (Grave 41), but a coin of Béla II was also found here.

¹⁷⁷ Last analysis, with similarly results: Ritoók 2012, 235–252.

During the construction of the 12th century round church and the 19th century church, the earlier one datable to the 11th–12th centuries was probably demolished. According to the cemetery map, the very sparse burials found in trenches IX, XII–XIV, XVII in the western section of the castle area indicating the edge of the cemetery.

The second grave cluster was excavated in the SW section of the castle area. Here an even greater number of overlapping graves was observed. It might be connected to the fact that the earliest coin found here was the *H9* coin of Andrew I (1046–1060). This cluster is dated by a coin of Ladislaus I and anonym *denarii* from the 12th century (besides, in a grave was found a coin of Andrew I), among a lot of hair rings with S-shaped and grooved ends.

Unfortunately, due to the wrong excavation methodology a lot of data lost forever. However, in the western part of the two trenches (trenches XV a–b) no graves were dug, the fence of the cemetery must have been there. In the E part of the cemetery some walls of precisely unidentifiable building walls of constructions were found, but they must have been built later in the Middle Ages. The above mentioned clusters of graves on the map of the cemetery might also indicate that N of them, some sporadic graves in trenches XII and XIII might have belonged to another cemetery. To clarify the situation a new excavation should be carried out both to the N and to the S.

According to these clusters of graves and after a careful study of the cemetery map, one may assume that there might have been two churches in the castle, around which cemeteries were established from the second half of the 11th century. The second cluster of graves and the five graves registered in trenches XII–XIII (Graves 42–45, 48) may lead to the assumption that Grave Cluster 2 and these graves belonged to two different cemeteries, although they were used at the same time chronologically. According to the finds in both clusters, it seems that the cemeteries were used from the second half of the 11th century.

13.1.3. The case of Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor (Fig. 30–33)

As in the other cases, the Sighișoara cemetery has not been excavated completely either. However, in this case it is not the strategy of the excavation, which can be blamed but the road constructed in the 19th or 20th century leading right in the middle of the cemetery. As can be seen on the cemetery map of the cemetery, in the case of Sighișoara, the two edges of the cemetery could have been excavated. As opposed to the above mentioned two cemeteries at Cluj-Napoca–Mănăstur and Dăbâca–Castle Area IV, overlapping graves can be observed at the adges of the Sighișoara cemetery too, which clearly indicates the fact that the cemetery area was fixed and it might have been encircled by a garden (above in the analysis of cemetery gardens).

Following this approach, we tried to systematise those situations where overlapping burials have been registered. These are the following ones in the northern part of the cemetery:

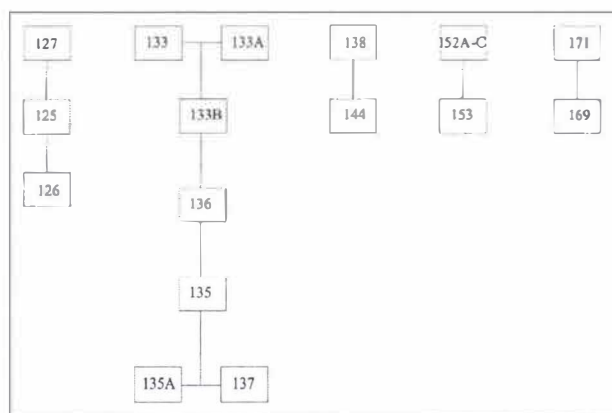


Fig. 30. Overlapping burials in the churchyard

By combining the two analytical methods, can be observed three grave horizons. (Fig. 31)

This method was used in the southern part of the cemetery too. However, in this case we could observe the same phenomena as in other cases, namely that in the southern part of the churchyard there are much more graves.¹⁷⁸

Grave-groups	Burial horizon I	Burial horizon II	Burial horizon III
First graves-row	Graves 169, 158, 156, 151, 120/165		Grave 157, Grave 151
Second graves-row	Graves 153, 170, 173	Grave 152.A–C	Graves 145, 148 and 149
Isolated-separately graves	Graves 129 and 134		
Grave group in the E part of the cemetery	Graves 164, 126, 135a, 135a, 135/137	Graves 125, 136, 138	Graves 61, 70, 71, 155, 127, 133.A–B and 144

Fig. 31. Grave groups and chronological horizons in the northern part of the churchyard

¹⁷⁸ Ritoók 2010, 482, notes 84–85.

In the western part of the cemetery the rows of graves form clusters, which might indicate the cemetery sections of families (?). The following results were made:

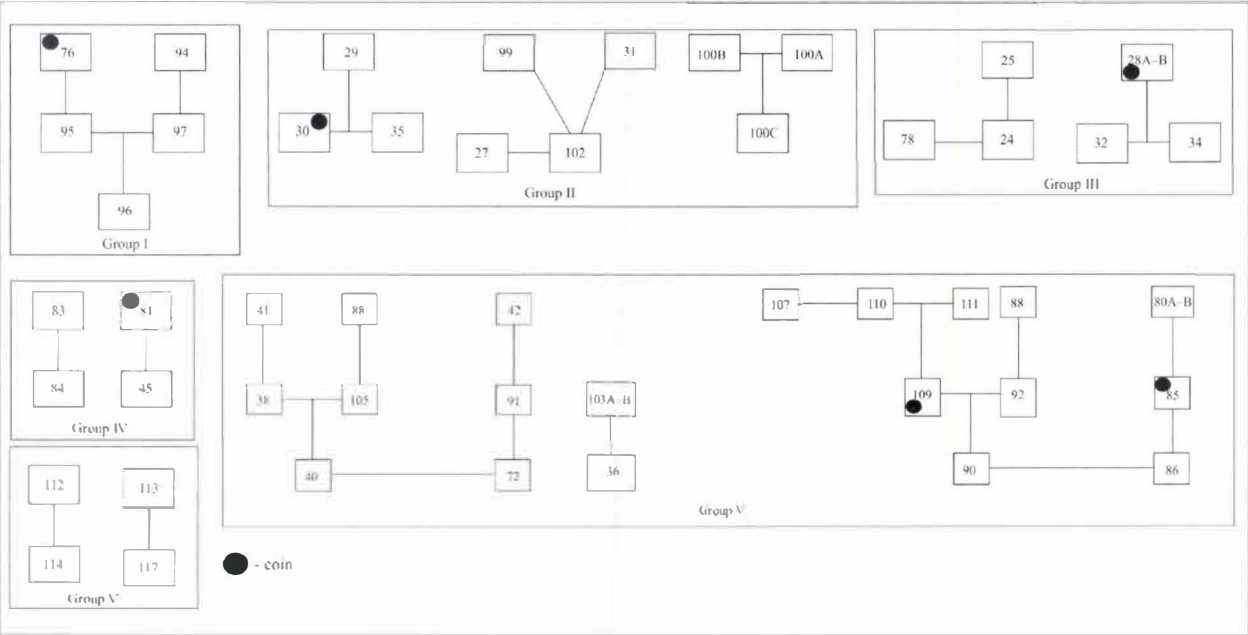


Fig. 32. Grave clusters in the churchyard

So we could distinguish five larger groups of graves. These groups may indicate the existence of distinct entities (families?). Grave 28.B was found in Group III on the edge of the cemetery, this is dated by the *H69* coin of Béla III, which also dates the last phase of the cemetery. In accordance with the topographical locations of the graves, the following chronological sequence can be established:

Grave groups	Burial horizon I	Burial horizon II	Burial horizon III
Group I	Grave 96	Graves 95, 97	Graves 76, 94
Group II	Graves 27, 98, 100.C, 102	Grave 35	Graves 29, 30, 31, 99, 100.A-B, 101,
Group III		Graves 24, 32, 34, 78	Graves 25, 28.A-B
Group IV	Graves 45, 79, 84		Graves 81.A-B, 83
Group V	Graves 40, 72, 86, 90	Graves 36, 38, 85, 91, 92, 109, 114, 117	Graves 41, 42, 80.A-B, 103.A-B, 110, 111, 112, 113

Fig. 33. Grave groups and chronological horizons in the southern part of the churchyard

Based on these data, it can be seen that the absolute chronological time period of the use of the cemetery cannot be detected unlike in the case of the Dăbâca cemetery. In the southern part of the cemetery, in grave group III, grave horizon III is dated by the *H69* coin.¹⁷⁹ The grave was found on the edge of the cemetery. Grave 85 in grave group III also belongs to this horizon, dated by the *H139*¹⁸⁰ anonym denarius. So the cemetery might have been abandoned in the time of Béla III, or at the end of the 12th century.

As the multiple layers of the graves can be detected even on the edges of the cemetery, we think that we can calculate 30–40–50 years in the case of the excavated cemetery sections. However, as can be seen on the cemetery map, its largest part was not be excavated, but in the middle a much larger quantity of multilayered graves can be documented.¹⁸¹ Therefore, one may assume that the cemetery was abandoned during the reign of King Béla III, but we can never estimate when they started to bury here. However, if the periphery of the cemetery had already been used between the 30’s and 50’s of the 12th century,

¹⁷⁹ Bálint Hóman dated them to the 1190s but according to László Kovács, who used results of Ján Hunka’s research, it cannot be proved. Hóman 1916, 238, 254–255; Hunka 1996, 119; Kovács 1997, 306, note 2051.

¹⁸⁰ L. Réthy categorised it to Béla III: CNH 1 18. Réthy 1899, 22.

¹⁸¹ For instance, in Trench II, Doboka near the church 90 skulls and 16 skeletons were registered. Gáll 2011, 4. táb., Appendix.

the first horizon of graves in the middle of the cemetery must have been much older, at least 2 or 3 decades. Based on this, it can be dated to the first quarter of the 12th century as a direct result of the laws of King Ladislaus I and King Coloman the Learned. So the cemetery seems to have been used from the first decades of the 12th century up to the time of King Béla III (1172–1191).

13.1.4. The chronology of the churchyards (Fig. 34)

In the case of other cemeteries we could not draw up a similarly detailed analysis for several reasons. However, based on the finds and mainly the coins dating these sites, I recommend the following chronological system:



Fig. 34. Chronological table of churchyards

13.2. 'Poor' and 'rich', elites and common people in two cemeteries: a comparative analysis of the quantity of precious metals in the churchyards of Dăbâca and Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur (Fig. 35–36)

It is a widely accepted view in Transylvanian scholarly literature that 10th-century cemeteries are 'rich' in grave goods and those dated to the Christian era are 'poor'.¹⁸² In fact, the main difference between them is the existence or the lack of weapons and harness garments.¹⁸³ In the Dăbâca cemetery finds available to us, not counting the coins, made of good or medium quality silver weigh 96.03 g, these are all hair rings or finger rings without any exceptions. 4.43 g bad quality silverware can be added to this.

Metallographic analyses have been carried out on 13 objects with the following results:

800‰: hair ring found between the Graves 162 and 163 (1 piece)

750‰: Grave 79 (1 hair ring), Grave 108 (1 hair ring), Grave 377 (1 hair ring), Grave 448 (2 hair rings), Grave 449 (1 hair ring), Grave 453 (2 hair rings), Grave 456 (2 hair rings), Grave 464 (2 hair rings)

Compared to the hair rings found in the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur cemetery, on which metallographic analyses were made, it turns out that the rings from Dăbâca were made of worse quality silver:

875‰: finger ring in tomb 60 (1 item)

800‰: in the case of 17 items – hair rings and finger rings

750‰: in the case of 19 items – hair rings and finger rings

700‰: in the case of 2 items – hair rings

The silver reserve of the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur items that were subject to metallographic analyses was equal to that of the coins in one case, in many cases it was 800‰ and there are some items of worse quality silver. This table also shows that in most cases the items from Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur churchyards were made of better quality silver than the items from Dăbâca. It is also important to note that the best quality Dăbâca items have not been analysed, at least it seems to be the situation.

In the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur cemetery 39 finger rings and hair rings were analysed, in Dăbâca-Castle Area IV only 13.

Returning to the quantitative analysis of the silver in the Dăbâca cemetery, if the 96.03 g good quality silver is divided by the 577184 graves, the result is 0.16 g of silver per grave, but if the analysis is focussed on the graves with furnishings, then this proportion changes: the result is 0.78 g for the 123 graves with furnishings and if only those graves are considered which contain precious metal, then we receive 1.62 g silver for the 59 graves containing silverware.

We compare Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur with it again, the 129.05 g silver found here if divided by all the graves, we get 0.91 g silver per grave, and then again, if only the graves with furnishings are analysed, the proportion changes considerably: the result is 3.91 g for 33 graves with furnishings (Fig. 36)

The difference in the quality of the silverware found at the two sites indicates that there might have been major differences in the possibilities of the two communities. This can be explained by several reasons such as:

1. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur as a power centre (county centre, Benedictine monastery);¹⁸⁵

2. The properties of the county centre and those of the Benedictine community: the Benedictines owned the salt mines east of the River Someşul Mare, which provided considerable income for the abbey;¹⁸⁶

3. E-W (trading) road might have passed the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur centre.

These factors could have established the foundations and conditions of a workshop and the existence of a long distance trade of high quality products in northern Transylvania. The archeological data draw attention to this fact: the possibilities and the economic potential of the elite community/communities living in the Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur centre prove the existence of a power centre, on the other hand, it emphasises that the elite in this centre played a much more important role in the connection with the central power compared to the more peripheral Dăbâca.

¹⁸² 'Cimitirul a aparţinut unei populaţii foarte sărace (Cemetery belonged to a very poor populations)'. Iambor 2005, 187.

¹⁸³ See for example: Gáll et al. 2010, 119–121.

¹⁸⁴ We did not calculate with the 102 skulls and the missing graves 285–294, 304–309 and 426 of the cemetery's plan.

¹⁸⁵ According to the convincing arguments of Radu Lupescu, with several parallels, the area of the castle was used both by the Benedictine abbey and the institution of the *comitatus*. Lupescu 2005, 32.

¹⁸⁶ Csomor 1912; Jakó 1990, 117–126.

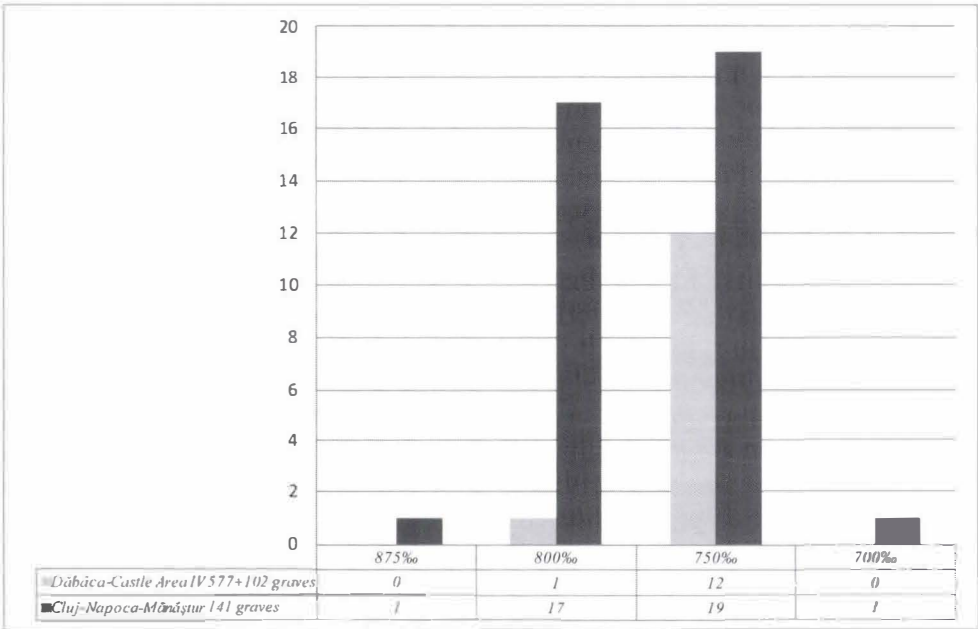


Fig. 35. Jewellery statistics

Churchyard	Weight of jewellery items according to tombs	Weight of jewellery items according to burials which contained precious metals
Dăbâca-Castle Area IV	0.16 grams (577 graves)	1.62 grams (59 graves)
Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur I-II	0.91 grams (141 graves)	3.91 grams (33 graves)

Fig. 36. Jewellery statistics

13.3. The ‘ethnicity’ of the population in the churchyards from Transylvanian Basin (Fig. 37)

From the beginning of the 20th century on, culture and ethnic identity were interpreted according to the widely accepted theory of Gustav Kossina, who stated that geographical units are characterized by unified cultures and these indicate ethnic entities.¹⁸⁷ Later the Central- and Eastern European scholars who adopted Kossina’s original theory debased it to a vulgar level.¹⁸⁸ It is also dangerous that in many cases a particular ethnicity is considered a biological or linguistic formation and not as the sociological construction of a historical-chronological problem. It is also telling that our archaeologists hardly paid any attention to the rethinking the theory of ethnicity.¹⁸⁹ From the Kossina’s theory archaeological

cultures have grown, whose counterparts are the modern national cultures, which were developed during the construction of nations in the 19th century. This way a modern concept has been thrust upon population structures which have nothing to do with it (mainly because of the chronology of their development). So when experts talked about the elements of the Glina or Coțofeni cultures bringing back to our mind the 20th century Romanian national-political unity, mentally they had in mind the institutional structures of the modern state because they meant by this term all the elements of the material culture that were common in this area. This way of thinking makes it possible for the archaeologist to reach different people who lived long ago.

Based on these elements of an archaeological culture, different migrations and international relations can be reconstructed and at the same time the process of the ethnogenesis of various people can be understood. However, the unity of an archaeological culture is not Kossina’s ‘invention’, but the mental construction of the 19th century, and it was only ‘developed’ by Kossina, behind which a modern myth, the myth of national unity, is lurking.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Kossina 1936, 315; Kossina 1911.
¹⁸⁸ It has been said in lots of studies from the 60s to these days that ‘necropola aparține populației proto-române și se datează în secolele V–VII...’. A good analysis on the documentational foundation of these ‘theories’, see Harhoiu 2004, 149–167.
¹⁸⁹ The issue of ethnos has been discussed both in Hungarian and in Romanian archeology: Niculescu 1997, 63–69; Curta 2004, 5–25; Bálint 2006, 277–347; Lăzărescu 2008, 55–77; Niculescu 2011, 5–24.

¹⁹⁰ Boia 1999, 157.

Such a myth of 'unity' is created by the so called *national culture*.¹⁹¹

Certainly, the relation between material culture and *ethnos* is much more complicated.¹⁹² The relation between ethnicity and material culture (in this case *archaeological culture*) is mobile, unstable and fluid. One cannot clearly identify in graves the remains of individuals belonging to any particular ethnic group or the other. It is not ethnical identities detectible in the archaeological inventory but various distinctive cultural archaeological signs, traditions, relations, and blending that can usually be only indirectly related to different identities. One must also say that any human being can have several identities, so we only subjectively choose ethnical one, such as 'Avar' or 'Hungarian conqueror' because in any other given period of time some other identities could have been more important than during the 18th and 19th centuries. We mention that no population mentioned in narrative sources in the Carpathian Basin in the early medieval period can be associated or identified with any anthropological type or types, and no anthropological type can be associated with any ethnic group.

So it can be seen that the archaeological finds hardly give any possibility to express clear cut ethnic interpretations. However, it may be assumed that by the 12th century, in the valleys of the Mureş and Someşul Mic, due to the 10th and 11th century immigrations and the sociological processes of acculturation and assimilation generated by the institutions of the polifunctional 10th century 'nomadic' state and the 11th century Christian kingdom, we can talk about a 'Hungarian' entity. Certainly, knowing medieval realities, this terminology must be used with care, aware of the fact that the entity itself underwent major changes during 300 years (from 896 to 1200). What was meant by Hungarian in the 10th century and what was meant by it in the 12th century were two different realities. The cultural origins of these immigrant acculturised-assimilated 'Hungarian' populations must have been varied, colourful, which is shown by the fact that besides the Hungarian place names, a considerable amount of them can be traced back to Slavonic origins.¹⁹³ In archaeological discussions, the population of the 'Slavonic' cremation burials has somehow been neglected, although based upon

the place names, it seems clear that those who organised the state in the 10th and 11th centuries, must have contacted this people.¹⁹⁴ From the 10th century, the times before the network of settlements was established in the area of the River Someşul Mic, we only have data about the cemeteries of some political-military centres, so there are grounds to suppose that the population of the 7th–9th century cremation burials (Dăbâca, Dorolţu, Jucu, Someşeni) was partly integrated by the new conquerors in the 10th century, on the other hand, in the 11th century the kingdom started a new wave of gradual immigration similarly to that in the Mureş valley, which was accompanied by the establishment of Christian institutions. In our opinion, the early Hungarian place names in Northern Transylvania can be connected to the population that migrated here in the 11th century as we do not know of any typical 10th century cemetery of common people in this area. We have reasons to suppose that the cemeteries of the population of cremation burials can be dated up to the end of the 10th century, similarly to Little and Great Poland, Ukraine where cremation burials were carried out as late as the beginning of the 11th century.¹⁹⁵ Having investigated the area of settlements mapped according to the excavated cemeteries in the valley of the Someşul Mic and its side valleys, it seems that churchyard cemeteries exactly indicate the places of settlements, at the same time outlining the network established in the 11th century by the Hungarian Kingdom, upon earlier foundations. The place names¹⁹⁶ allow us to suppose a considerable amount of Hungarian speaking people.¹⁹⁷

In these settlements different social classes can be assumed. Monasteries provide a good example of this,¹⁹⁸ whose ethnic characteristic was secondary and we would not encourage anyone to make such analyses.

Although it seems that the forced search for ethnicity in the middle reaches of the River Mureş and the valley of the Someşul Mic in the western half of the Transylvanian Basin, is drawing to

¹⁹⁴ Gáll 2013c, Vol. I, 835–837, 918–919.

¹⁹⁵ Jazdzewski 1949, 91–191; Miśkiewicz 1969, 241–302; Zoll-Adamikowa 1979; Zoll-Adamikowa 1998, 227–238; Ivakin 2011, 252, Fig. 4.

¹⁹⁶ Kniezsa 1938, 411–422; Kniezsa 1941, 25–30; Kristó 2004, 76–78.

¹⁹⁷ In this sense we can cite also the chronicle form *Echter-nachi*: according to this chronicle *countless Hungarian* were killed by Tatars until they passed through the Meseş Gates towards the Hungarian Great Plain. Lupescu 2005, 43.

¹⁹⁸ Fügedi 1991, 58–59; Werbőczy 1990, 269; Titulus CXXXIII. 8. §; Marosi 1999, 15; Szakács 2004, 75.

¹⁹¹ Boia 2012, 31.

¹⁹² On the classification of these systems see: Jones 1997, 106–127.

¹⁹³ Kniezsa 1941, 21–25; Kristó 2004, 47–52.

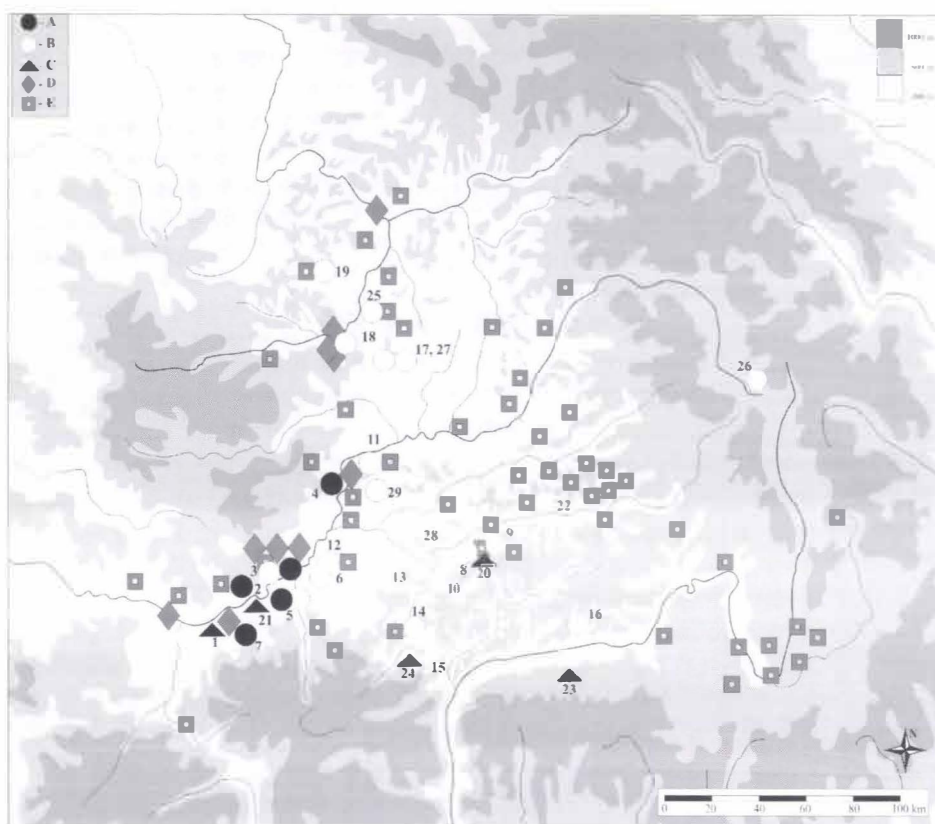


Figure 37. Cemeteries and single grave finds dating from the 7th–9th centuries and the cemeteries of the class of warriors in the period of the Hungarian Conquest. A – 9th century with skeleton burials; B – cremation and biritual cemetery dating from the 7th–9th centuries; C – 9th century stray finds; D – cemeteries of the class of warriors in the 10th century; E. settlements dating from the 7th–10th centuries (after Gáll 2013c, 295. kép)

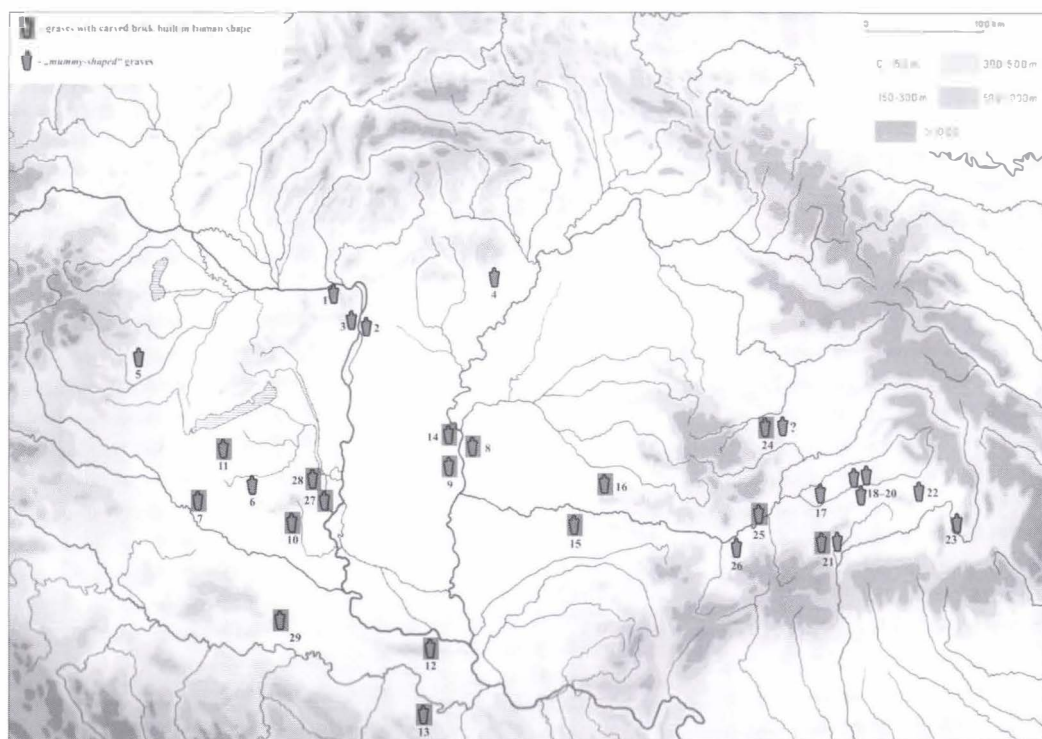


Fig. 38. The spread of the built graves in human shape and the *mummy-shaped* grave pits in the early churchyards in Transylvanian Basin (11th–13th centuries):

1. Esztergom–Zsidód, 2. Budapest–District XVI, 3. Budapest–Kána, 4. Eger, 5. Szombathely, 6. Kaposvár, 7. Babócsa–Nárciszkert, 8. Ópusztaszer–Monostor, 9. Csongrád–Ellésmonostor, 10. Vokány, 11. Somogyvár, 12. Rakovac, 13. Mačvanska Mitrovica, 14. Szentés–Kaján, 15. Frumușeni/Bizere, 16. Tăuți, 17. Mediaș, 18–20. Sighișoara, 21. Sibiu–Piața Huet, 22. Viscri, 23. Feldioara, 24. Cluj–Napoca–Mănăstur, 25. Alba-Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral, 26. Orăștie–Round Church, 27. Băta, 28. Cikádor, 29. Požega/Slavonska Požega.

an end, the situation in the E and SE parts of the basin is completely different. In this area there is a 'war of numbers' going on concerning whether particular cemeteries can be classified as Székely or Germanic. The system of criteria set up by experts applying the 'retrospective'¹⁹⁹ method has two basic characteristics: 1. Székely cemeteries are rich in furnishings, in contrast with this, 2. Germanic *hospites* cemeteries have poor furnishings and in the latter ones there are some *mummy-shaped graves*, which are considered ethnic characteristics.²⁰⁰ The first problem with this theory is that it does not take macro-regional funerary fashion into account, which can be connected to different elites in the first phase of its catching on, but any social segment can copy them, especially when it does not incur any cost such as *mummy-shaped graves*.²⁰¹ Several different kinds of misconceptions have to be refuted:

1.a. From the archaeological point of view, the theory of the line between the rich and the poor outlined above cannot be held. For example, as the cemetery in Drăușeni, which has been categorised as *hospes* burial place, does not have any poorer furnishings than those in Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV* or A. *Tămaș's garden* or the churchyard in Morești. The cemetery in Avrămești, Petricieni which is in the *Szeklerland* had at least as poor furnishings as the cemetery excavated in Feldioara;

1.b. The debate has not yet been decided in the case of the cemeteries in Peteni and Zăbala, which have been cited as examples of cemeteries with rich grave furnishings, and these were the cemeteries of Hungarian, Székely and Slavonic medieval border-guards;²⁰²

1.c. However, it must be noted that in the cemeteries at Brădești, Morești, Mugeni, Ulieș which have been classified as Székely, the excavated graves show some characteristics of W-European fashion (such as hair pins) which can be connected to immigrant *hospites* (!!);

2. the Germanic *hospes* population was not homogeneous (and therefore it had no homogeneous identity), and the community that was later named *Saxon*, received its community legal status from the Hungarian Kingdom at the beginning of the 13th century (*Diploma Andreanum* 1224);²⁰³

3. Based upon historical and demographic data, one cannot talk about a Saxon Land in the 12th century, let alone the identification of cemeteries as the formation of Saxon entity is the result of a long historical process,²⁰⁴ the area that later became known as Saxon Land in S and NE Transylvania was inhabited by communities of different ethnic groups (Hungarians, Székelys, Vlachs, Slavs);²⁰⁵

4. The mummy-shaped graves dug in soil (Budapest, Esztergom–*Zsidód*, Kaposvár, Eger, Szombathely) and the graves built of bricks and stones in human shape (Frumușeni/Bizere: Grave 111, Tăuți, Băta, Cikádor, Szentes-Kaján, Babócsa, Ópusztaszer–*Monostor*, Csongrád–*Ellésmonostor*, Vokány, Somogyvár, Požega/Slavonska Požega, Rakovac, Mačvanska Mitrovica)²⁰⁶ excavated in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom show such diversity which cannot be connected to the *hospites* exclusively, it can rather be interpreted as a 12th century macro-regional funerary fad. (see also Fig. 10)

We also have to keep in mind that:

4. a. We must ask the question how precisely these cemeteries were excavated: apart from the precise excavation carried out by István Méri in 1944 in Cluj, there is no cemetery N of Alba Iulia where exact observations have been made! Among the 577 graves (with 679 human skeletons) excavated in Dăbâca–*Castle Area IV*, the shape of the graves were registered only in six cases (Graves 45, 403, 404, 405, 408, 410) and in three cases in Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăștur* (Graves 50, 77 and 135). In the cemeteries in Dăbâca–A. *Tămaș's garden*, Moldovenesti, Gilău and Șirioara the shapes of the graves have not been documented at all;

4. b. in vast ranges of the Carpathian Basin, the shapes of graves has not been preserved in the sandy soil. Cemetery II-III in Karos is a good example of this, where no grave shape could be documented.²⁰⁷

According to the present archaeological data base the question, which cemetery can be considered Hungarian, Saxon or Székely in S or SE Transylvania, cannot be answered.

¹⁹⁹ The criticism of the 'retrospective' method, in connection with the so called 'Orient preference': Bálint 1999, 13–16; Bálint 2004, 246–252; Bálint 2007, 545–567.

²⁰⁰ Ioniță 2010, 389–390.

²⁰¹ As we have already pointed out the rise in the popularity of horse burials after the Hungarian conquest might have been such an example of funerary fashion. Gáll 2010, 303, fig. 18.

²⁰² Benkő 2010, 226–233; Benkő 2012, 112–124.

²⁰³ For example, see: Hanzó 1941; Müller 1928.

²⁰⁴ Kristó 2004, 185–203.

²⁰⁵ The best evidence of this is that most place names in the area that later became the Land of the Saxons are of either Hungarian or Slavonic origins. Kristó 2004, 196–197.

²⁰⁶ Bárdos 1978, 187–234; Írásné Melis 1997, 54; Magyar 2005, 2. táb. 2; Molnár 2005, 110; Pap 2002, 4. kép. 1, 4; Pap 2010, 109; Rusu – Burnichioiu 2011, 65–69; Sümegi 1997, 155; Sümegi 2006, 148, 2. ábra; Stanojev 2000, 394; Stanojev 2005, 61, note 16; Türk 2005, 5. kép.

²⁰⁷ Révész 1996.

Following our theoretical approach, it is difficult to draw any conclusions on the ethnic identity of the populations in these churchyards. The elite of a political-military structure ruled a society by using symbols of different nature.²⁰⁸ In the case of the 11th–13th century cemeteries it can firmly be stated that its elite was the political-military elite appointed by the Hungarian Kingdom and his king. The common traditions of the population living in castles, villages is impossible to identify by archaeological means, based on comprehensive archaeological finds from the 11th–13th centuries Transylvanian Basin.

As a result, in most cases it is not ethnic realities but the illustration or symbolisation of social statuses that can be detected. Certainly, it cannot be excluded that in particular cases the difference in social status may be closely connected to different ethnicity, but it is impossible to detect them in medieval churchyard cemeteries by archaeological means. In the county centres and in the castles housing different religious institutions such as Alba Iulia, Cluj-Napoca–Mănaştur, Dăbâca population of heterogenous origins may have concentrated, which is referred to in the sources too. In small settlements there are more chances that the population was homogenous, but this can neither be proved nor refuted for the puritanism of the graves.

13.4. The problem of social status in the churchyards from the 11th–13th centuries (Pl. 8, Pl. 22, Pl. 43)

Although in the previous era the rank or respect of a deceased person, or the prestige of the family (through the deceased person) was symbolised by different categories of weapons, horse burials and funeral garments adorned with jewellery, from the time of the reign of King Stephen I the Christian conversion of the population in the Carpathian Basin made these ancient pagan rites obsolete. Similarly to the communities of other regions or other ages (from the Palaeolithic age on) the symbolic competition between medieval individuals and families consequently led to a change of the way the status or the social importance of a person was symbolized on their death in the Middle Ages. Christianity, which taught spiritual and, from the point of view of the economic-political hierarchy, an egalitarian picture of the after life²⁰⁹ superseded the symbols

that represented the status of the individual or the family in the burials,²¹⁰ but it allowed another representation. This tendency is very well indicated by Theodulf's decree, which, at the end of the 9th century, emphasises that bishops, monks and priests can be buried in the church and, what is most interesting to us, laymen who are worthy of it can also be interred there.²¹¹ This symbolic *competition* of power and wealth meant the same in the case of medieval laymen as the jewels, weapons and/or parts of horses in the burials of the bygone pagan times. In contrast with older days, the poverty of furnishings does not mean the poverty of the society, but the *Puritanism* of medieval way of thinking, which was often dissonant. Simplicity and Puritanism are the solution to this problem, but the aim to represent power and prestige remained the same and the burials in the church or as close to the church as it was possible were its manifestations. That is the reason why overlapping burials and superpositions can be found around the churches, which are the characteristic features of churchyards as opposed to the cemeteries with rows of graves.

That is why the location of the 59 graves from Dăbâca–Castle Area IV containing silver items have been analysed by us. Out of the 59 mapped graves 41 were found in the central section of the cemetery,²¹² which shows that among the population of the Árpáadian era, it was the wealthier people who took their valuables with themselves into the grave. Although it is an insignificant result, but this phenomenon makes it clear that the more potent members of the family were buried around the church²¹³.

At the same time, it cannot be completely excluded that in the three cemeteries in and near the Dăbâca castle, populations of different statuses were buried. The major differences in the cemetery sizes may be cited here: near the large cemetery in *Castle Area IV*, and in the smaller cemeteries in *A. Tămaş's Garden* and *Boldăgă/Boldogasszony* populations of different origins (*clerici, comes, miles, servi*) were buried. This interpretation may be supported by the large number of weapons found in the castle area,

²¹⁰ It is very interesting that sword or sabre burials became fashionable again from the 16th century on, especially inside church. In this issue see the excavation of Béla Pósta, Márton Roska and István Kovács in Alba Iulia, which was carried out very well (Pósta 1917, 1–155). A same phenomenon is known from Scandinavia (Kiefer-Ollsen 1997, 188, note 17).

²¹¹ Szuromi 2005, 10, note 28.

²¹² Gáll 2011, 63. táb.

²¹³ Gáll 2011, 62. táb.

²⁰⁸ Assman 1992.

²⁰⁹ On the Christian picture of the other world and on Christian burials, see: Rush 1941.

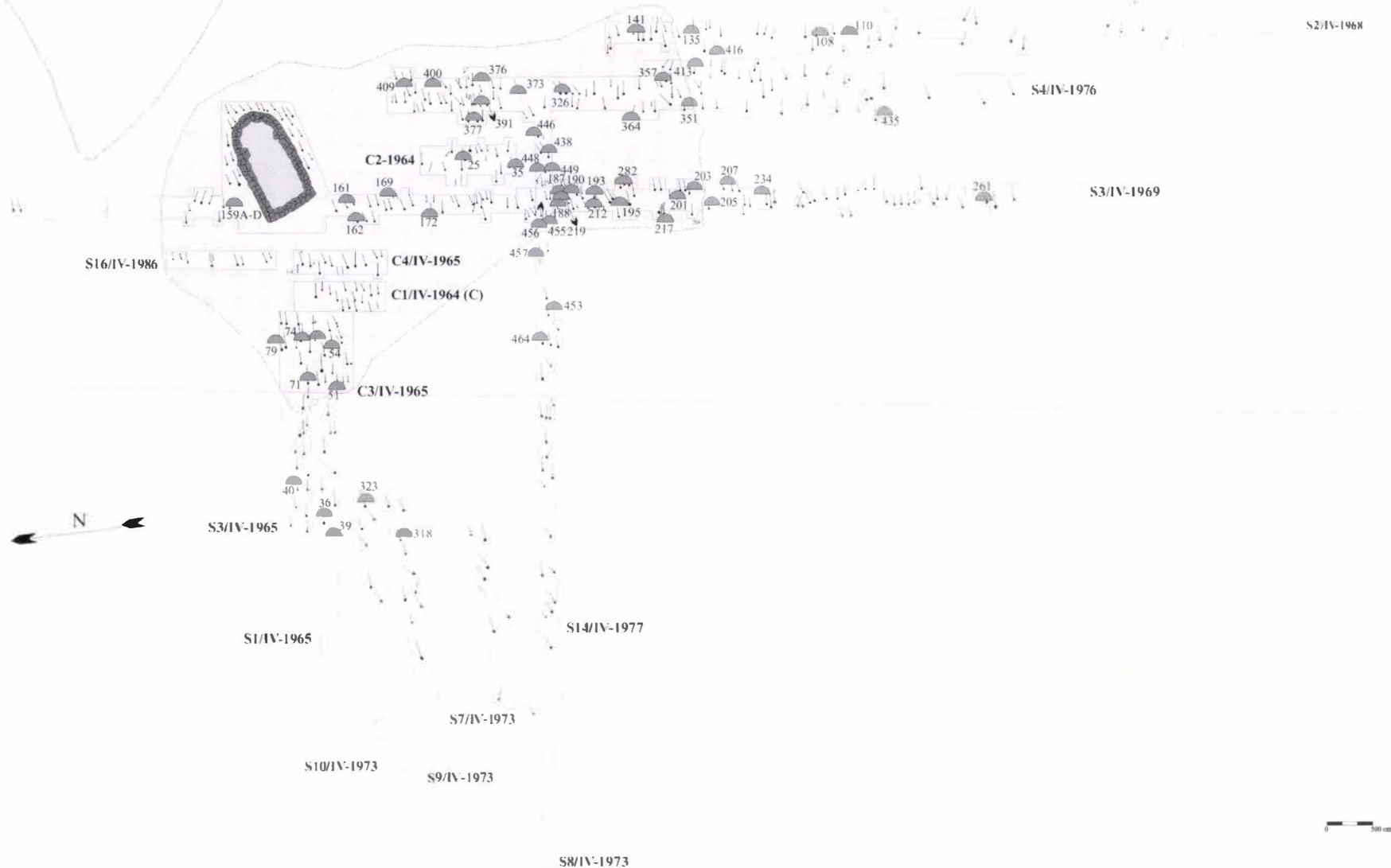


Fig. 39. The spread of silver jewellery within the cemetery (Dăbâca-Castle Area IV)

which also proves the existence of a *miles* class. On the other hand, for example the 15 mansios of the Arad castle may show that a considerable number of servants serving the warrior class must have lived in the castle.²¹⁴

As has been seen, in the case of Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur*, a smaller and a larger cemetery can be distinguished, which can be explained by the different statuses of the two communities. Graves 92 and 93 with brick covers in Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur* might have been the burials of religious persons. The situation is similar in the case of the two excavated cemeteries in Alba Iulia.

As conclusion, the multifunctionality of these centres and the stratification of the population inner these strongholds seems to clear. The differences among the finds from these castles could, at the same time, indicate that the wealth and importance of such centers may have been diverse.

At the moment, similar statements can hardly be made on the cemeteries of the forming (rural) settlements. For example, in Grave 76 in the *Dealul Viilor* cemetery from Sighişoara the skull of a skeleton is missing and on the skull found in Grave 45 an injury can be registered. These data may refer to violent military actions, which can be combined with the profession of the members of this community.

14. Results and perspectives

In our effort to summarise the churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin, although a lot of questions remained unanswered, we have managed to find some interpretations for several problems concerning the sociological and historical phenomena of the different segments of the 11th–13th century society.

Our first observation belongs to this archaeological phenomenon. Churchyards are the most obvious and reliable indicators of institutionalised Christianity. By this we do not mean that before the appearance of these cemeteries one cannot talk about Christianity, but these symbolise the 'fully fledged' real Christianity as a result of the 11th century conversion. We do not say that one cannot talk about Christian conversion or Christian groups in the Carpathian or the Transylvanian Basin, but there is no archaeological or other kind of evidence of a widely common system of Christian institutions.

As opposed to the other regions of Europe, there is no clear archaeological evidence of institutionalised Christianity in the Transylvanian Basin from before the 11th century.

Certainly, the dating of these cemeteries is in close connection with the spread of Christianity. As has been analysed above, in the case of the Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur* cemetery, we have managed to point out that Cemetery Sections I and II of the two communities of different statuses were used from the middle of the 11th century.

We also formulated the question: to what extent could the population of these churchyards be Christian? The characteristics of these cemeteries seem to show that the members of these communities were Christian. In several cases, unusual or strange burial customs can be documented, which were considered the remnants of pagan rites. However, according to our present opinion, this issue can be approached in a different way. Burial customs observed in churchyards should not be seen as the archaeological signs of lingering pagan rites, but the custom of excommunication, which is practised in present day communities too and which is a common human reaction. Those who are/were sentenced to death or who commit(ted) suicide may fall in this category. Certainly, it is out of question that this had no pagan roots but here they did not represent the pagan attitude but a norm accepted and institutionalised by the Christian church.

Although the Christian church banned some rites in the fight against paganism, based upon the archaeological finds, we can suppose a continuity of these in a few cases (for example Sighişoara–*Dealul Viilor*: Graves 45 and 76, Alba Iulia–*Roman Catholic Cathedral*: Grave 15).

In the analysis of churchyards we could draw a detailed picture of the formation and development of the structure of the medieval settlement network.

In the analysis of the Sighişoara–*Dealul Viilor* cemetery we collected the 11th–12th century data concerning the Târnava Mare region (cemetery, settlement, treasure, stray find). They also clearly show that there must have been a thick network of settlements in the E or upper region of the Rivers Târnava in the 12th century, which may indicate that the Hungarian Kingdom had finished establishing the system of settlements and institutions in the Transylvanian Basin by the end of the 11th–beginning of the 12th centuries.

²¹⁴ Györffy 1977, 229.

The connection between the power centres and these types of cemeteries may have been detected only in an indirect way. The use of two or three cemeteries in the centres well-known from the written sources may emphasise the possibility of the classification of society. More exact observations can only be made if other than archaeological analyses will also be conducted on the skeletons found in these cemeteries. However, it is certain that the distinct representation of the elite in the Middle Ages, as in other ages too, was a basic social gesture and this should be investigated. More attention should be paid to this feature in the future research.

The further, multidisciplinary research of churchyards could contribute to the information on the 11th–13th centuries in various ways; such as the determination of the birth place of individuals, the demographic processes, the quality of nutrition, the transformations in the mentality, the genetic attributes of the communities, the interactions between the men and the landscape. At the same time, the analysis of graveyards in the context of their micro-regions, the comparison of the revealed similarities will probably be a significant task for future investigations. This will hopefully offer a complex insight in specific features, for instance immigration processes, or intercultural relations (for instance the possible German, Romanian and Székely connections in the 12th–13th centuries). Finally, these tasks could be the main challenges of recent archaeological investigations; however, no further steps can be done without the total excavation of churchyards, and the complex anthropological survey of the anthropological material. Another research direction could be the survey of those settlements, where the documentary sources suggest relatively late dating, but the archaeological data proves the existence of a graveyard from the 12th century onwards. Compared with the document-based historical studies, here we can attest the almost limitless possibilities of archaeological research. We should not ignore this potential prospect!

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Rezumat

În ultimii ani cercetarea cimitirelor din jurul bisericilor dateate în secolele XI-XIII a luat un avânt important în Bazinul Transilvaniei. Caracteristic în special lumii occidentale (în lumea bizantină nu au existat reglementări similare), obiceiul de a se înmormânta pe lângă biserică apare în zonele merovingiene în secolele VIII-IX. Astfel, printre *capitularele lui Theodulf*, episcop de Orleans (798-818), găsim prima reglementare a acestor norme. După normele din *Decretum Gratiani*, în biserică se puteau înmormânta episcopii, abații, respectiv preoții și laicii vrednici de aceasta.

Pe teritoriul Regatului Maghiar medieval apariția acestor cimitire este datată în literatura de specialitate, pe baza a trei documente scrise, la sfârșitul secolului al XI-lea, începutul secolului al XII-lea. Spre sfârșitul domniei lui Ladislau I cel Sfânt (1077-1095) și în perioada domniei lui Coloman Cărturarul (1095-1116), hotărârile sinoadelor de la Szabolcs (1092), Tarcál (în jurul anului 1100) și Strigónium (1104-1112/1113) au stabilit că defuncții trebuie să fie înmormântați în jurul bisericii. Au fost respectate oare aceste hotărâri? Fiecare necropolă de acest tip trebuie datată de la sfârșitul secolului al XI-lea? Putem generaliza din punct de vedere arheologic și cu aceasta să pășim pe calea „argumentării mixte”?

Teoretic și logic, aceste cimitire ar trebui să apară în zona centrelor religioase și politice, iar în așezările zonelor periferice ale regatului acest fenomen ar trebui să se răspândească mult mai târziu, în special după reglementările sinoadelor anterior menționate.

Această întrebare trebuie formulată și în cazul Transilvaniei, deoarece înființarea episcopiei de la Alba Iulia este datată în anul 1009. Nu exista oare în acest centru sau în alte centre (de exemplu la Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur) necropole de acest tip care au apărut înainte de sinoadele amintite?

Baza noastră de date cuprinde în acest moment 54 de situri funerare de acest tip, ale căror analize le-am efectuat în această lucrare. Abordările de până acum au aplicat metode unilaterale. Nu s-a încercat niciodată realizarea unui repertoriu complex. Descrierea succintă a materialului arheologic, sistematizarea ritualurilor funerare și prezentarea relațiilor tipologice ale culturii materiale rezultate din cercetări a fost de asemenea neglijată. Nu s-au scris lucrări despre necropolele din jurul bisericilor care să reflecte noile metode de cercetare aplicate în istoriografiile occidentale.

Din această cauză, una dintre cele mai importante obiective ale temei noastre a fost sistematizarea și analiza critică a bazei de date arheologice.

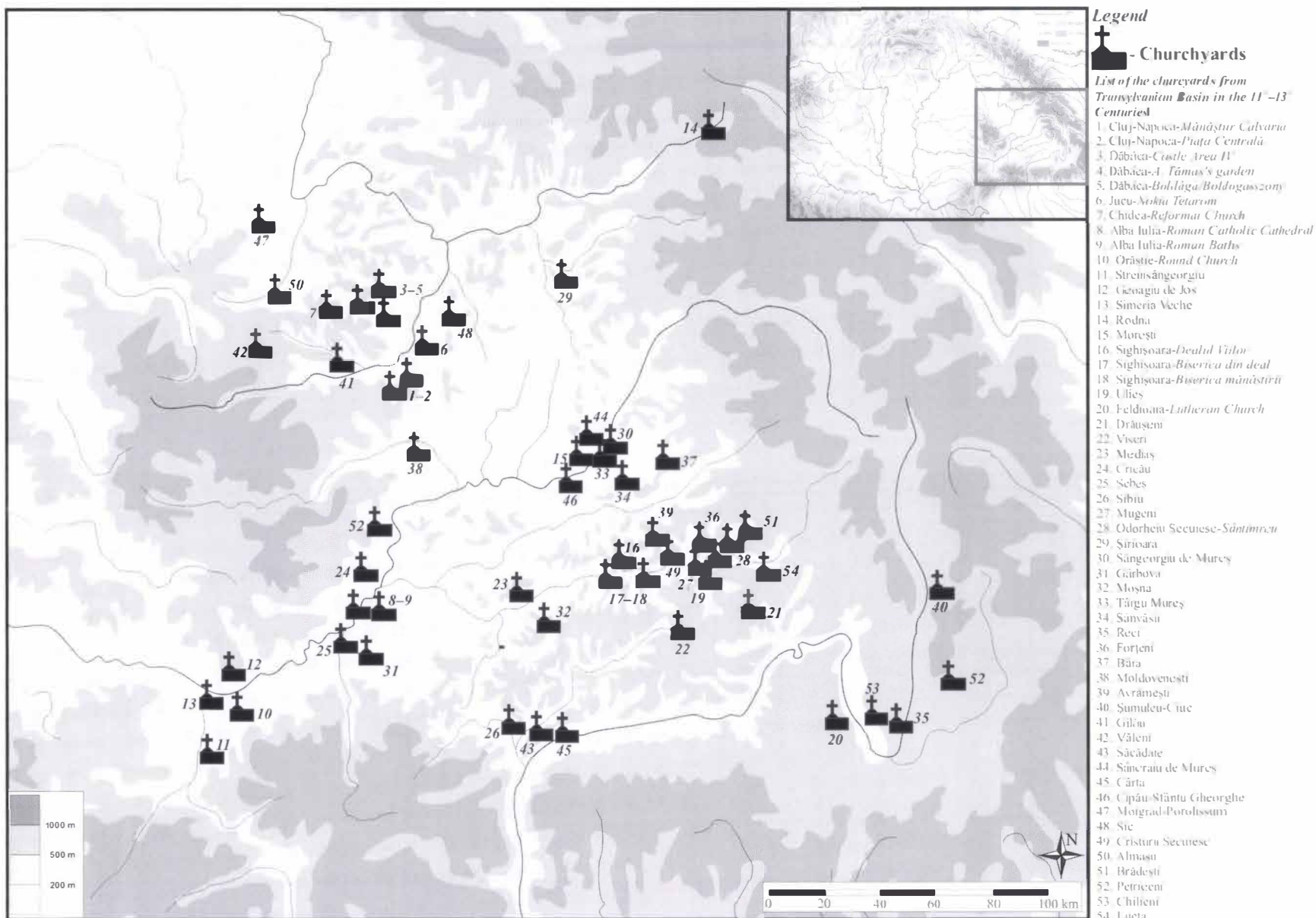
Plate 1. The distribution of the early churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin (11th-13th centuries). Drawn by E. Gáll.

Plate 2. The distribution of the built and *mummy-shaped* grave pits in the early churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin (11th–13th centuries).
Drawn by E. Gáll.

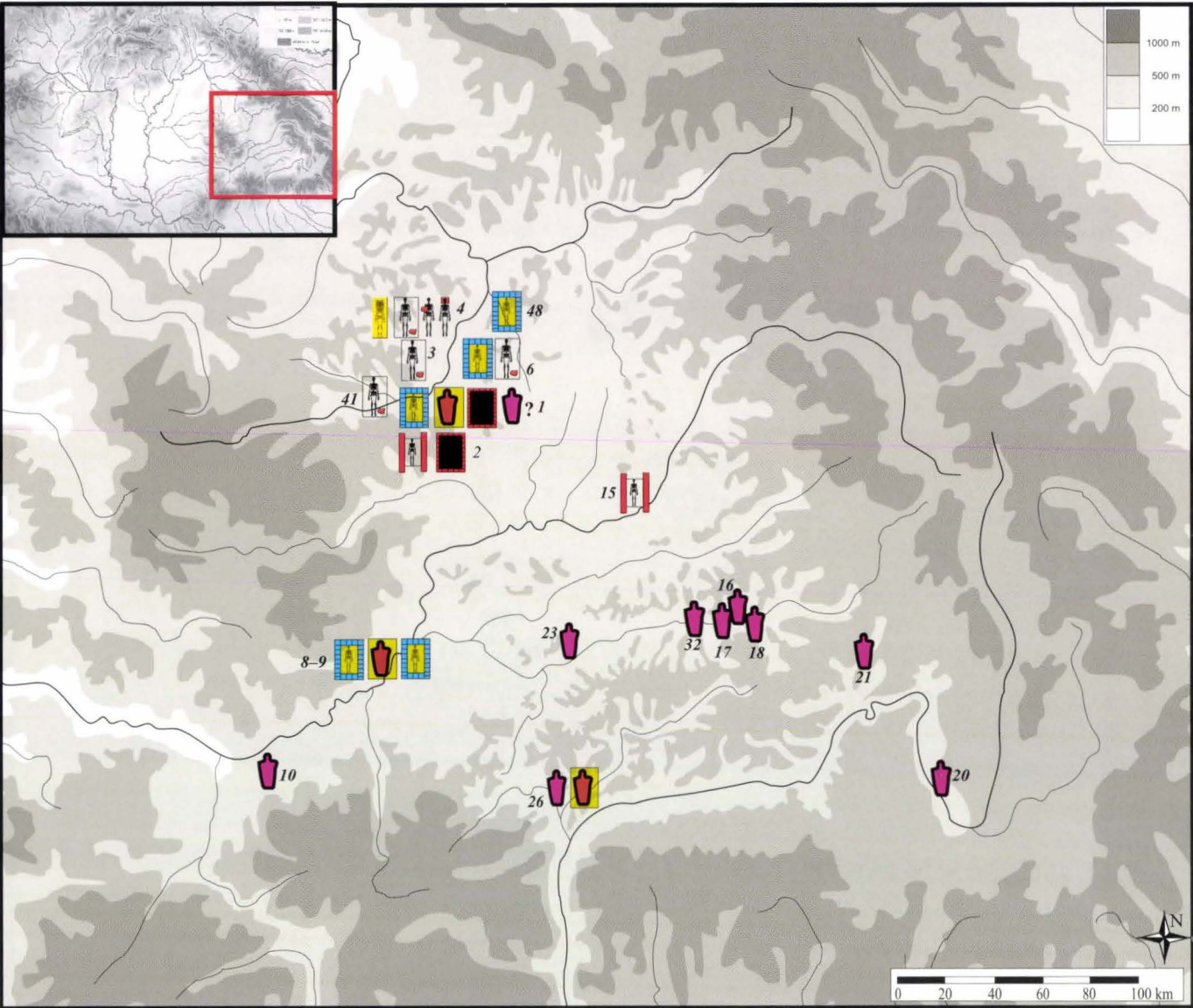
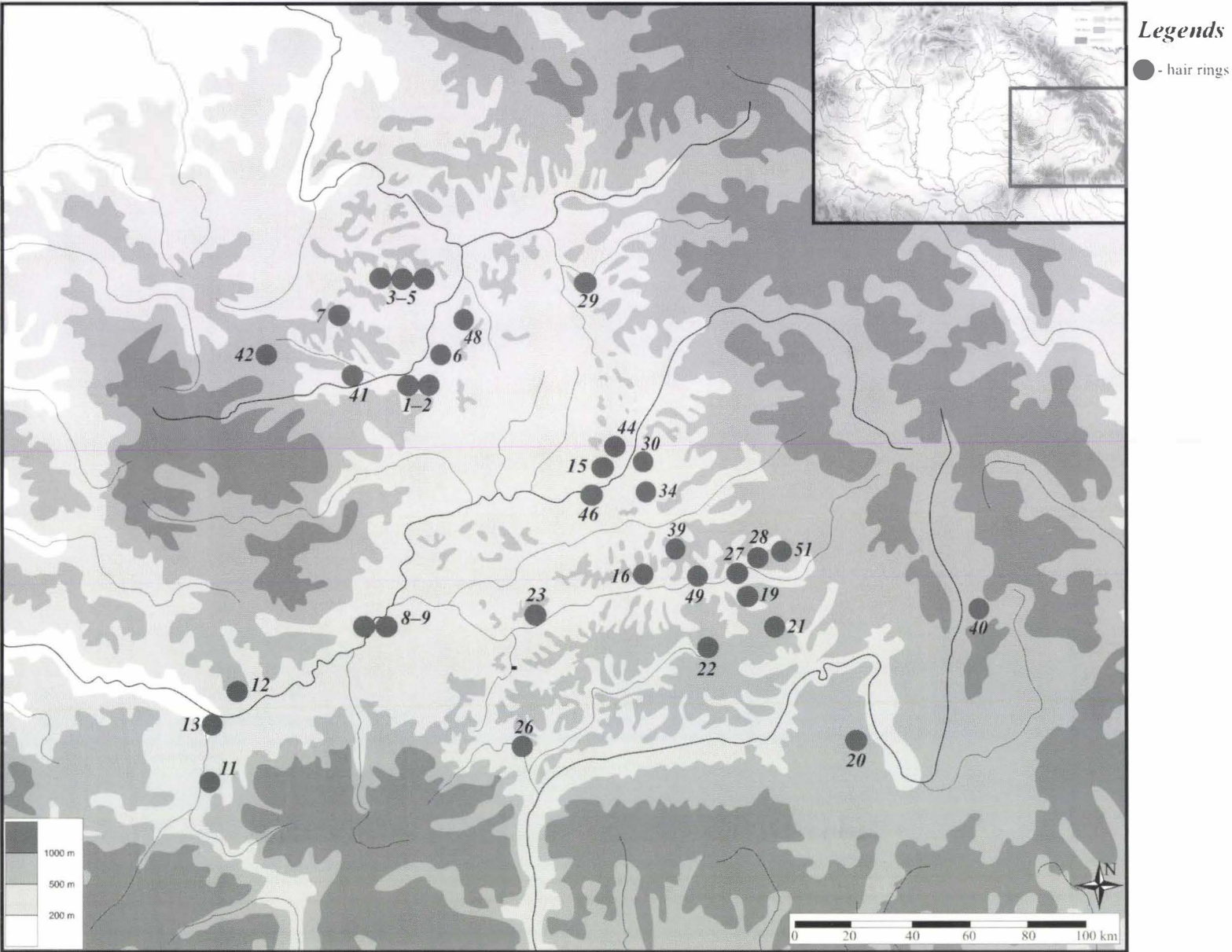


Plate 4. The distribution of lockrings in the early churchyards in Transylvanian Basin (11th–13th centuries). Drawn by E. Gáll.



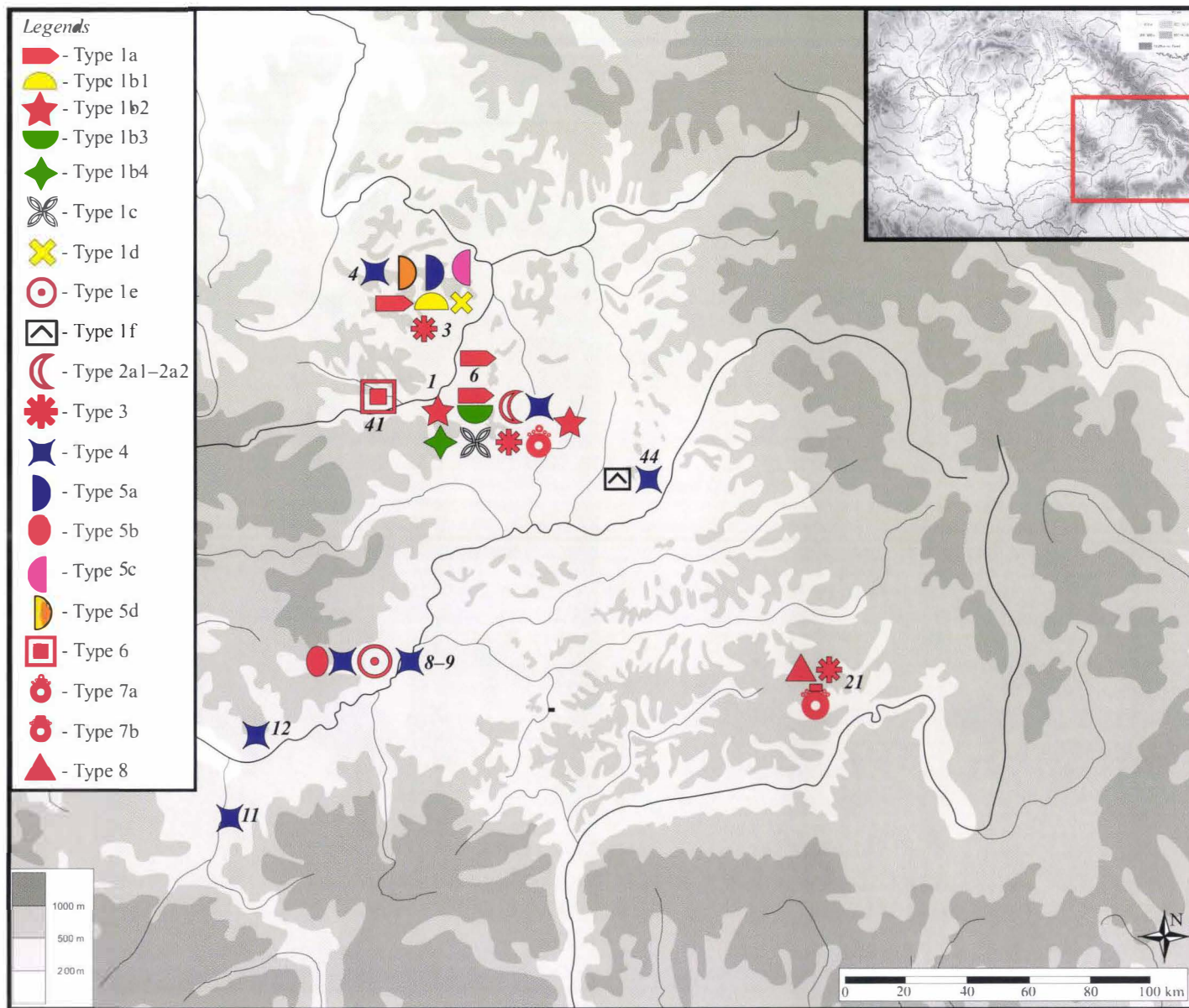


Plate 5. The distribution of finger rings in the early churchyards in the Transylvanian Basin (11th–13th centuries). Drawn by E. Gáll.

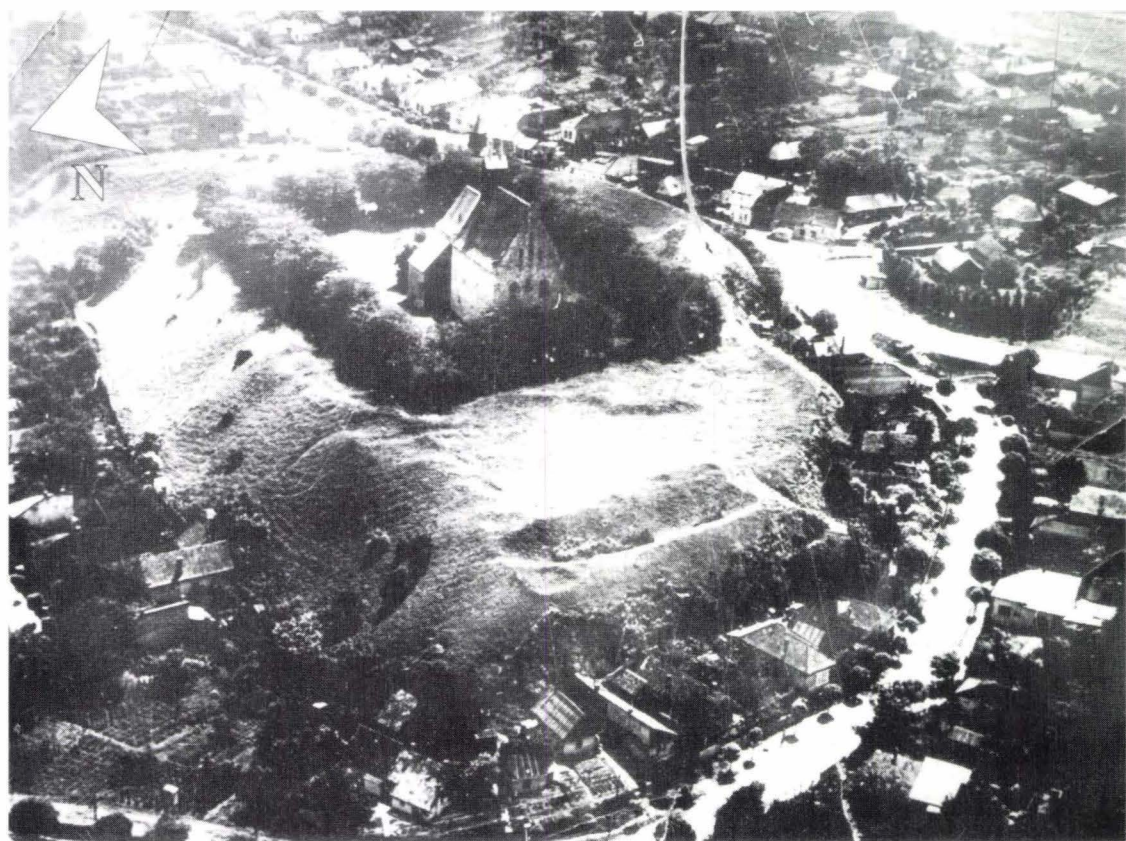
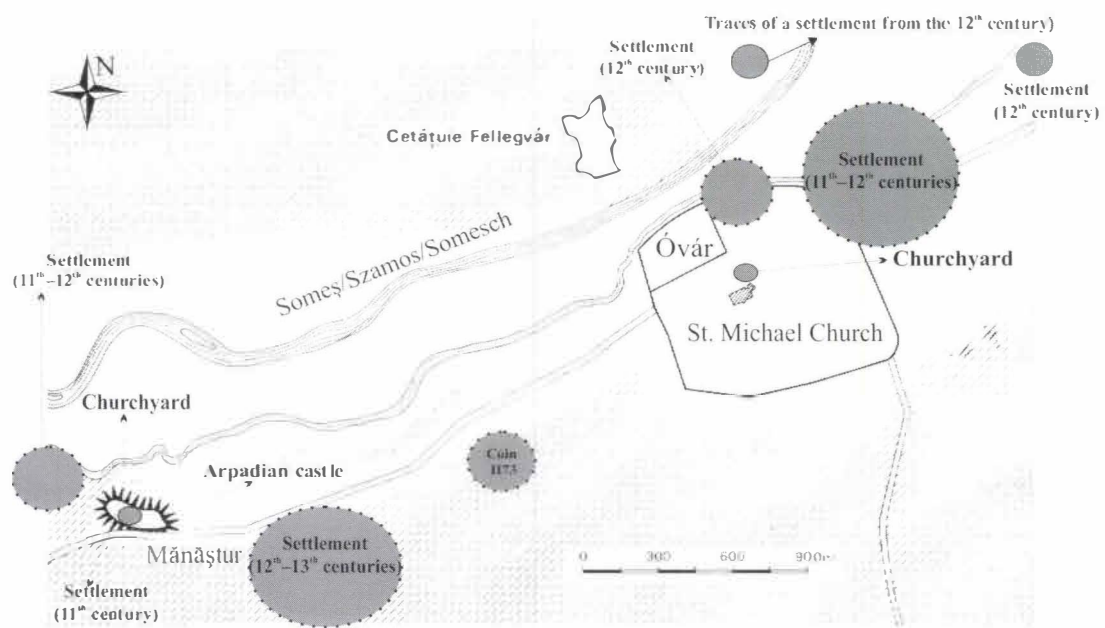


Plate 6. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur-Calvaria. Drawn by E. Gáll.
Photo was made in the years of '60 of the 20th century.

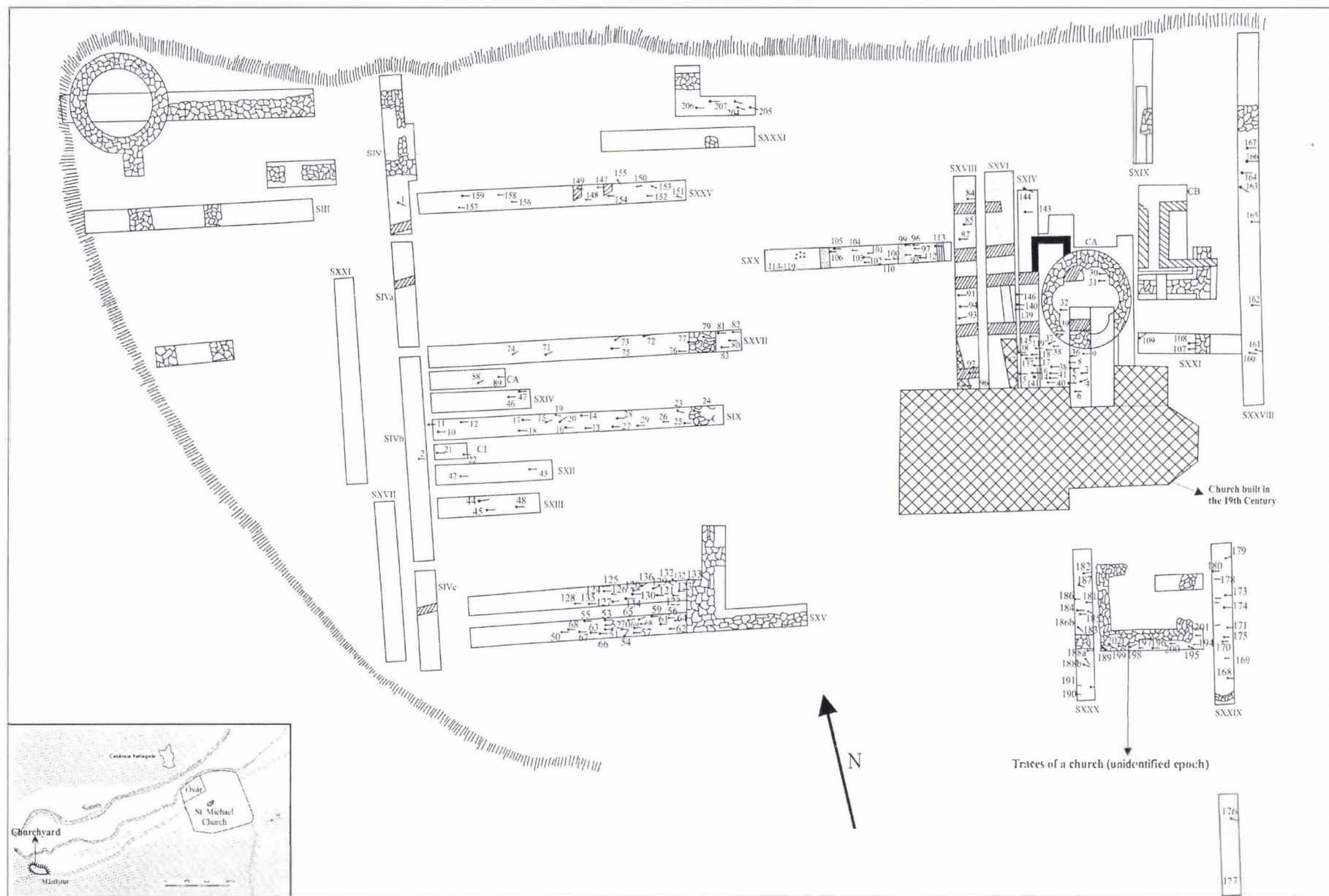
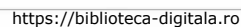


Plate 7. Cluj-Napoca–*Mănăştur-Calvaria*. The map of cemetery from Calvaria (11th–13th centuries). Re-drawn by E. Gáll.
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro>



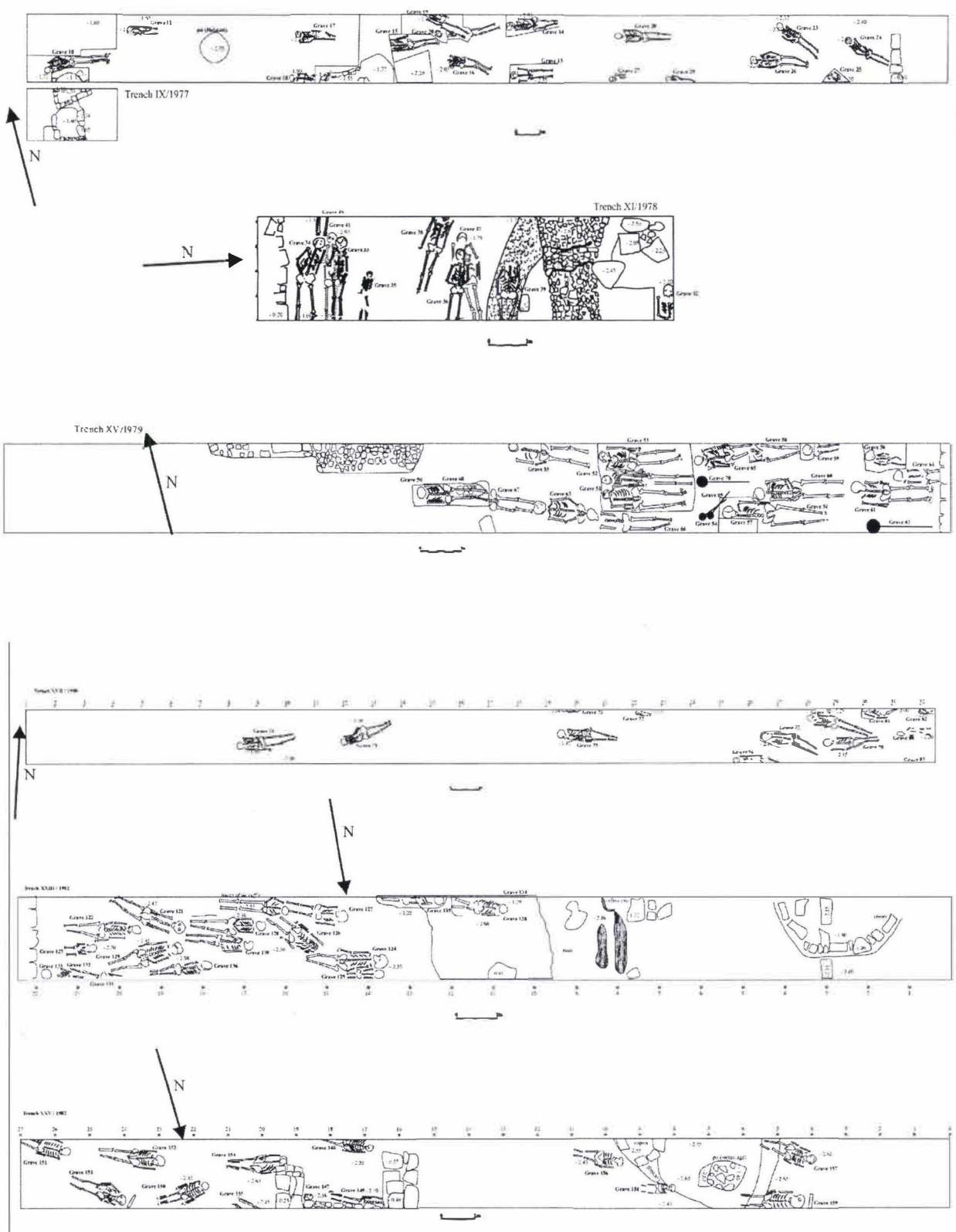


Plate 9. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur-Calvaria. Trenches IX, XI, XV, XVII, XXIII and XXV.

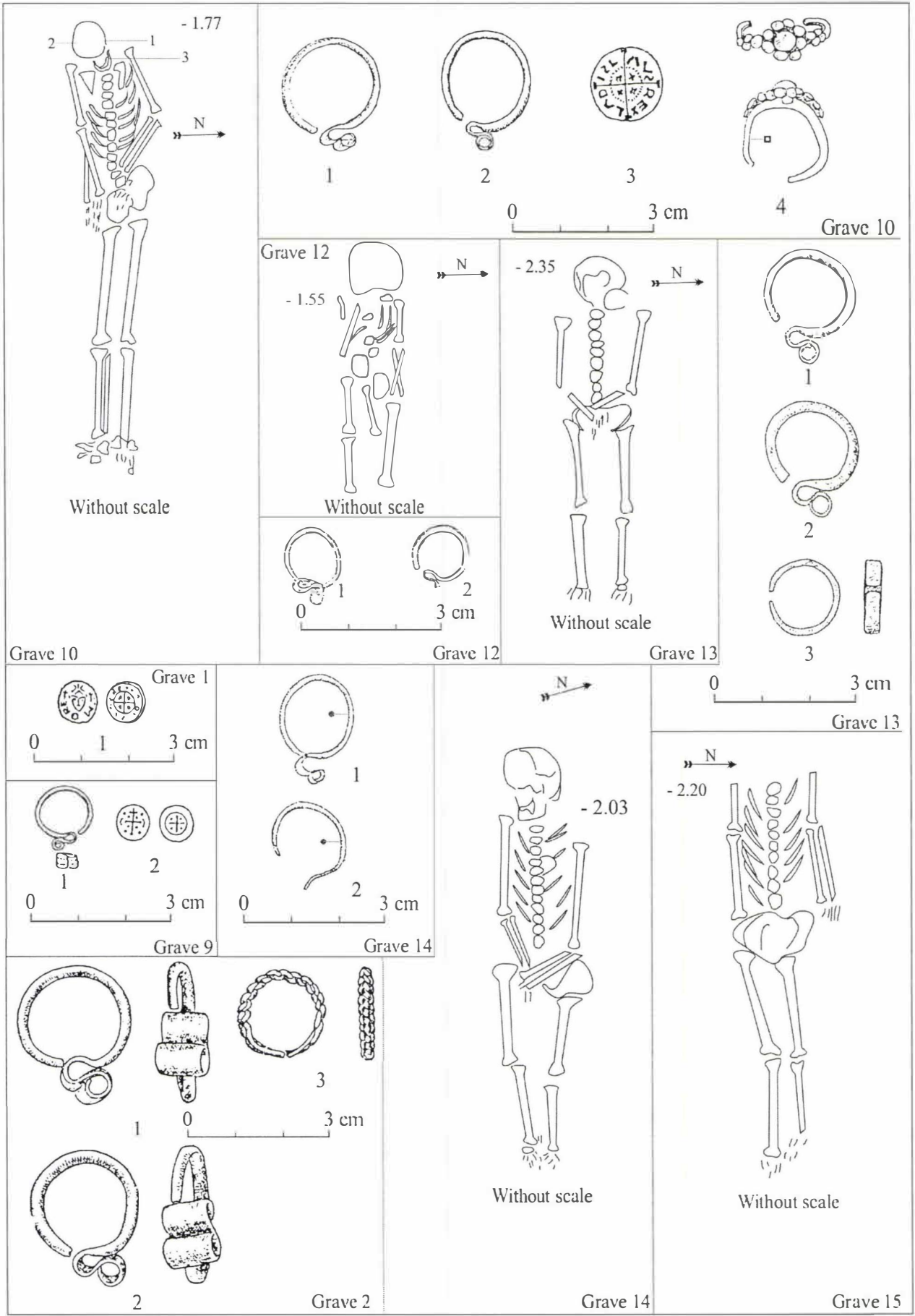


Plate 10. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăsturel. Grave 1: 1; Grave 2: 1-3; Grave 9: 1-2; Grave 10: 1-4; Grave 12: 1-2.
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 47)

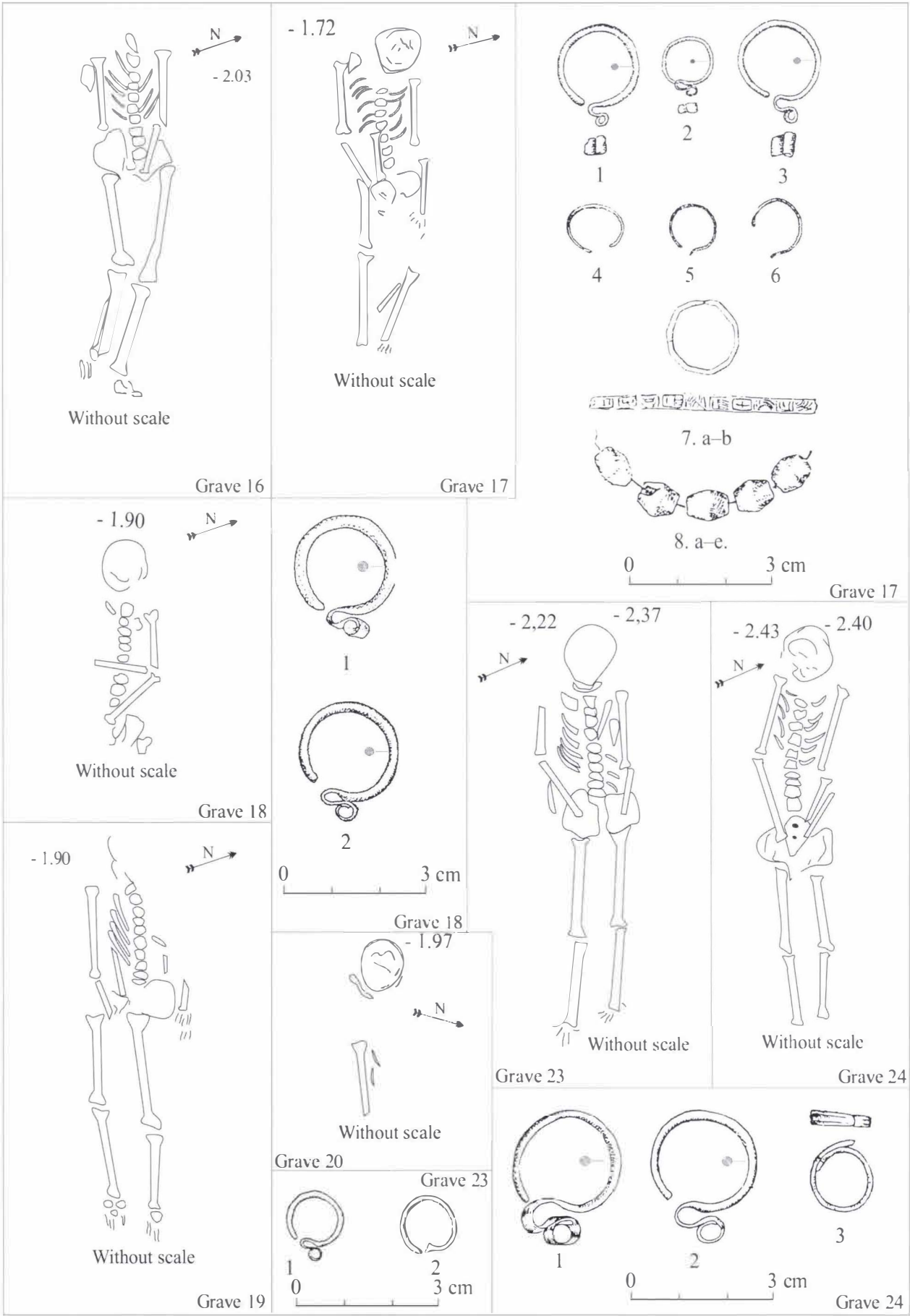


Plate 11. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 17: 1-8; Grave 18: 1-2; Grave 23: 1-2; Grave 24: 1-3.
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 48)

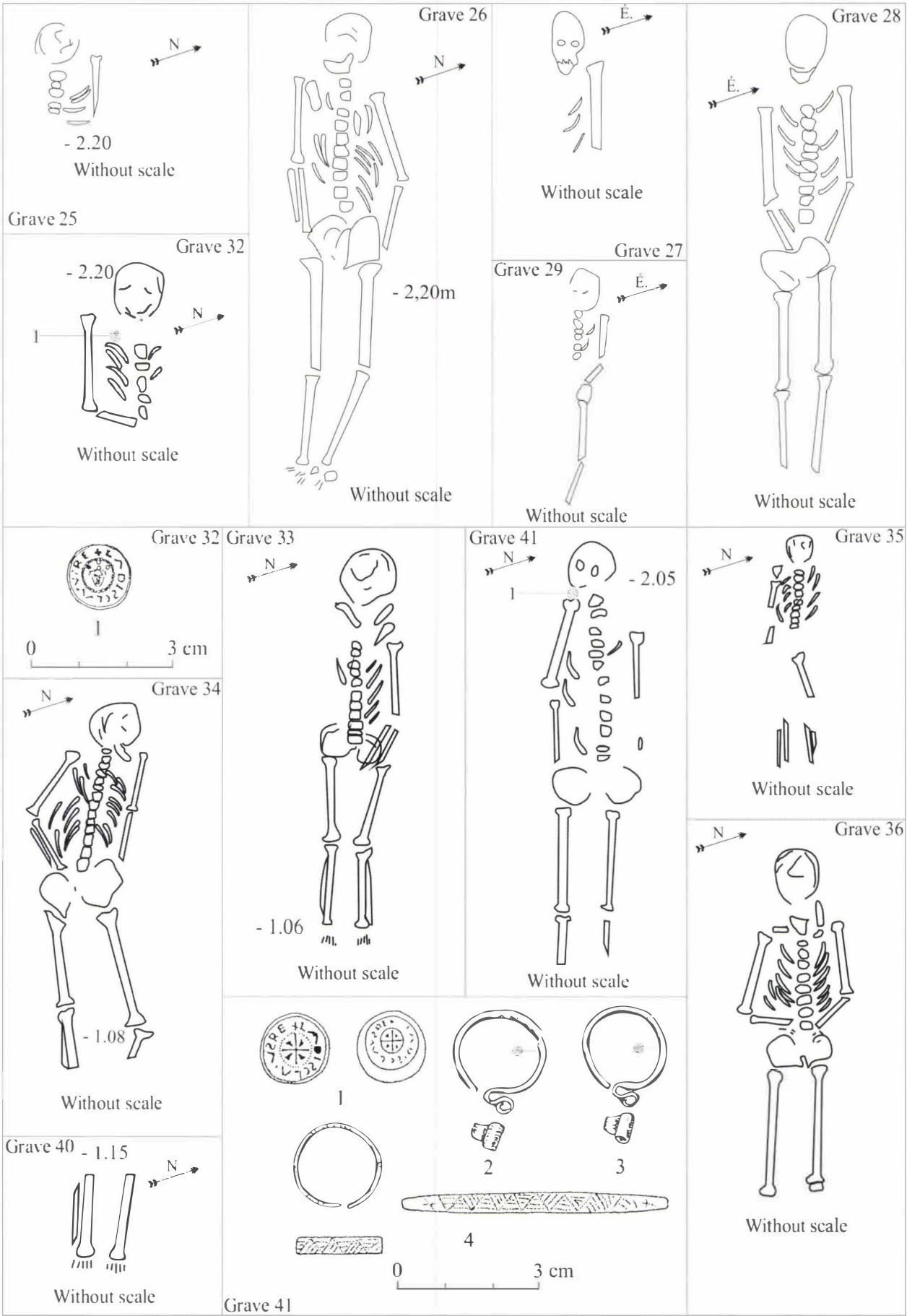


Plate 12. Cluj-Napoca–Mănăştur. Grave 32: 1; Grave 41: 1-3. Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 49)

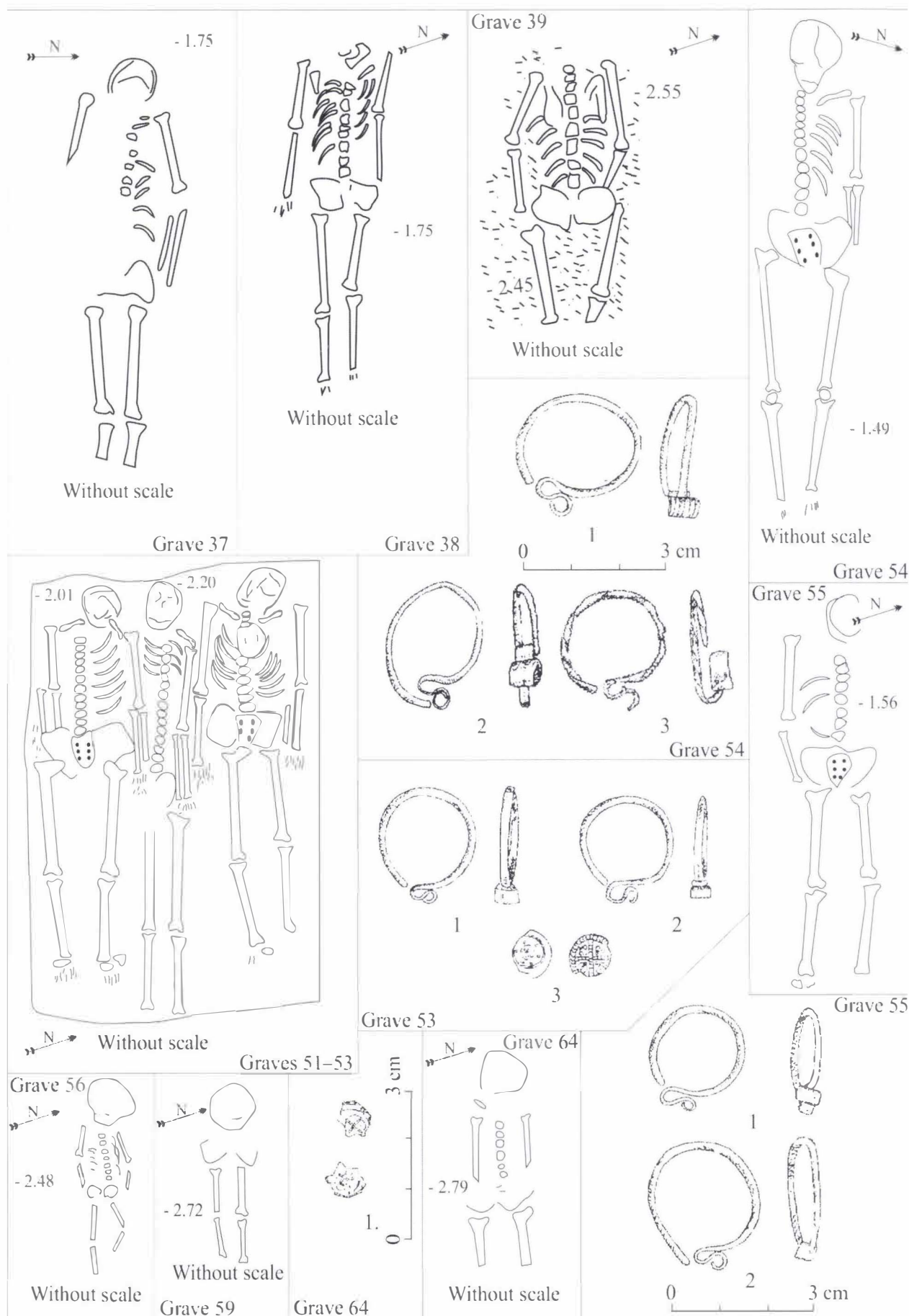


Plate 13. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 53: 1-3; Grave 54: 1-3; Grave 55: 1-2; Grave 64: 1.
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 50)

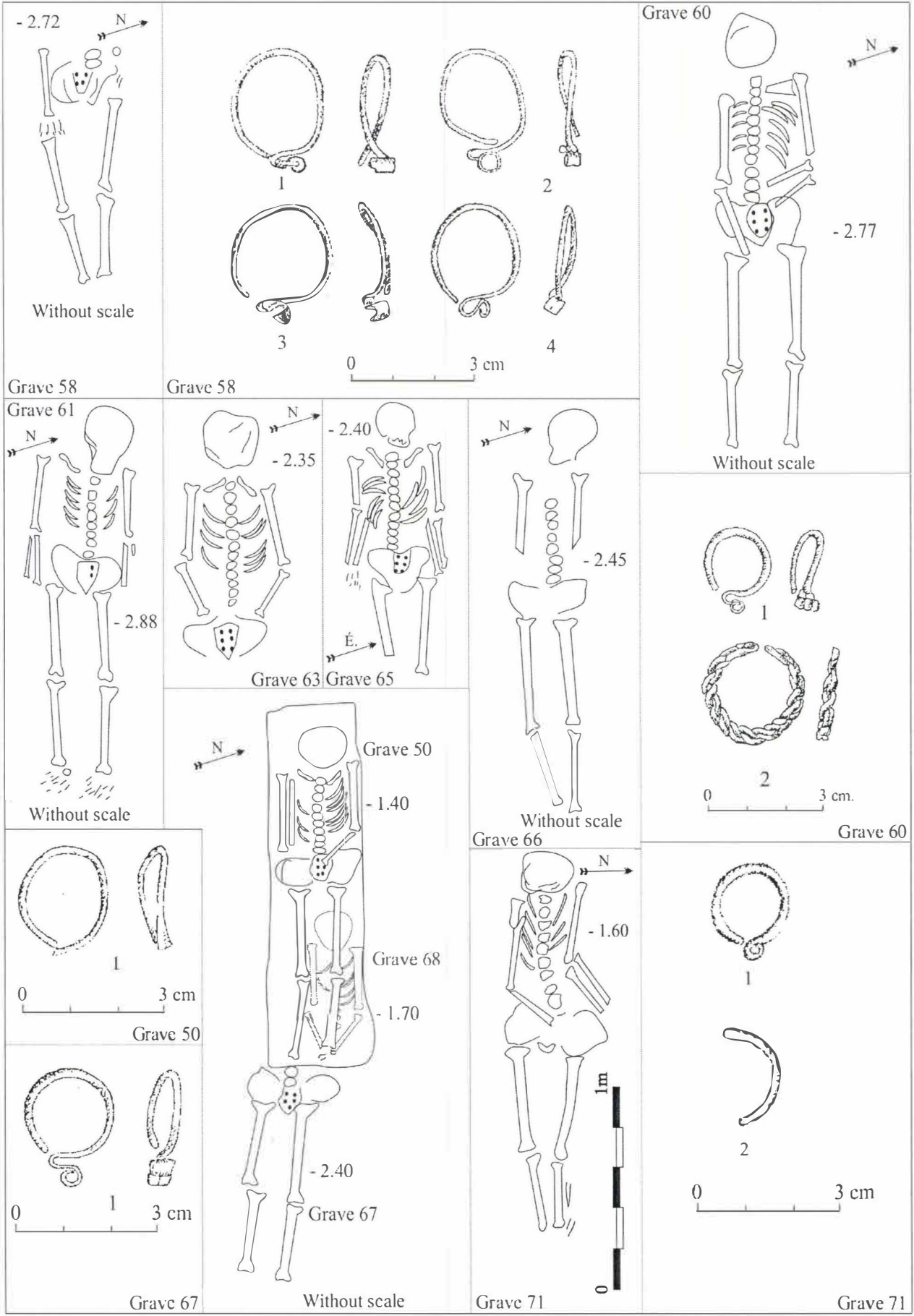


Plate 14. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 50: 1-2; Grave 58: 1-4; Grave 60: 1-2; Grave 67: 1; Grave 71: 1-2. Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 51)

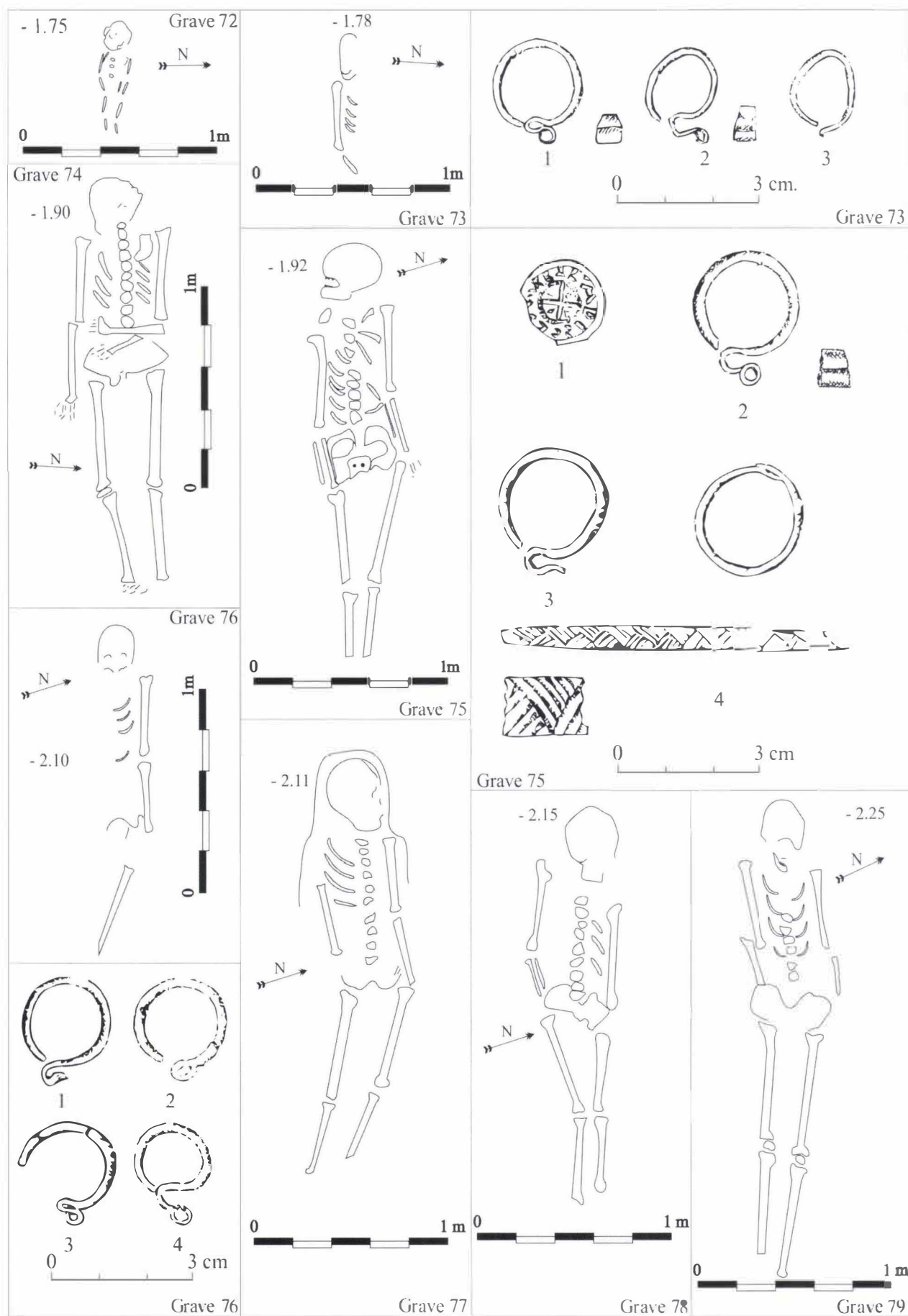


Plate 15. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăştur. Grave 73: 1-3; Grave 75: 1-4; Grave 76: 1-4.
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 52)

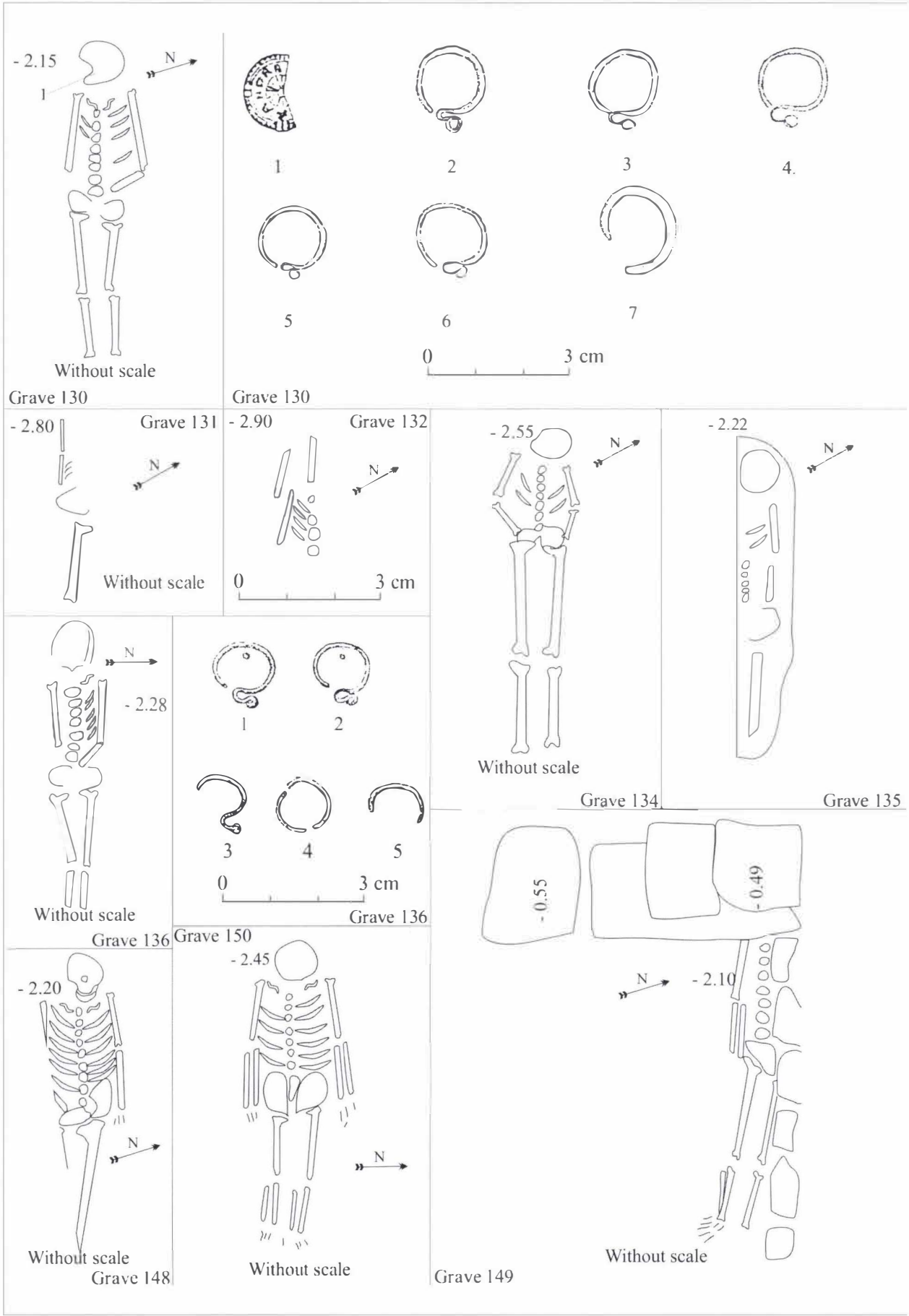


Plate 17. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 130: 1-7; Grave 136: 1-5.
Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 54)

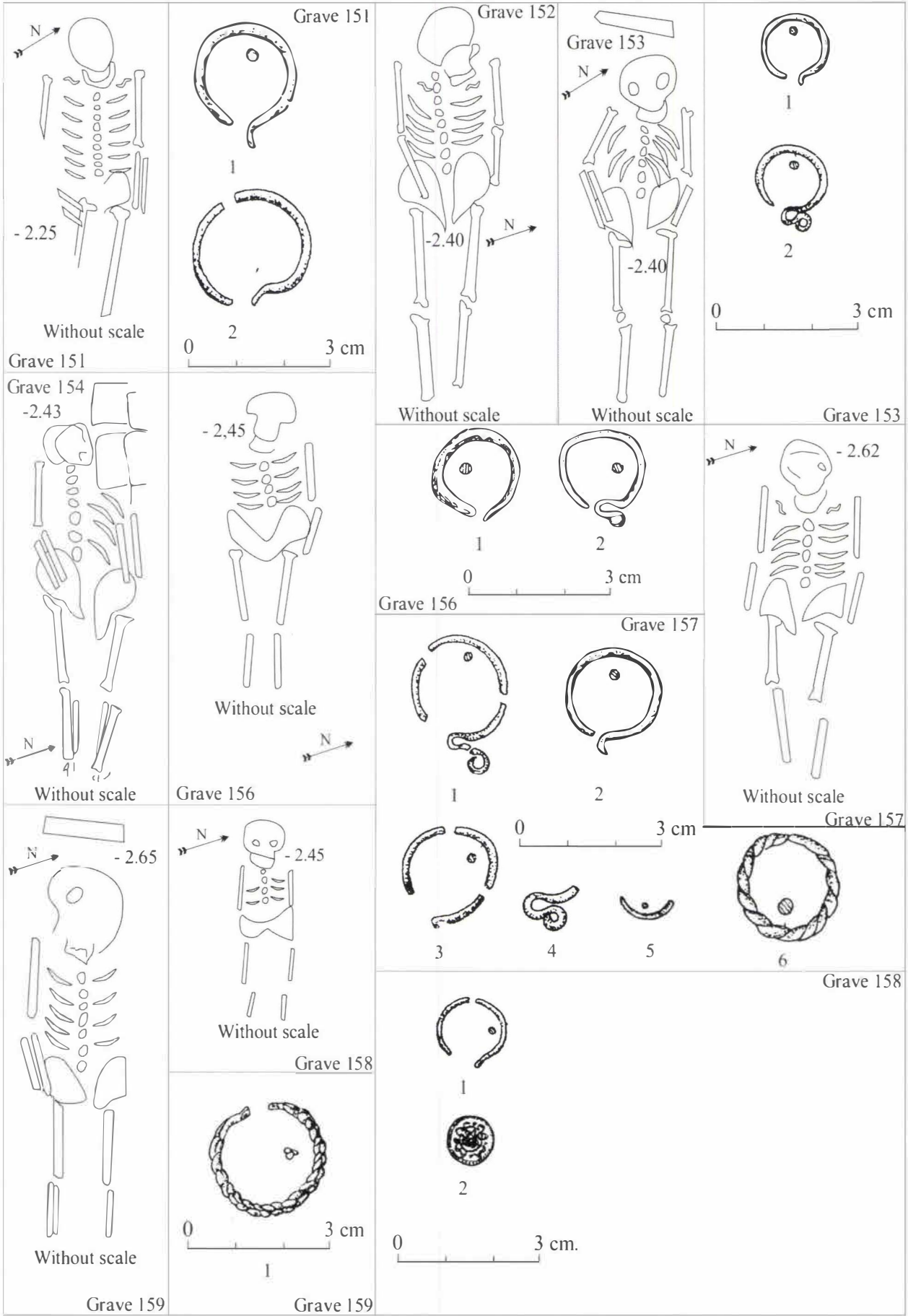


Plate 18. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 151: 1; Grave 153: 1-2; Grave 156: 1-2; Grave 157: 1-6; Grave 158: 1-2; Grave 159: 1. Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 55)

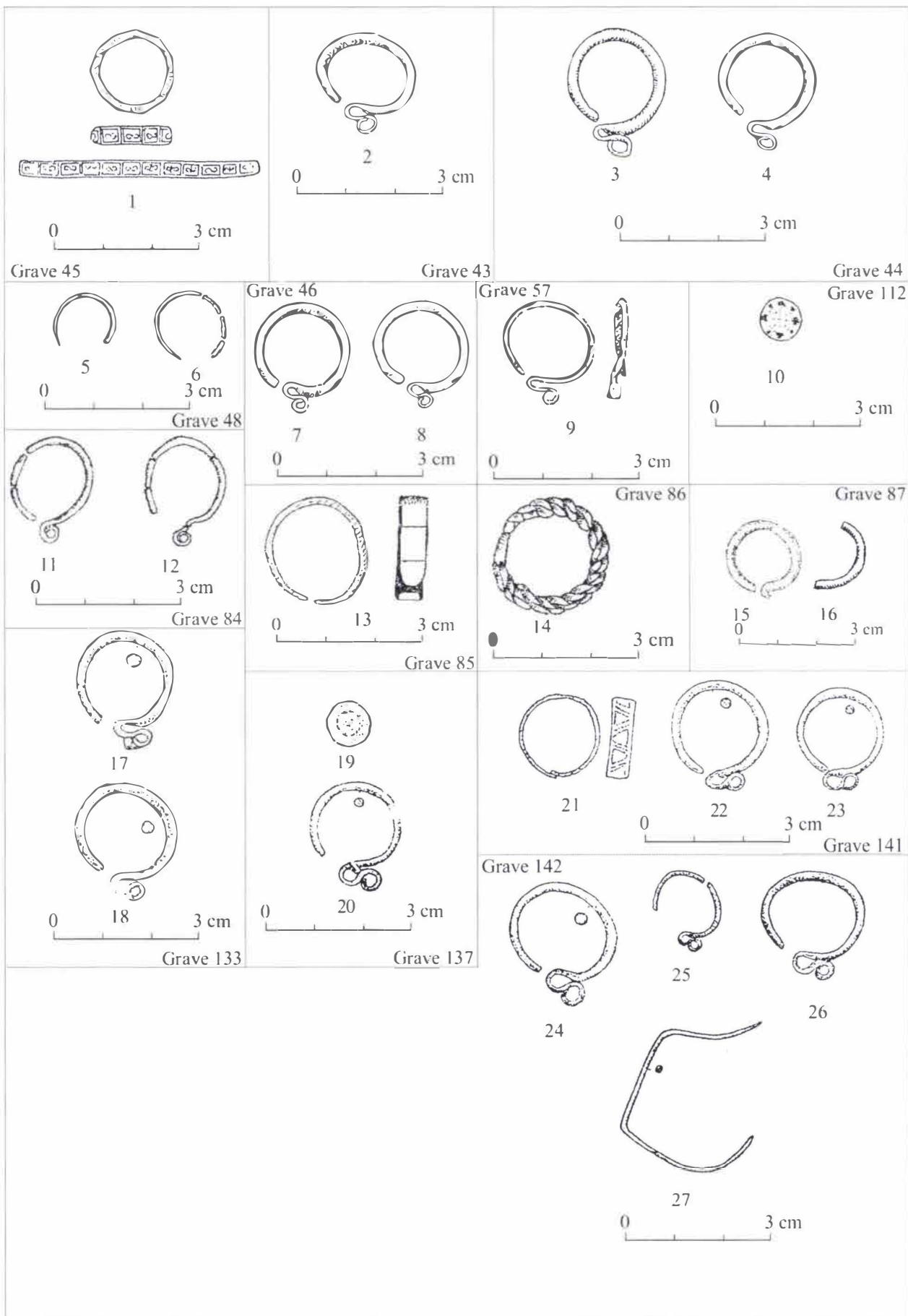


Plate 19. Cluj-Napoca-Mănăstur. Grave 45: 1; Grave 43: 2; Grave 44: 3-4.; Grave 48: 5-6; Grave 46: 7-8.; Grave 57: 9; Grave 112: 10; Grave 84: 11-12; Grave 85: 13; Grave 86: 14; Grave 87: 15-16; Grave 133: 17-18; Grave 137: 19-20; Grave 141: 21-23; Grave 142: 24-27. Re-drawn by A. Măgureanu. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 56)

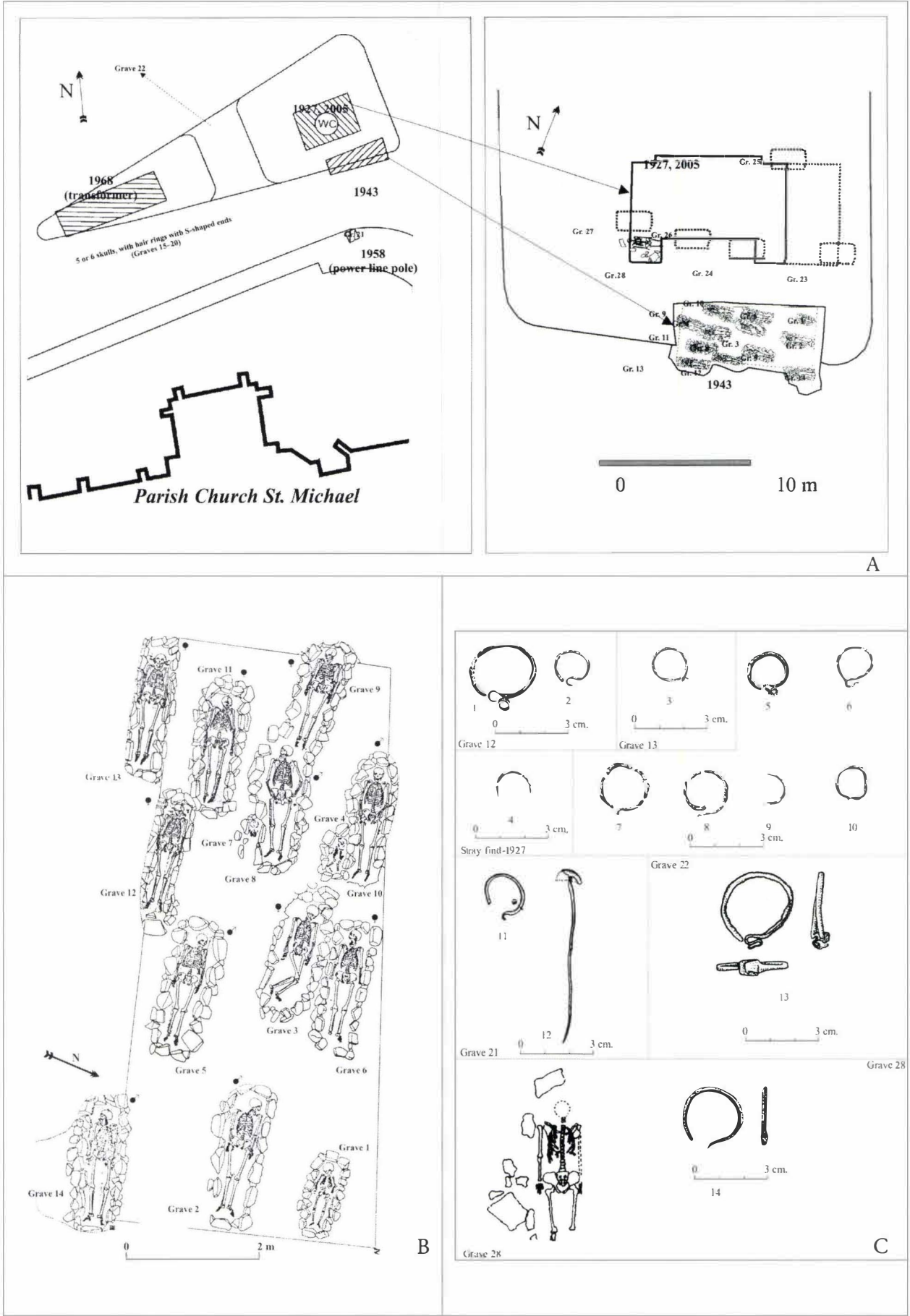
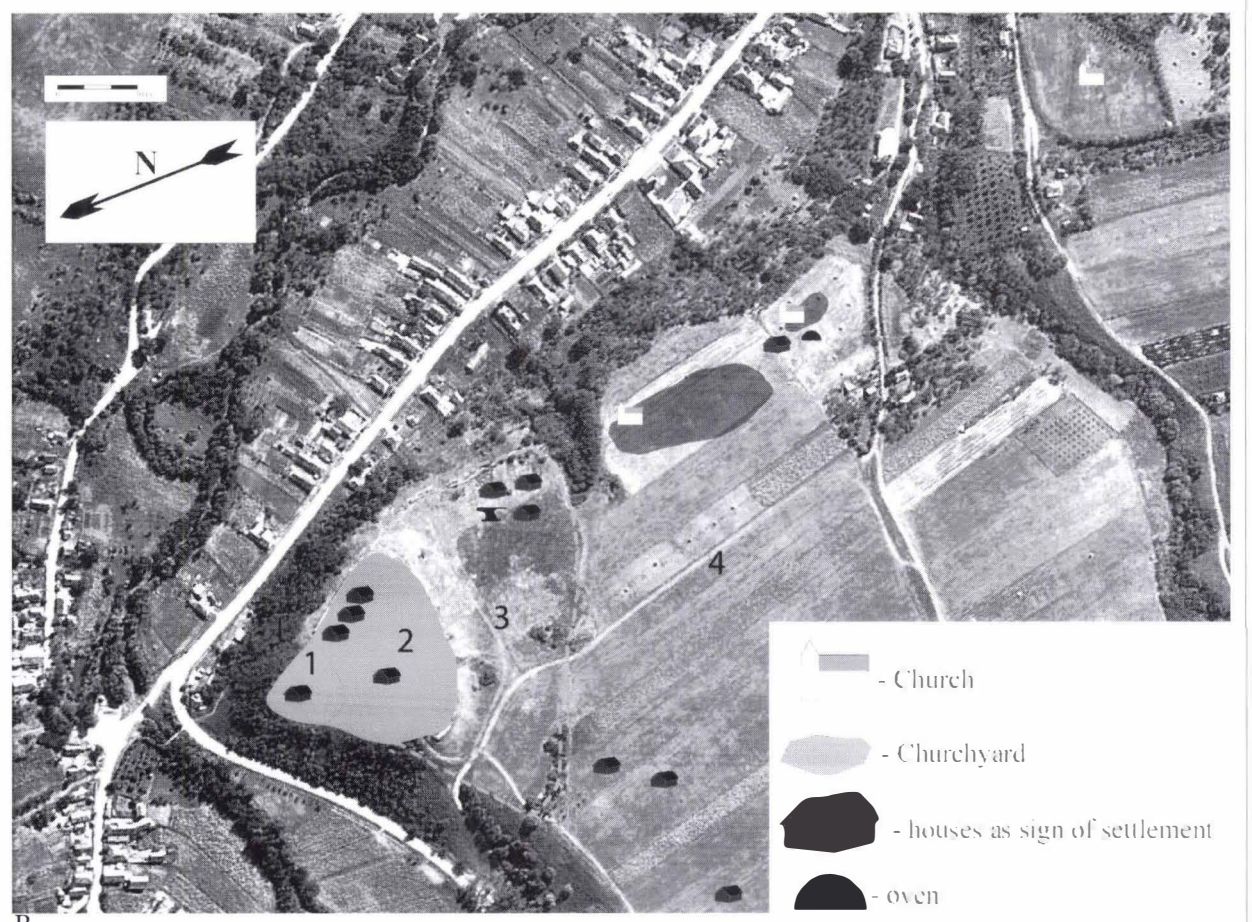


Plate 20. Cluj-Napoca–Piața Centrală. A: The position of cemetery. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 57) B: plan of the part of cemetery excavated in 1943. Re-drawn by E. Gáll. (after Méri 1986, 4. kép; Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 56) C: Grave 13: 1-2; Grave 12: 3; stray finds from 1927 and 1943: 4; finds from unknown graves (1943): 5-10; Grave 21: 11-12; Grave 22: 13; Grave 28: 14. (after Gáll et al. 2010, Pl. 58)



A



B

Plate 21. A-B. Dăbâca-Castle. Photo by Z. Czajlik. (after Gáll 2011, 4. kép).

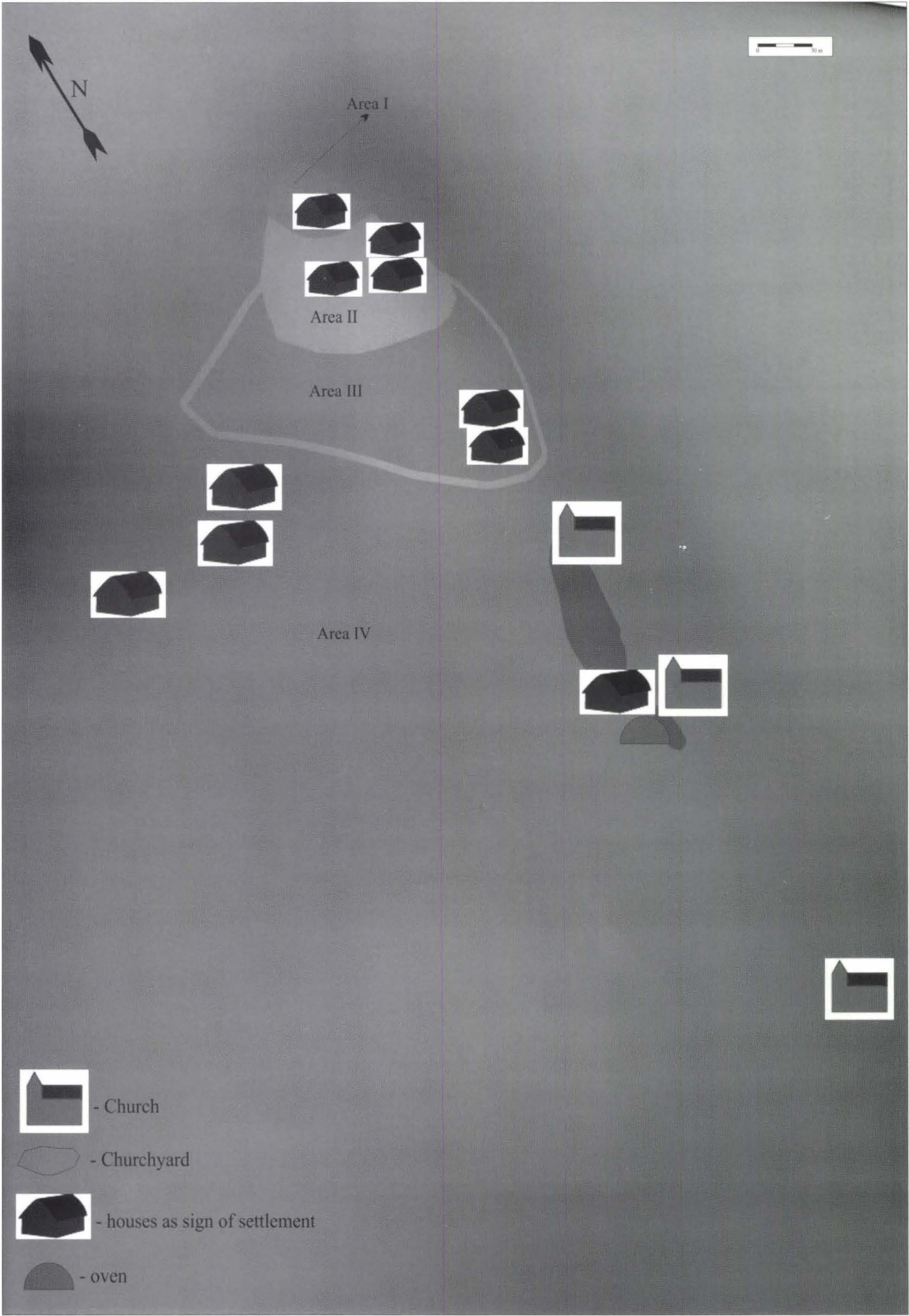


Plate 21.C. Dăbâca–Castle. A 3D reconstruction of the settlement structure (12th century)
(drawn by N. Laczkó)

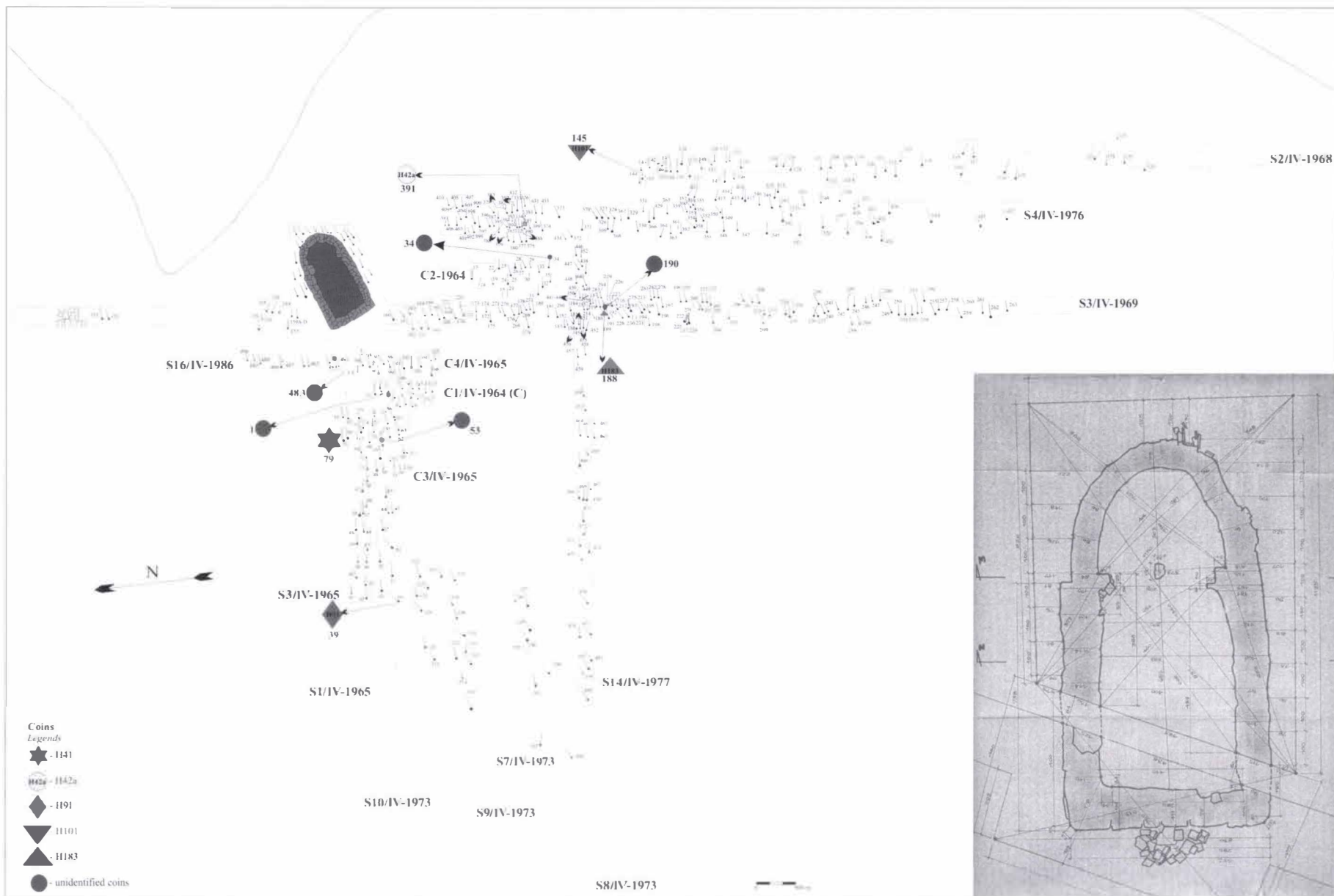


Plate 22. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV: map of the cemetery. Re-drawn after Gáll 2011, Appendix.
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro>

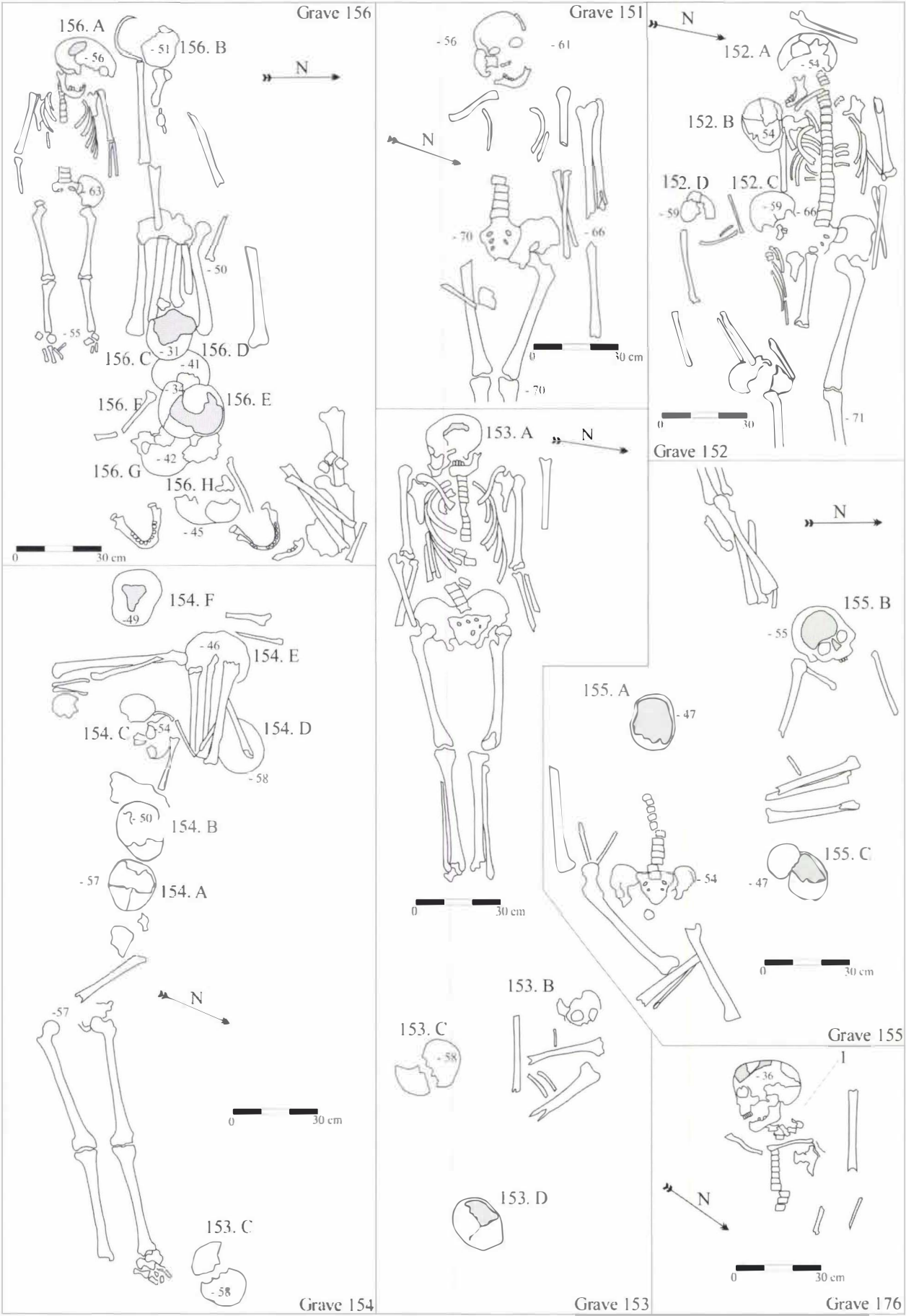


Plate 23. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Graves 151-156, Grave 176. (after Gáll 2011, 13. táb.)

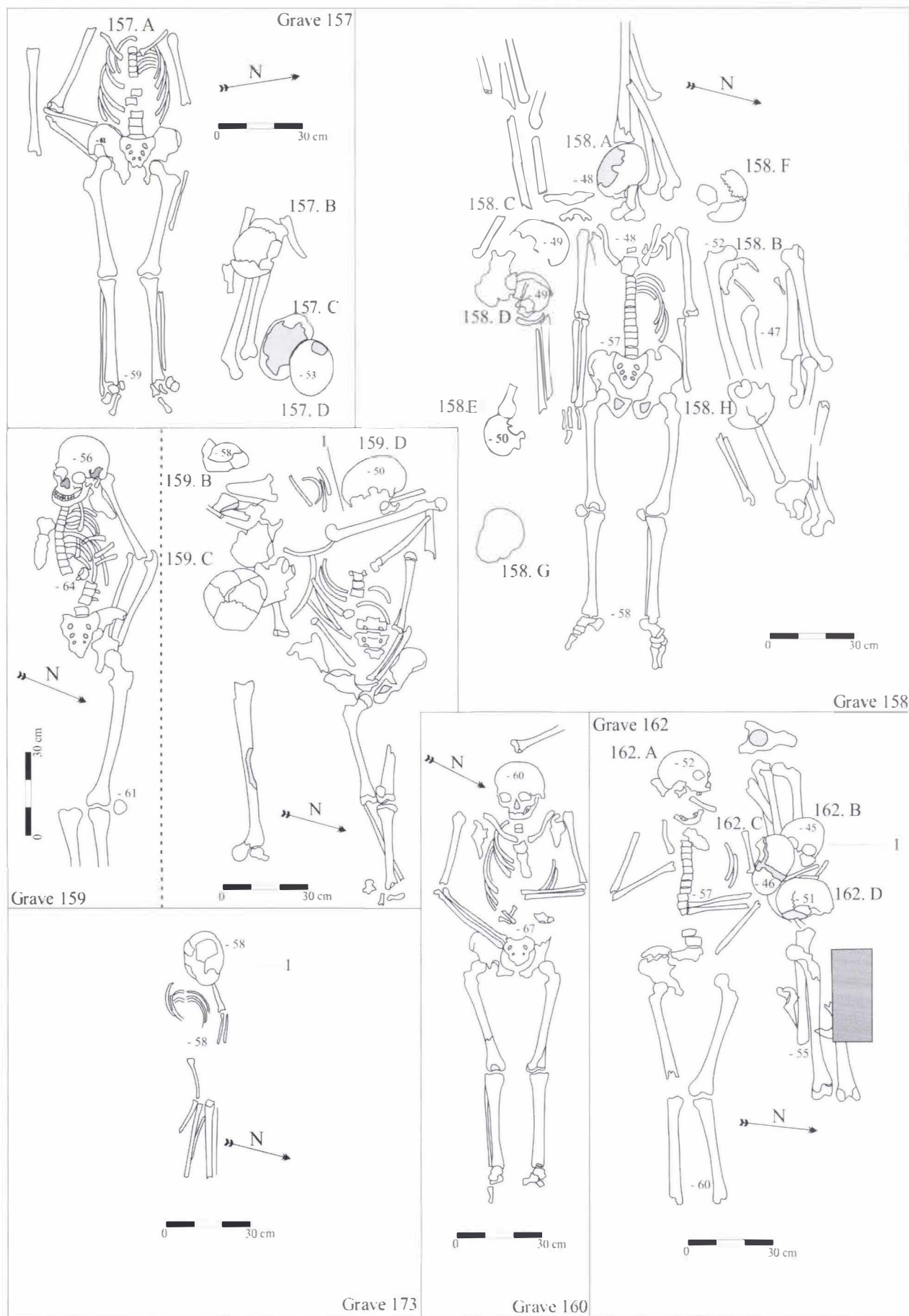


Plate 24. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Graves 157-160, Grave 162, Grave 173, Grave 191.
(after Gáll 2011, 13, 14. táb.)

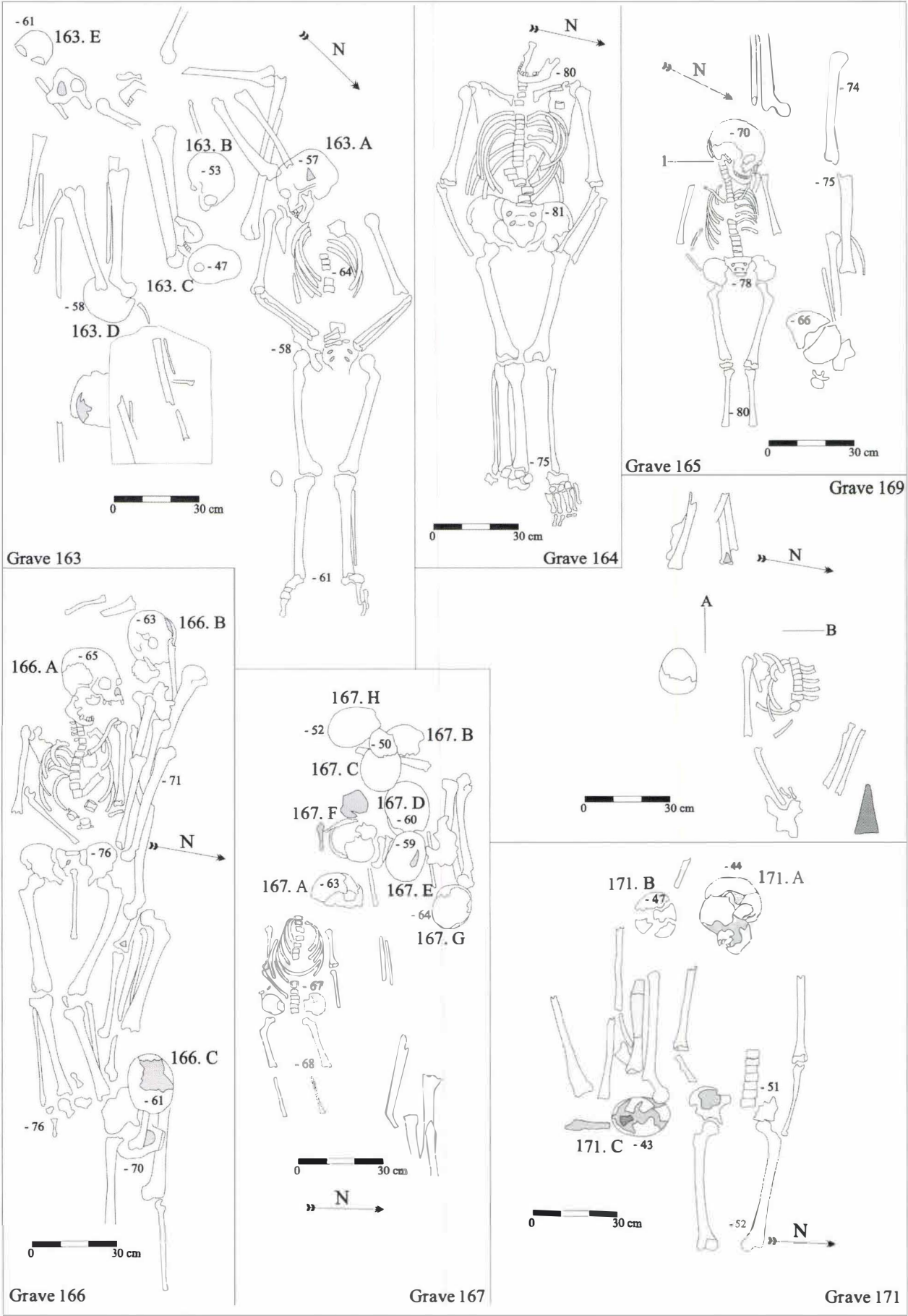


Plate 25. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Graves 163–167, Grave 171 (after Gáll 2011, 15. táb.)

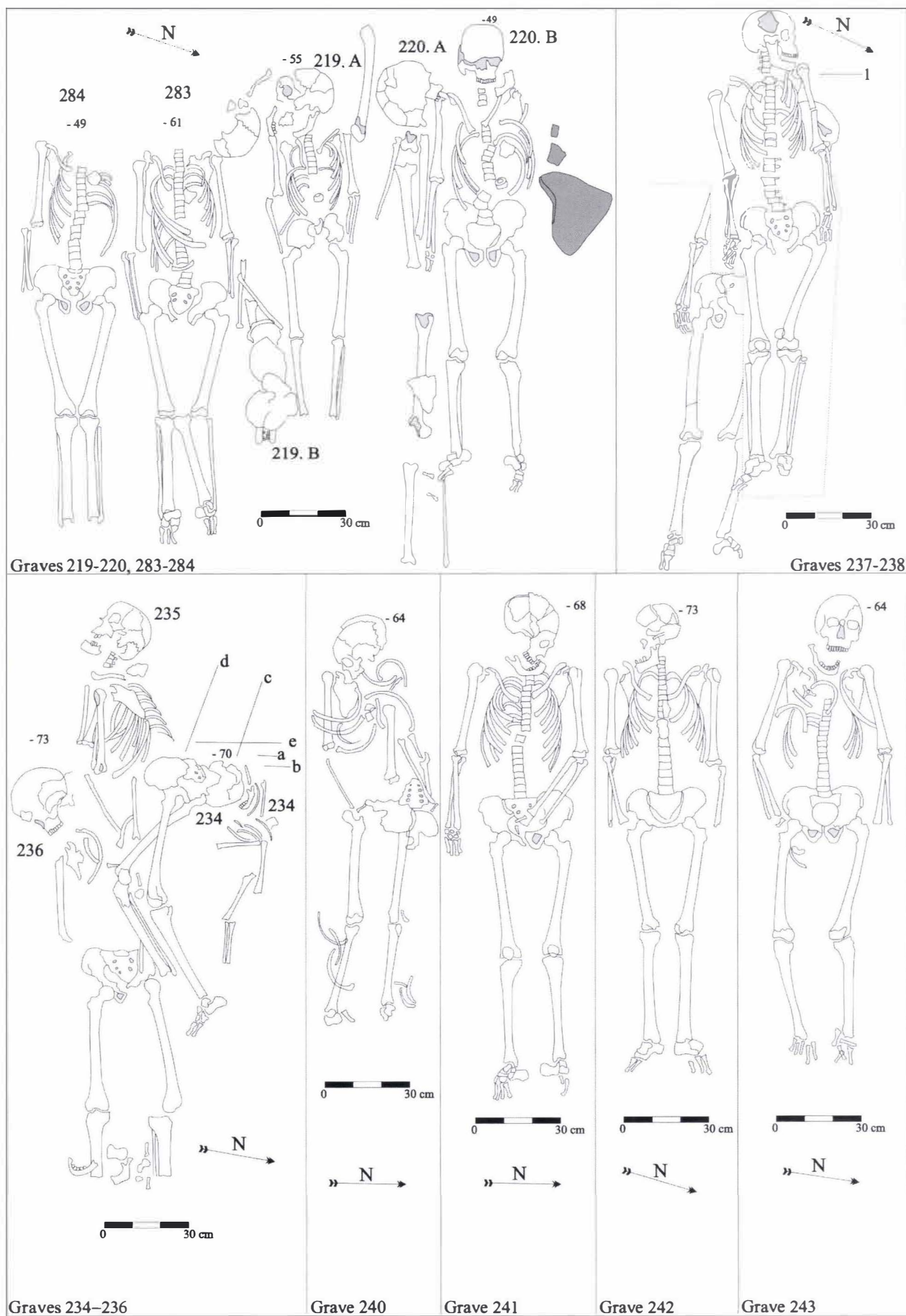


Plate 26. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Graves 219-222/283-284, Graves 234-238, Graves 240-243.
(after Gáll 2011, 21. táb.)

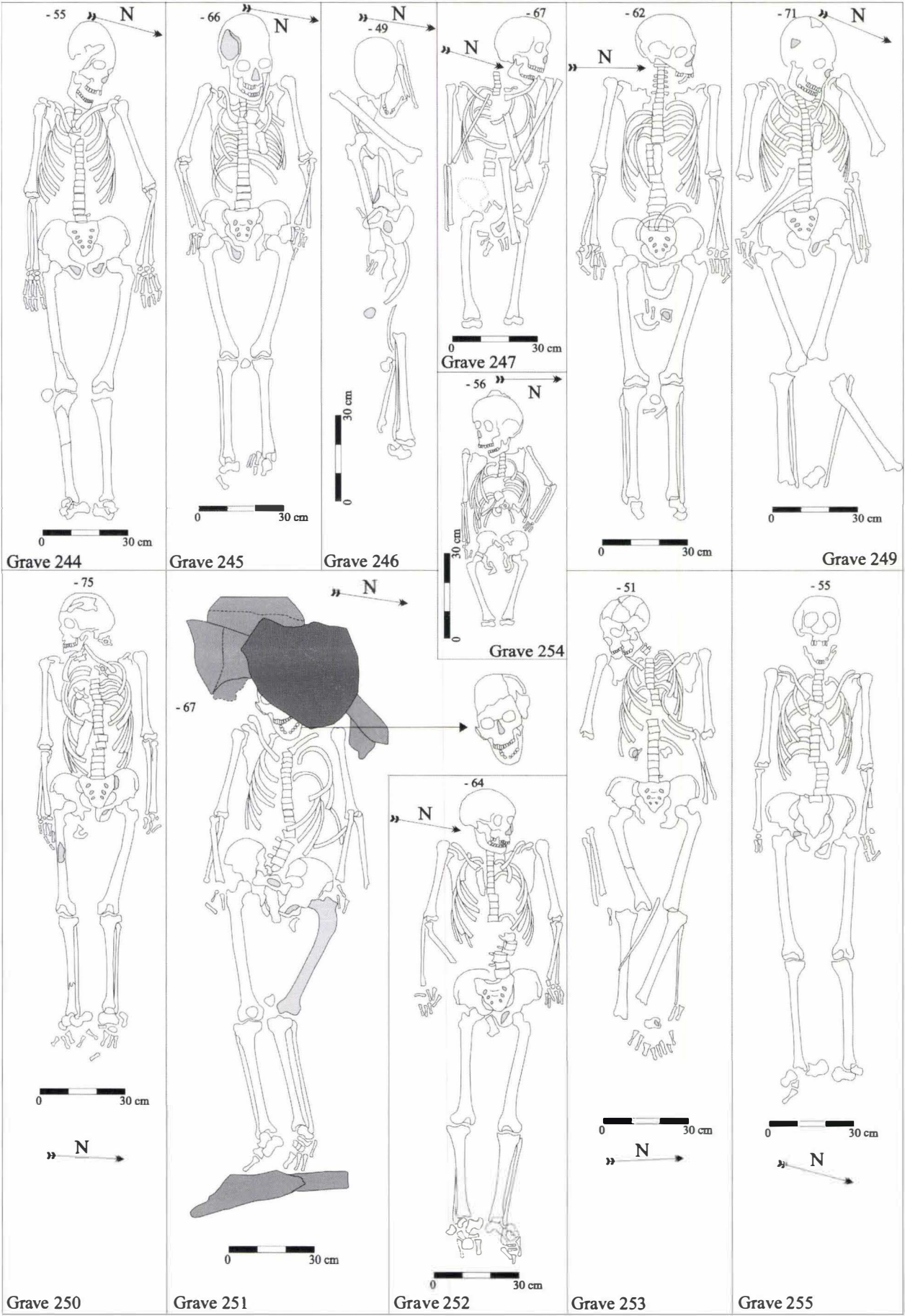


Plate 27. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Graves 244–255. (after Gáll 2011, 22. táb.)

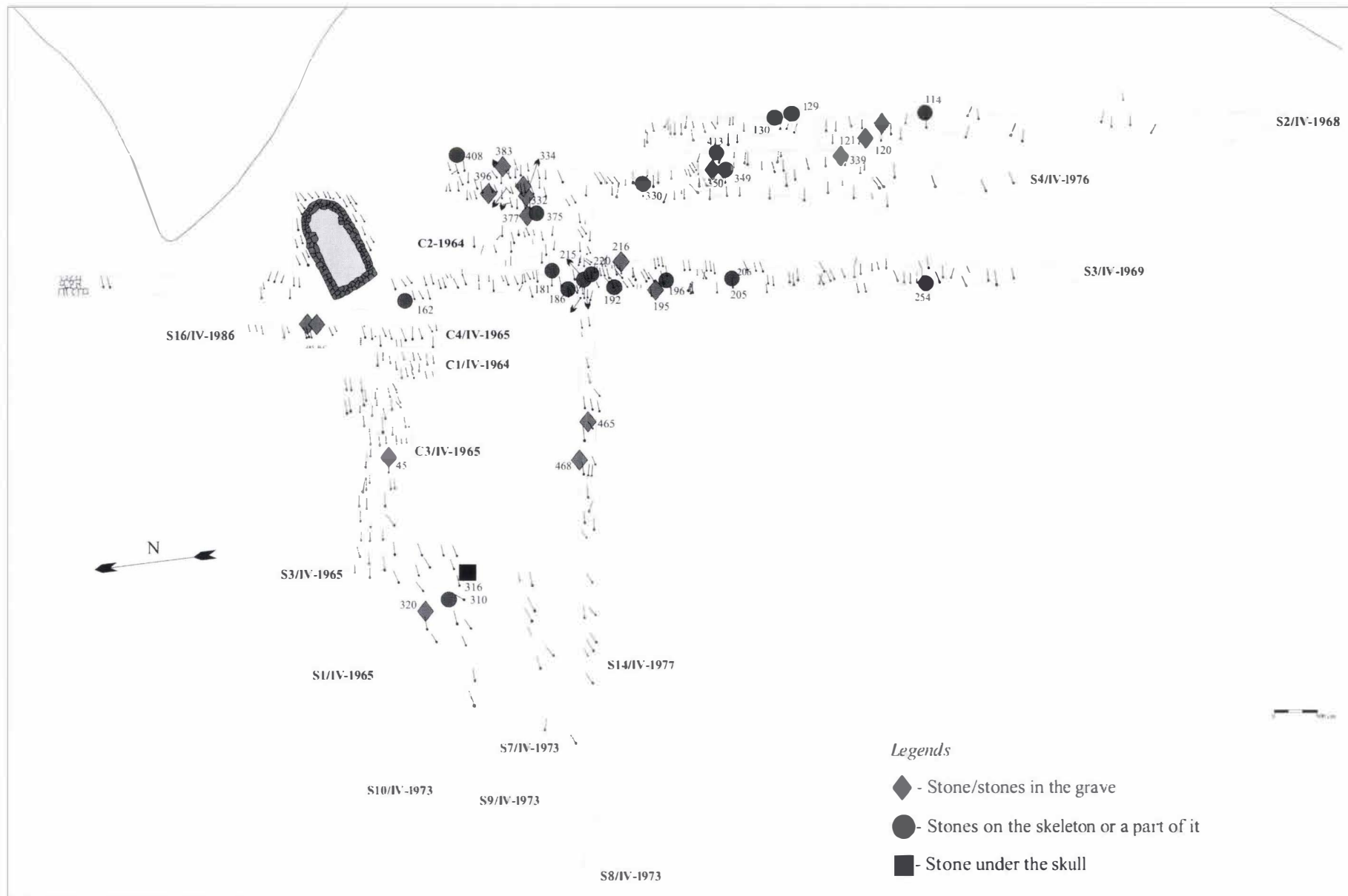
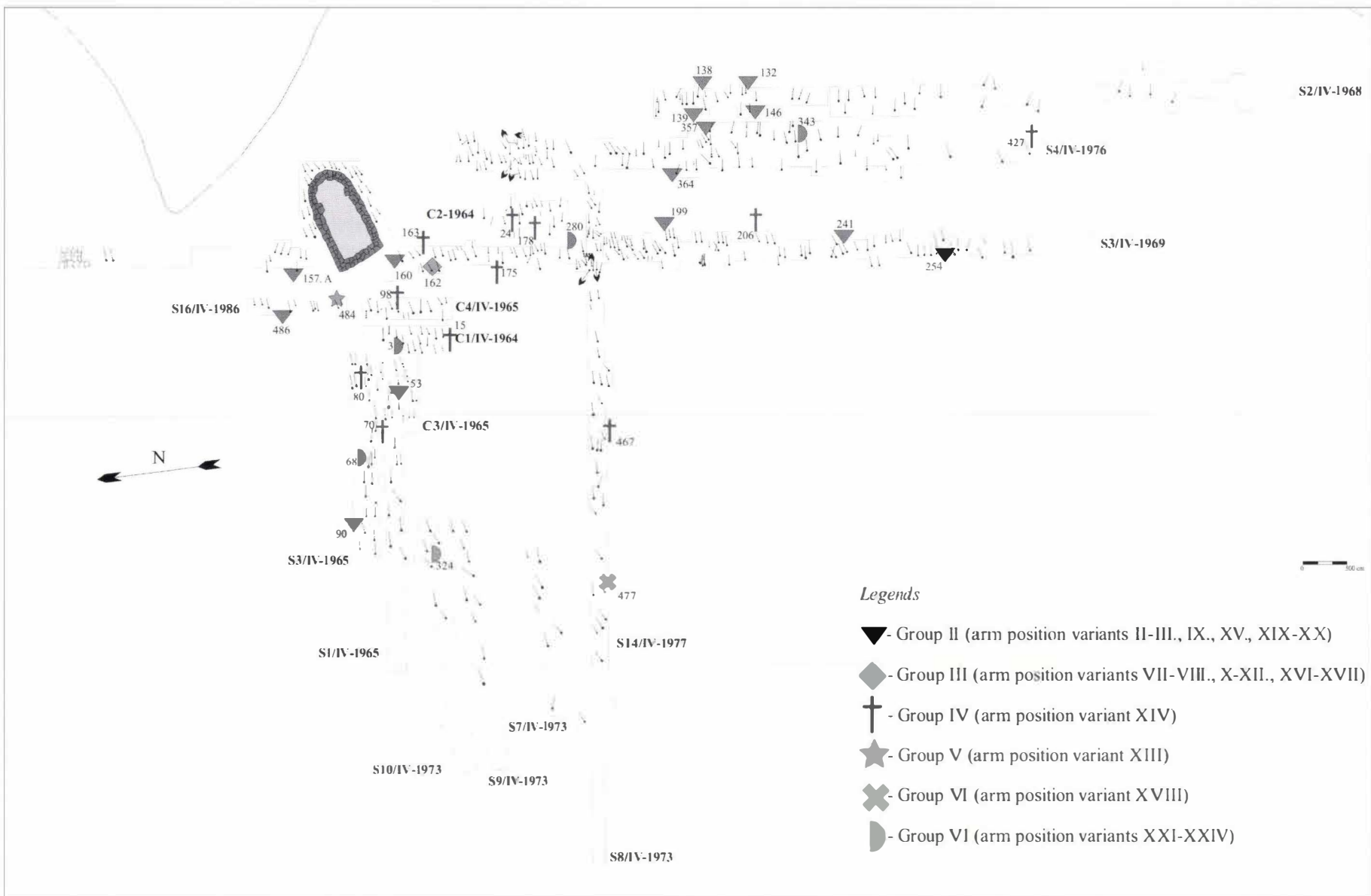


Plate 28. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Stones in the graves. (after Gáll 2011, 48. táb.)



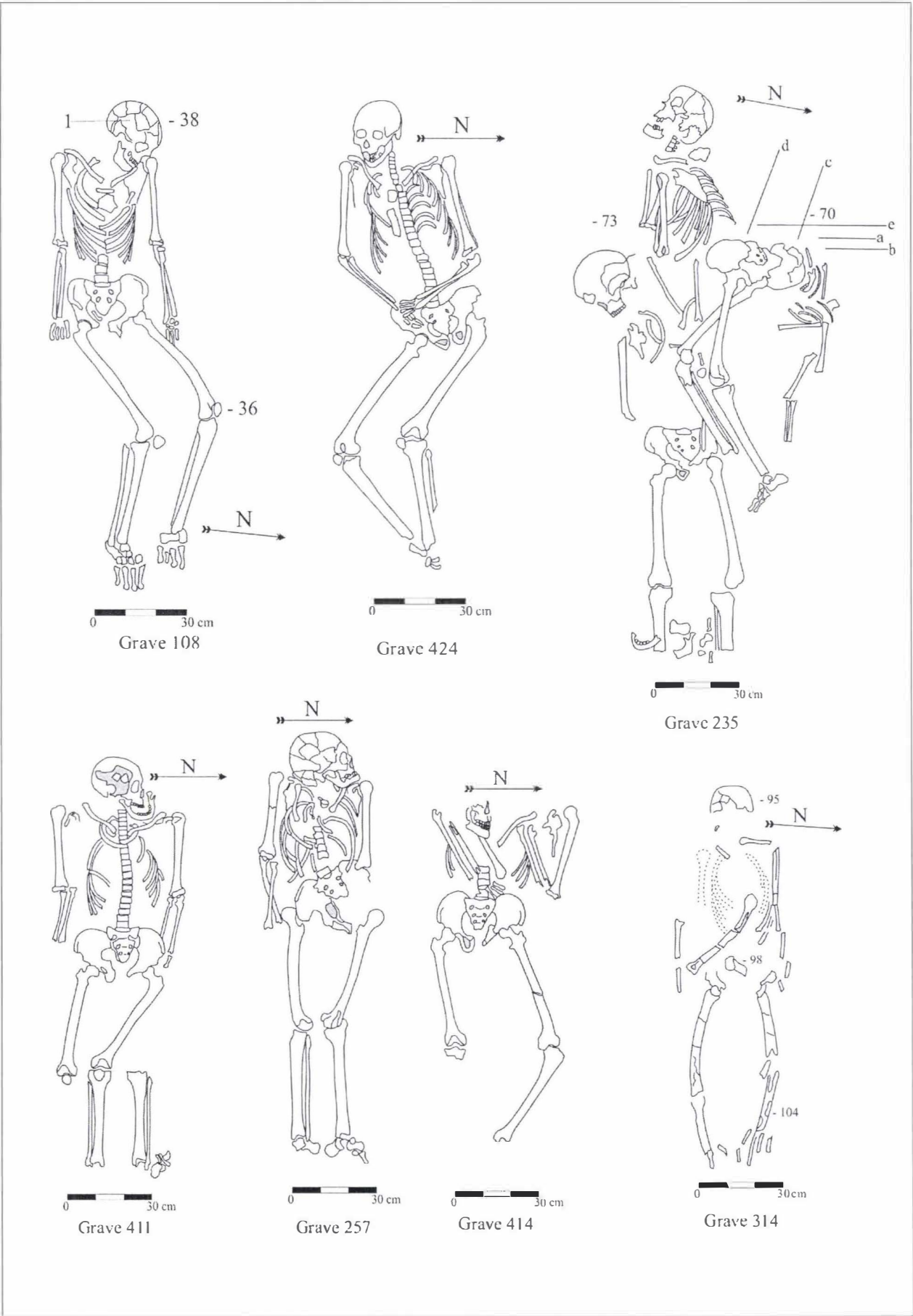


Plate 30. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV: deviant burials. (after Gáll 2011, 50. táb.)



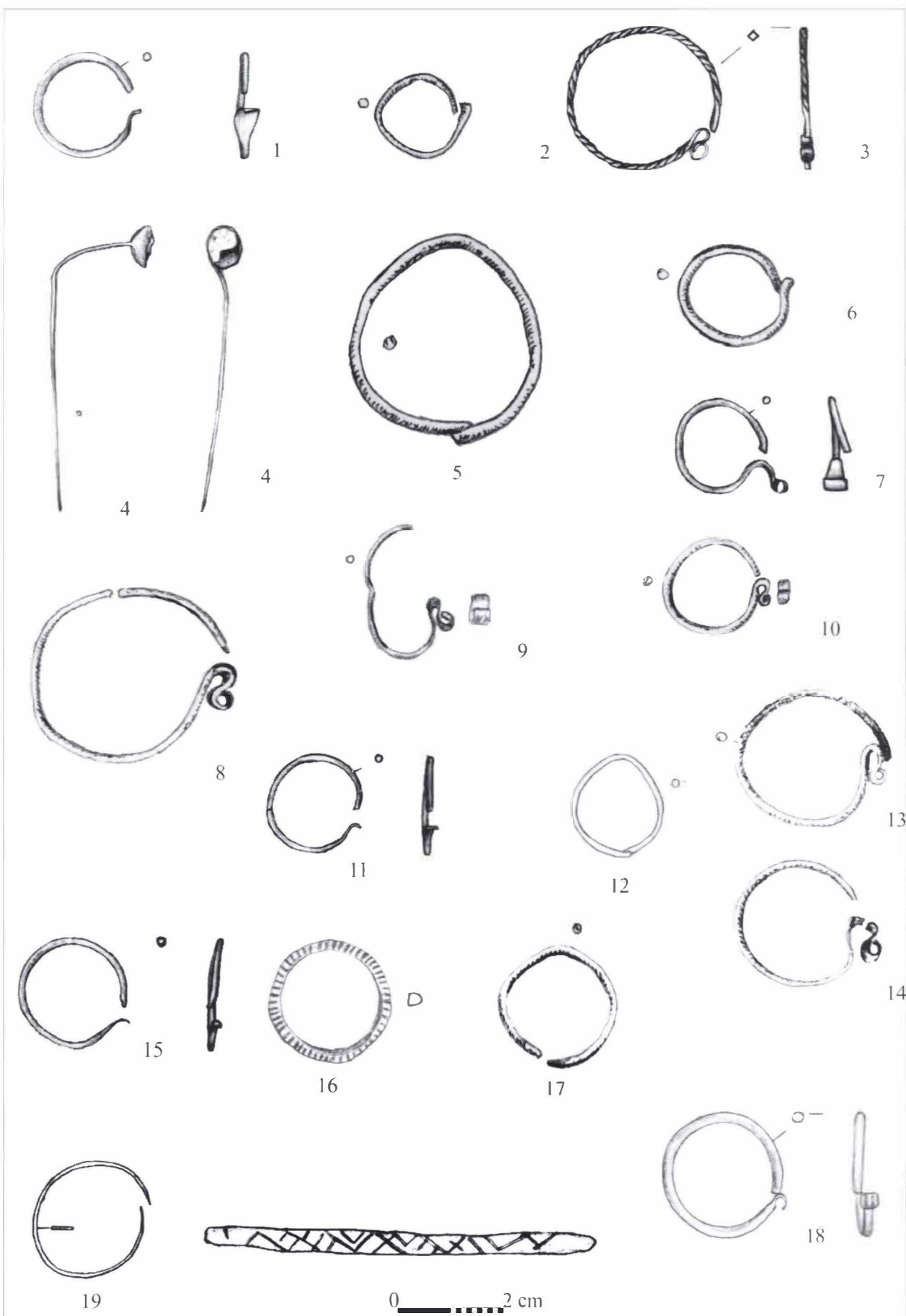


Plate 32. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Grave 162/163: 1; Grave 169: 2–3; Grave 172: 4–7; Grave 176: 8; Grave 178: 9; Grave 181: 10; Grave 187: 11; Grave 188: 12–14; Grave 190. A: 15–16; Grave 192: 17; Grave 193: 18; Trenches SIII/X-isolated find: 19. (after Gáll 2011, 38–39. táb.)



Plate 33. Dăbâca–Castle Area IV. Grave 449: 1; Grave 74: 2; Grave 159: 3; Grave 162. A: 4; Grave 110: 5; stray find: 6–7; Grave 135: 8; Grave 37: 9; Grave 234: 10; Grave 146: 11; stray finds: 12–13. (after Gáll 2011, 42. táb.)

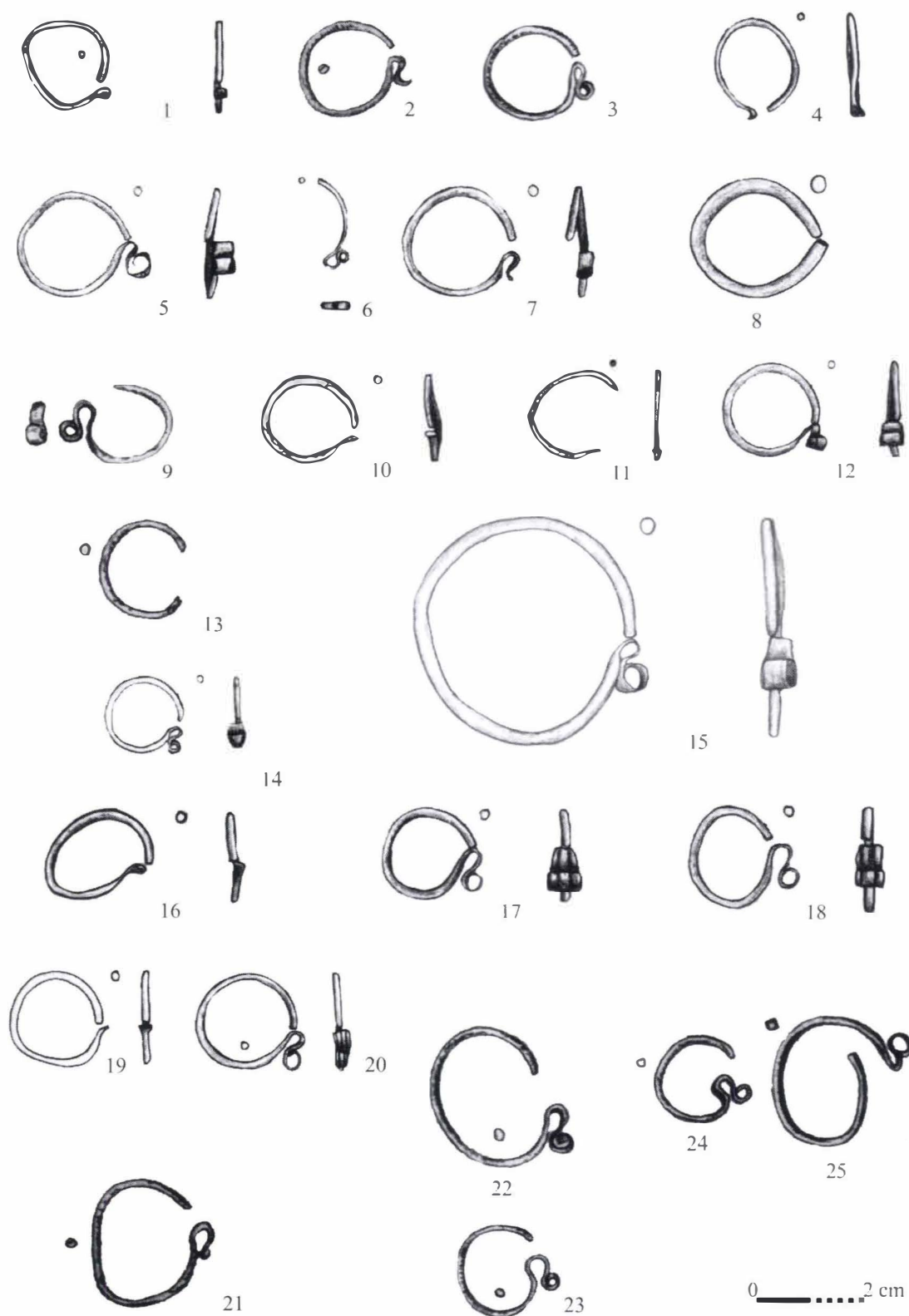


Plate 34. Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Grave 195: 1; Grave 197: 2; Grave 201: 3; Grave 202: 5–7; Grave 201/203: 4; Grave 203: 8; Grave 204: 9; Grave 205: 10–11; Grave 207: 12; Grave 208: 13; Grave 212: 14–15; Grave 217: 16–18; Grave 219: 19–20; Grave 230: 21; Grave 234: 22–25. (after Gáll 2011, 40. táb.)



Plate 35. Dăbâca-A. Tămaș's garden. A: plan of the trenches excavated in 1966-1967. Unpublished. Drawn by N. Laczkó. B: plan of the church and the graves beside it. Drawn by E. Gáll

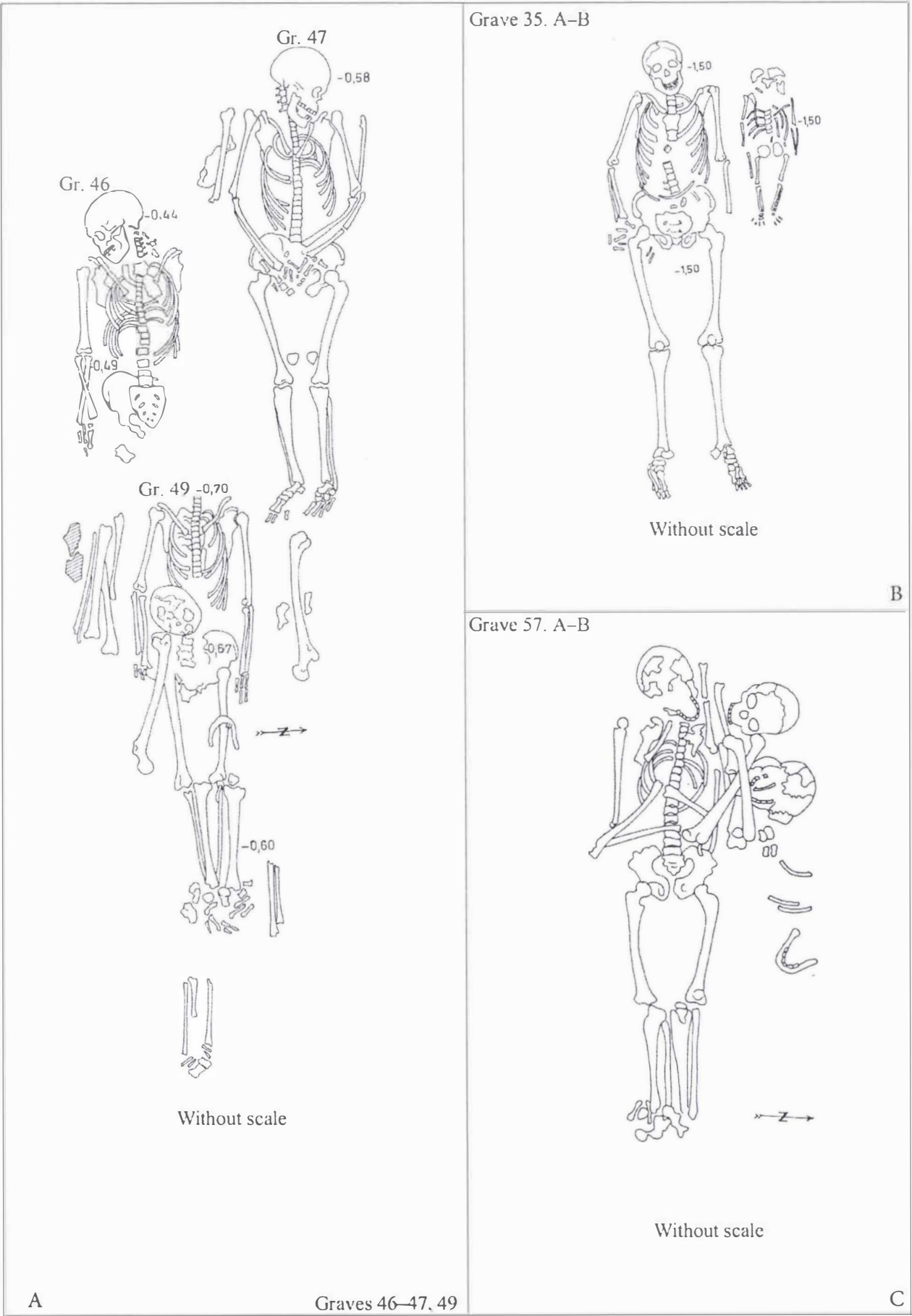


Plate 36. Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden. A: Graves 46–47, 49; B: Grave 35.A–B; C: Grave 57.A–B.
Drawn by E. Gáll.

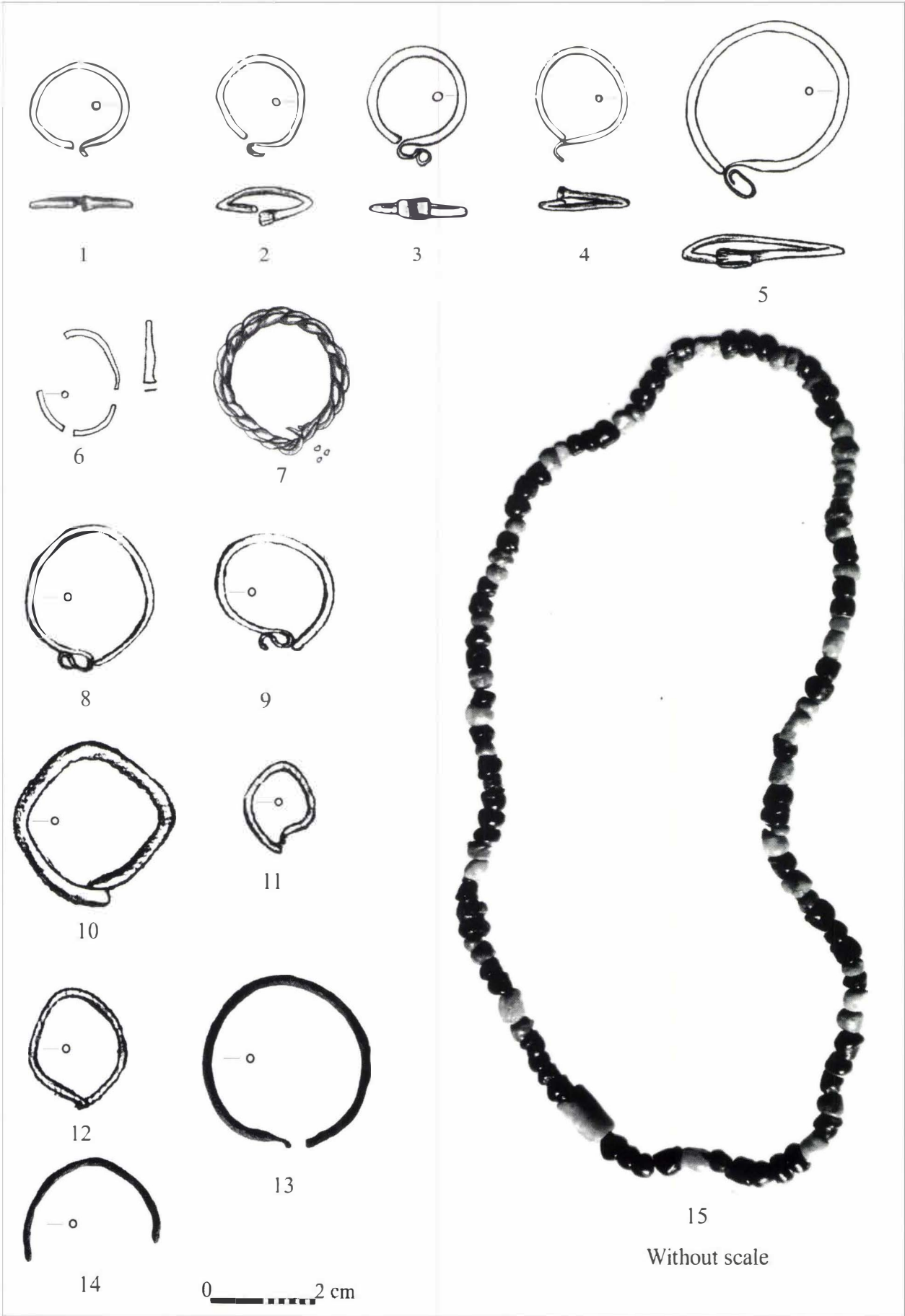


Plate 37. Dăbâca–A. Tămaș's garden. Grave 3: 1–2; Grave 34: 3; stray finds from the area of the cemetery: 4–7; Grave 7: 8–9, Grave 15: 10–11; Grave 16: 12; Dăbâca–Boldâgă/Boldogasszony: 13–14.
Drawn by E. Gáll and E. Apai.
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro>



A

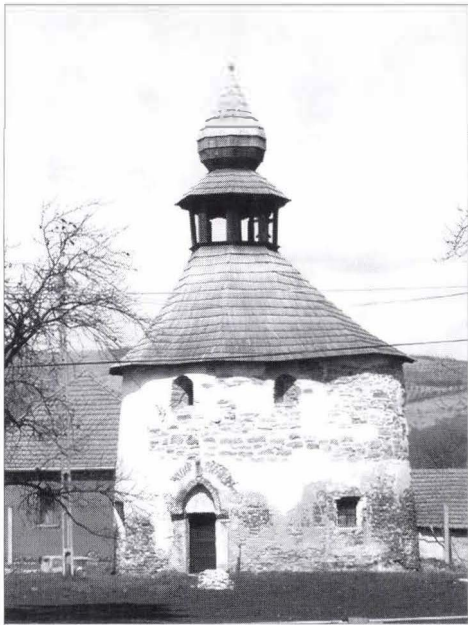


B

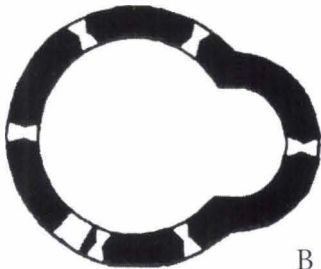
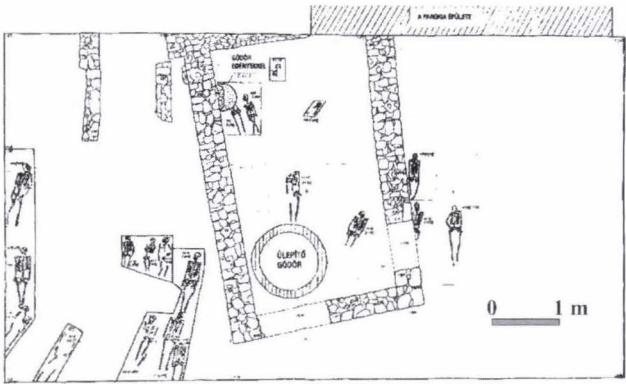
Plate 38. A: Dăbâca-Castle Area IV. Grave 391: 1; Grave 79: 2; Grave 39: 3; Grave 145: 4; stray find: 5; Grave 172: 6. (after Gáll 2011, 45. táb.); B: Dăbâca-A. Tâmaș's garden. Grave 2: 1; Grave 12.A: 2; Grave 15: 3; Grave 26.B: 4; Trench II, 9,20 meter, next to the grave 38: 5. Unpublished. Photo by S. Odenie.



Plate 39. Dăbâca–*Boldâgă*/*Boldogasszony*: churches and the capital from the Church II.
(after Gáll 2011, 66. táb.)

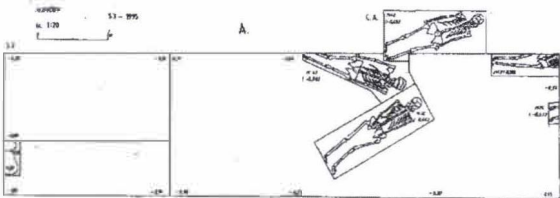


A



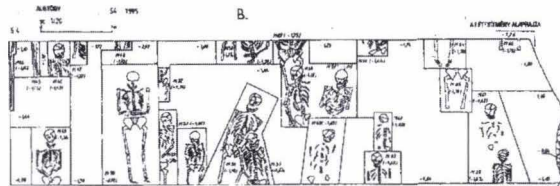
B

1

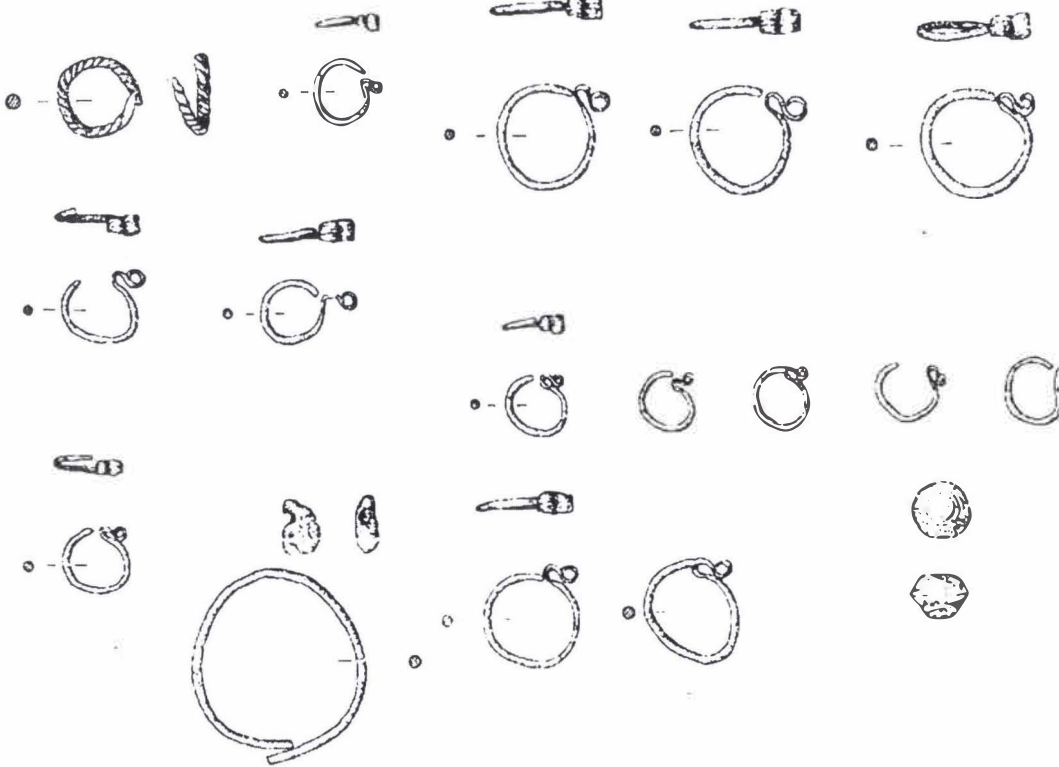


A

2



B

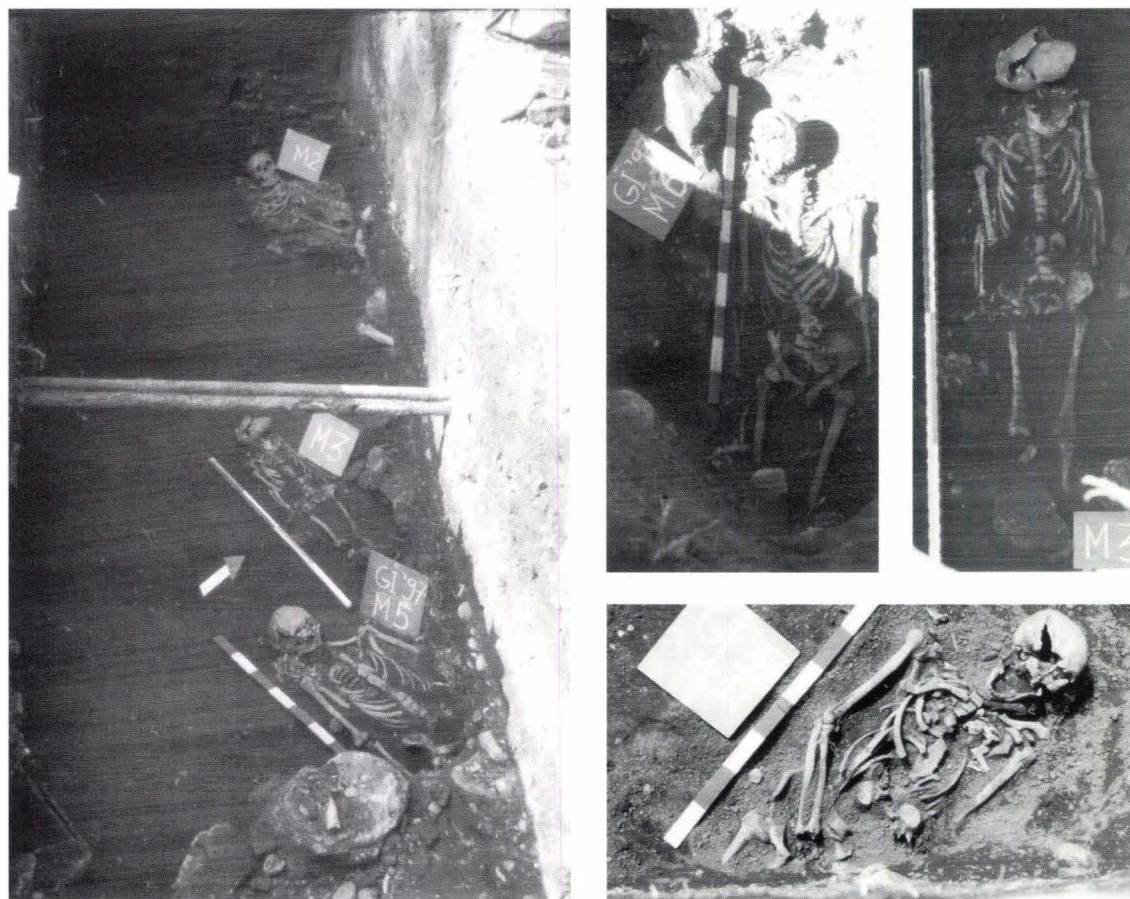


3

Plate 40. Geoagiu de Jos. 1. A: Church. Photo by E. Apai. B: Plan of the church (after Petrov 1996, Pl. 2);
2: Excavation plans (after Petrov 1996, Pl. 1-3); 3. Grave goods (after Petrov 1996, Pl. 4)
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro>

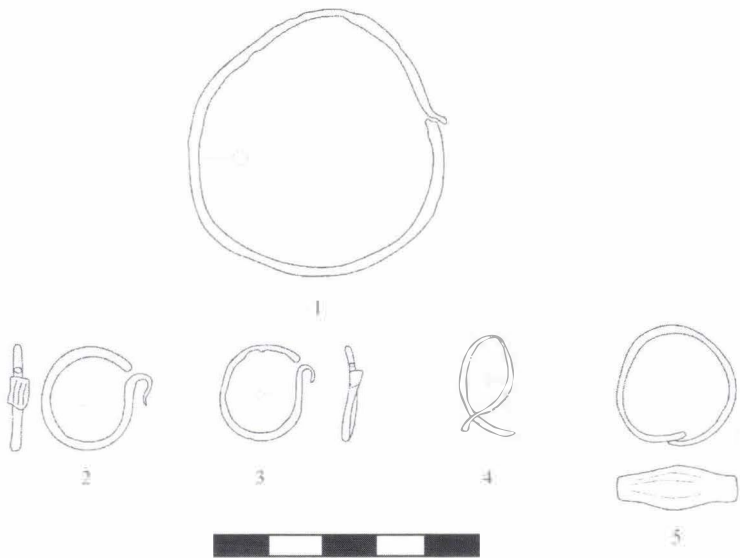


1



2

Plate 41. Gilău–George I Rákóczi's Castle. 1: Archaeological site; 2: Graves 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 (after Isac et al. 2012a, Fig. 1–2, Pl. 1–2; Isac et al. 2012b, Fig. 1–2)



Grave 2



Grave 5

Plate 42. Gilău–George I Rákóczi's Castle. Grave 2: 1-5; Grave 5: 1-4 (after Isac et al. 2012a, Pl. 1-2)



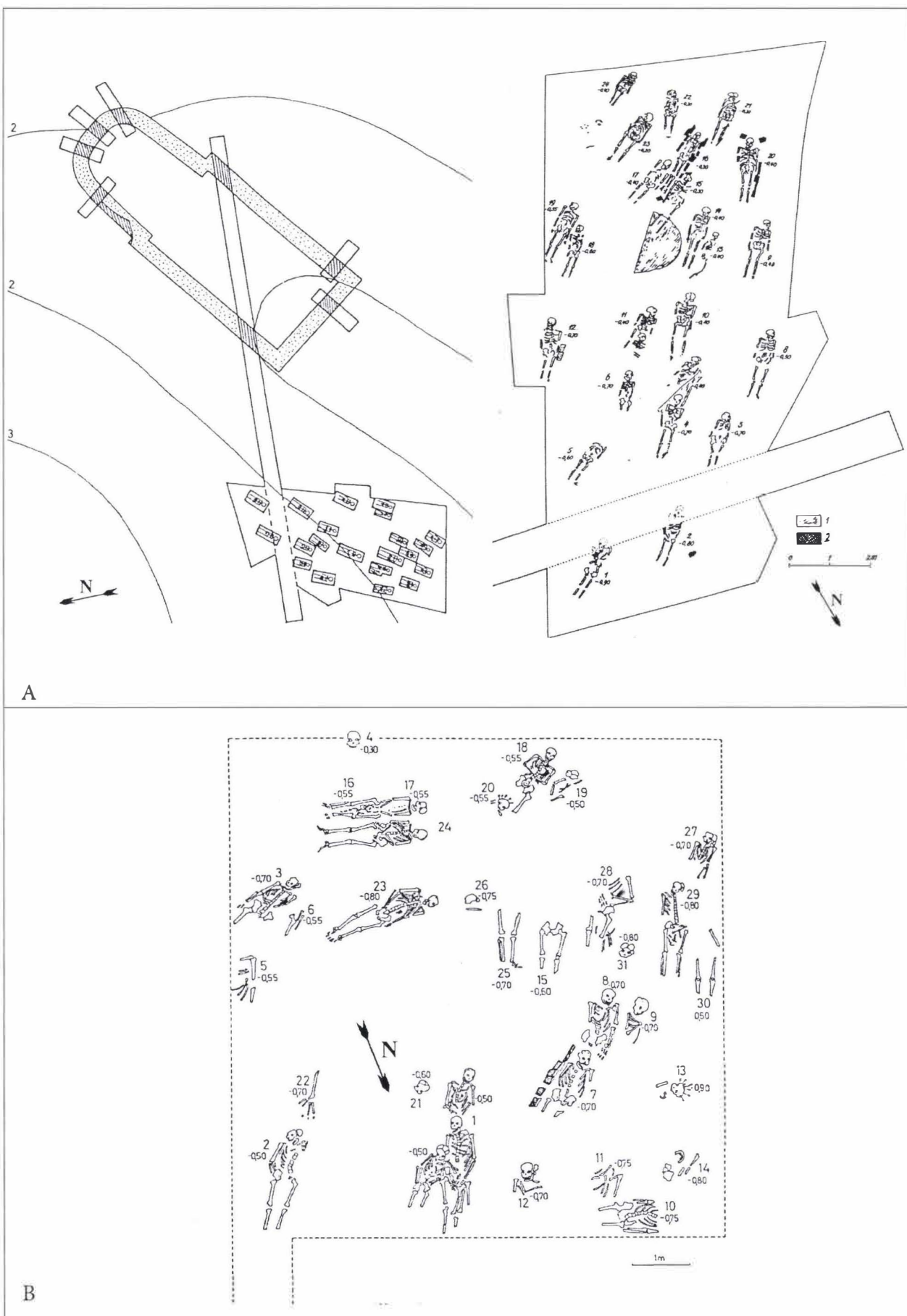


Plate 44. Morești-Cișfalău. A: plan of the church and the cemetery excavated in 1952;
 B: plan of the cemetery excavated in 1954 ('Grabungsfläche' 1954/B).
 (after Horedt 1984, Abb. 30–32)

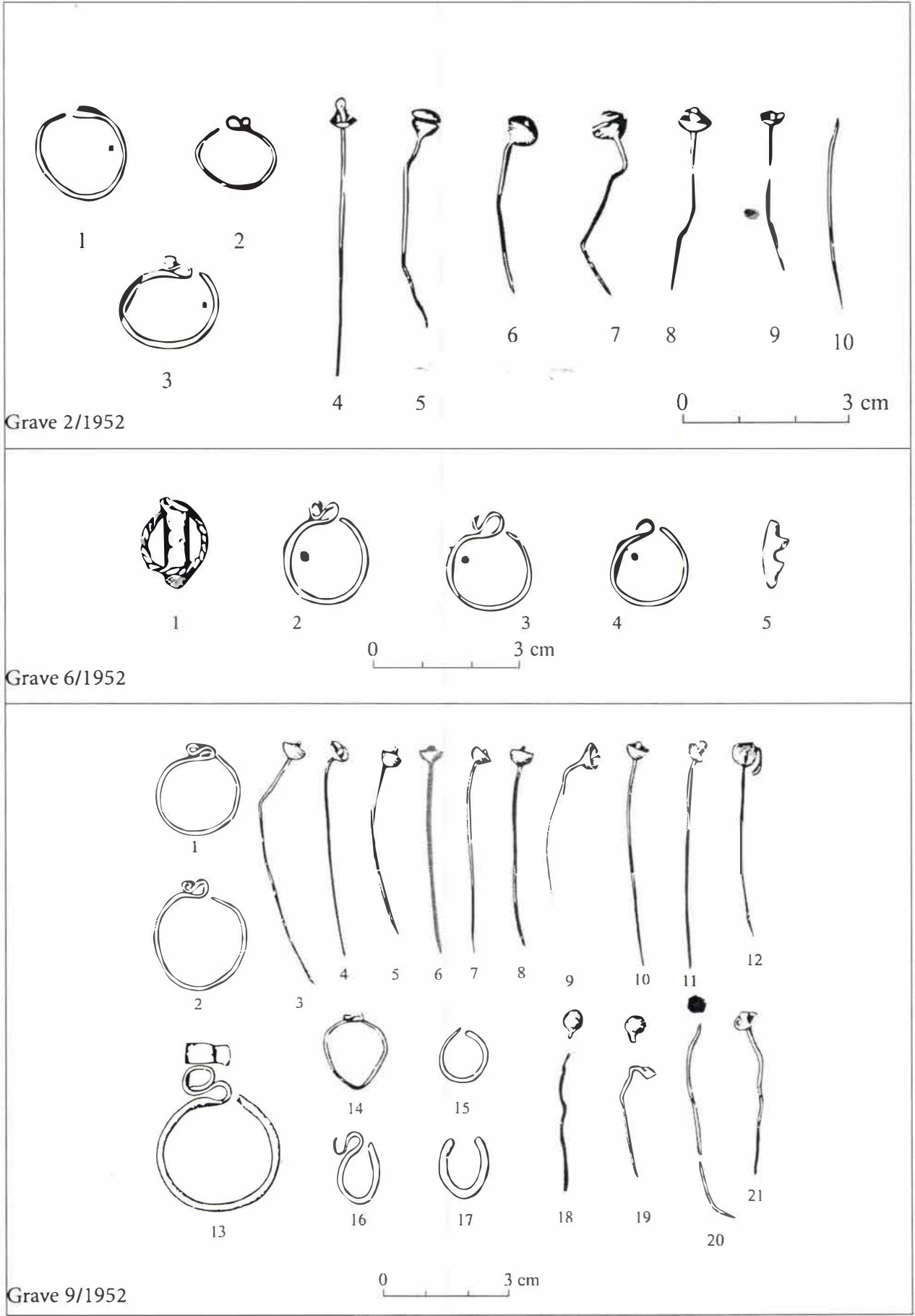


Plate 45. Morești-Citfalău: Grave 2/1952: 1–10; Grave 6/1952: 1–5; Grave 9/1952: 1–21.
(after Horedt 1984, Abb. 33.)
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro>

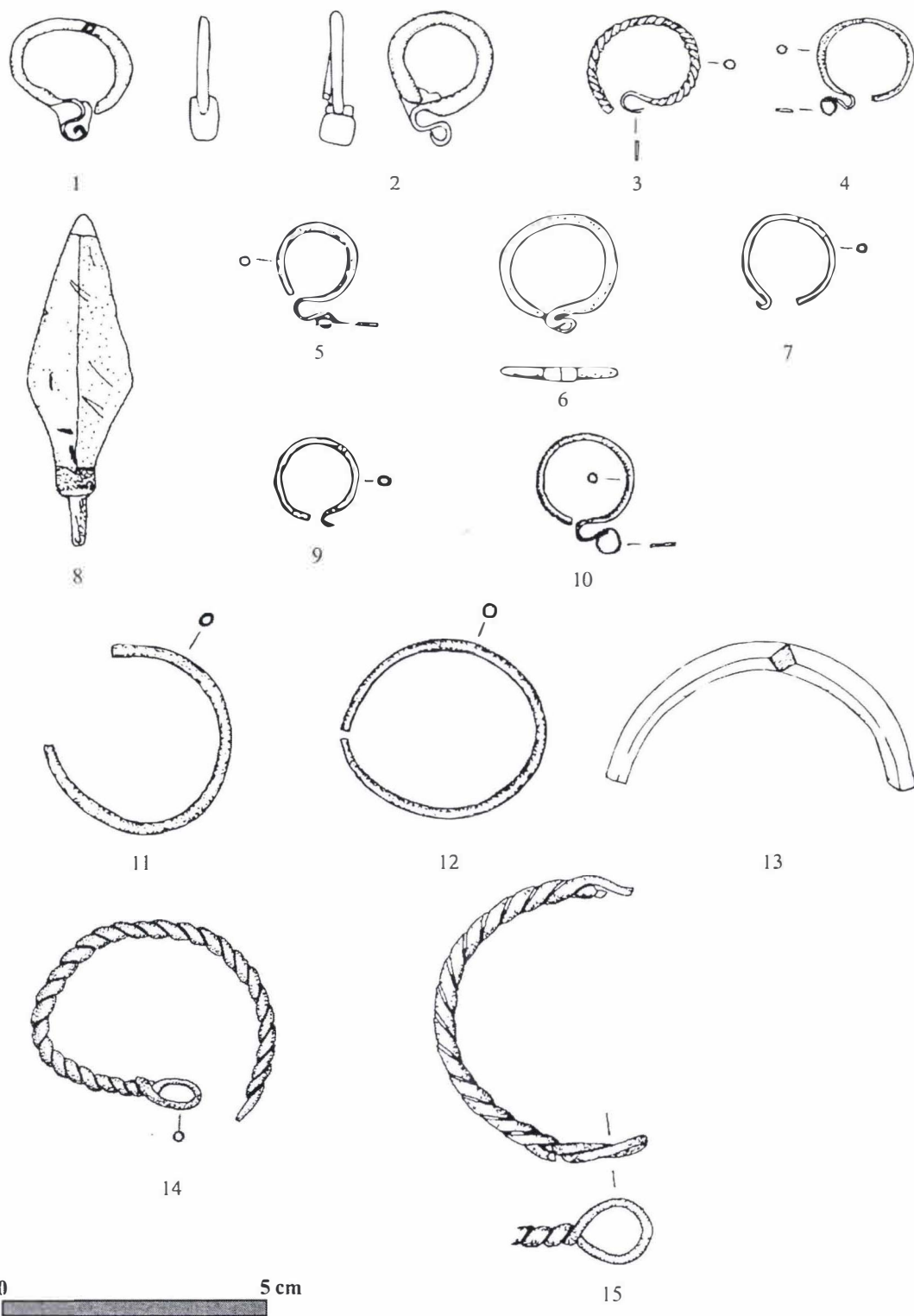
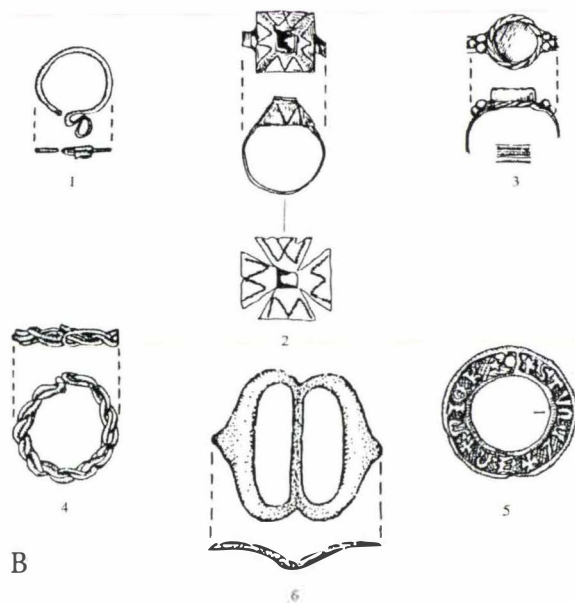
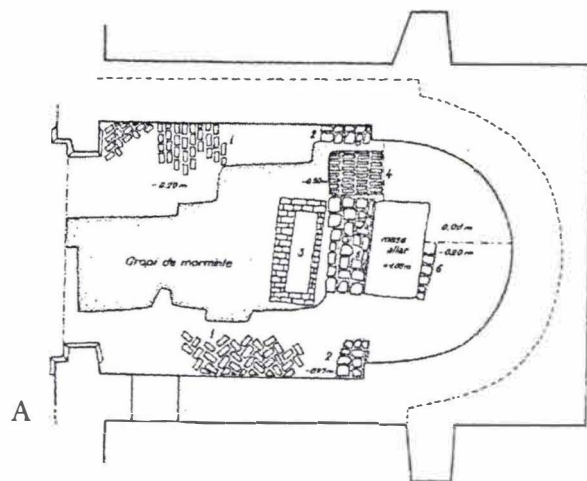


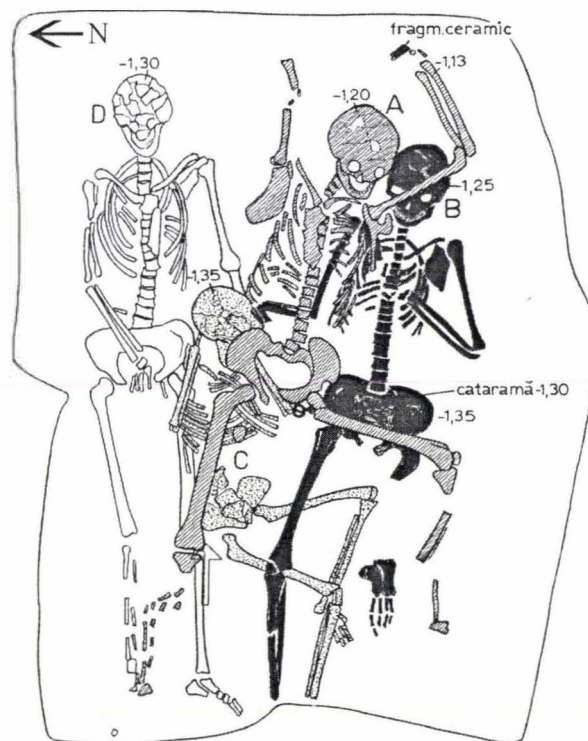
Plate 46. Alba Iulia–Roman Catholic Cathedral. Grave goods from tombs excavated in 2000/2001: Grave 9: 14–15; Grave 14: 3; Grave 15: 7, 9; Grave 20: 5; Grave 26: 11–12; Grave 28: 10; Grave 49: 6; Grave 69: 2; Grave 72: 1; Grave 78: 13; stray finds: 4, 8. (after Marcu-Istrate 2008, Pl. 185–186)

Plate 47. 1. Drăușeni: A. Church; B. Grave good from tombs: Grave 11: 1; Grave 3: 2; Grave 8: 3; Grave 5: 4; Grave 15: 5; Stray find: 6 (after Dumitrache 1979, Fig. 9); 2. Sighișoara–Dealul Viilor. Graves 119, 170 and 173. Unpublished.

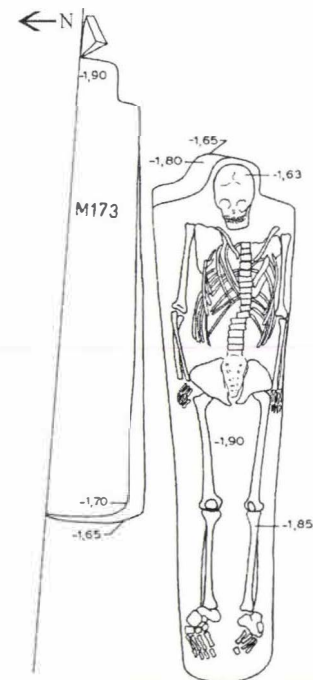


B

1

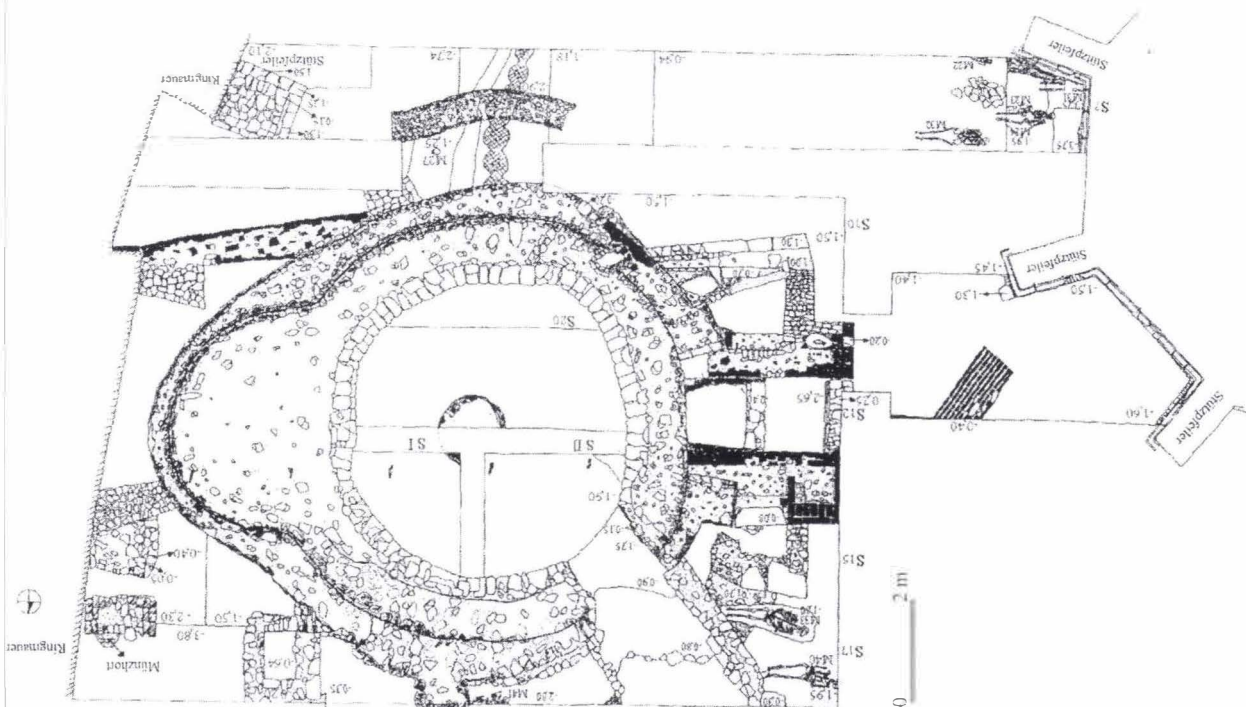


Grave 119. A-D

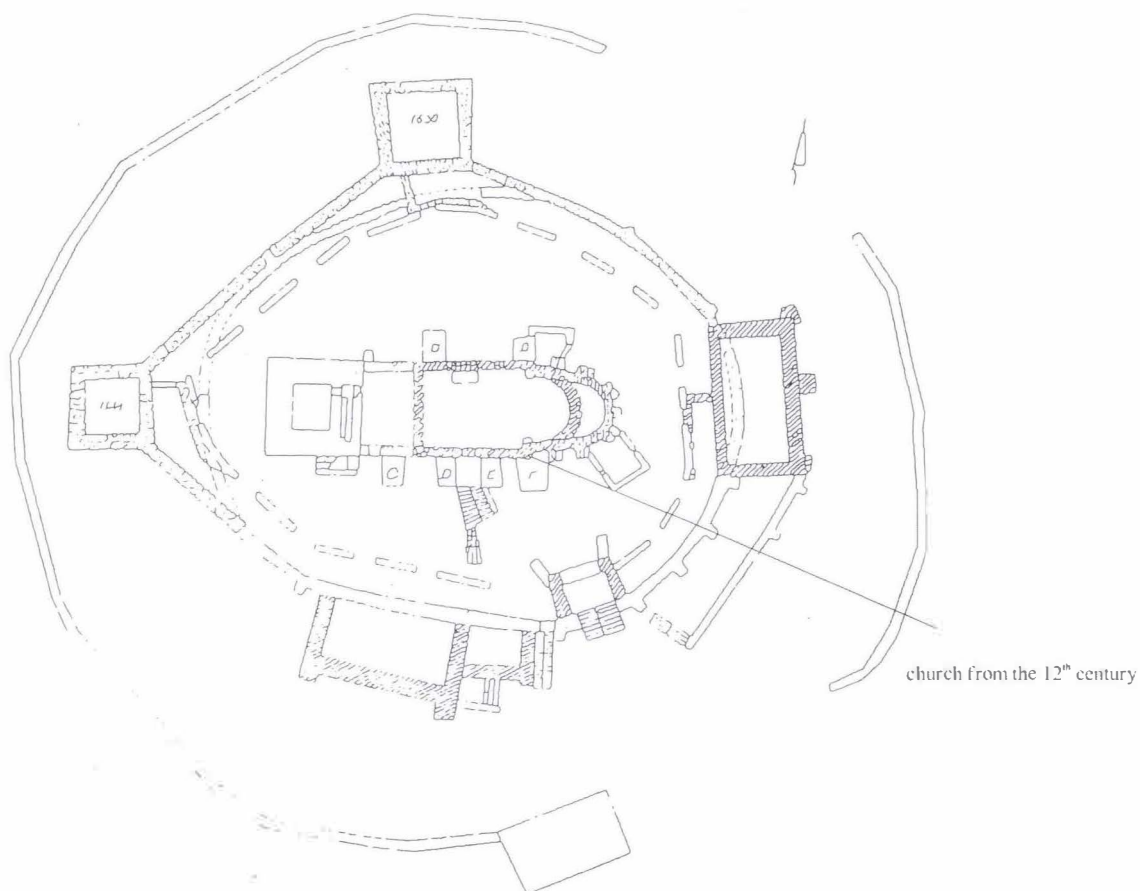


Graves 170, 173

2



A



B

Plate 48. A: *Orăştie–Round Church*. The church and the graves 12th–15th centuries (after Pinter 2011, Taf. 1)

B: Viscri: ground plan of the fortified church showing the different building phases
(after Dumitrache 1981, Fig. 7)

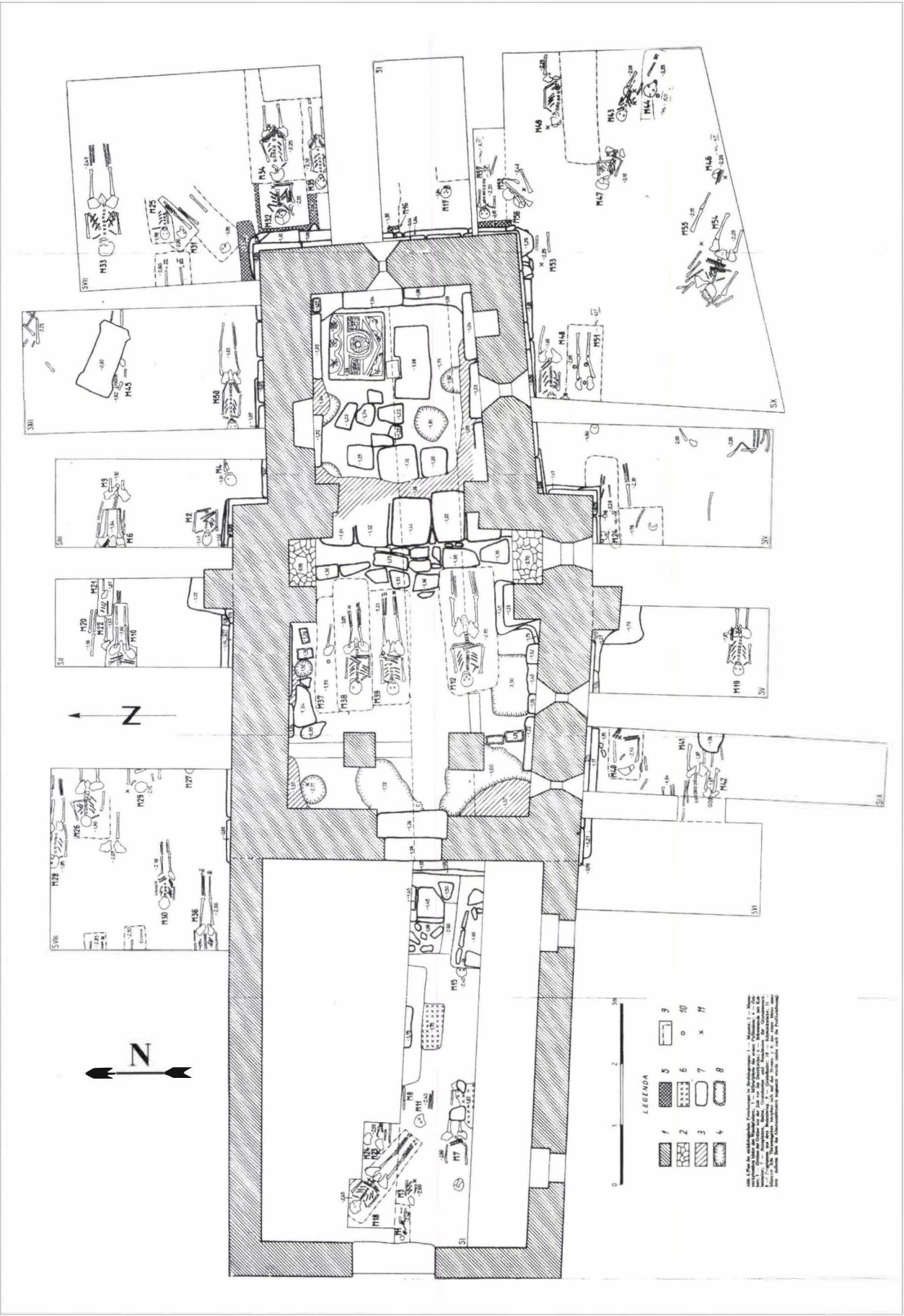
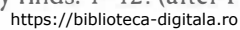


Plate 49. Streisângeorgiu: ground plan of the church and the excavation plan (after Popa 1976)



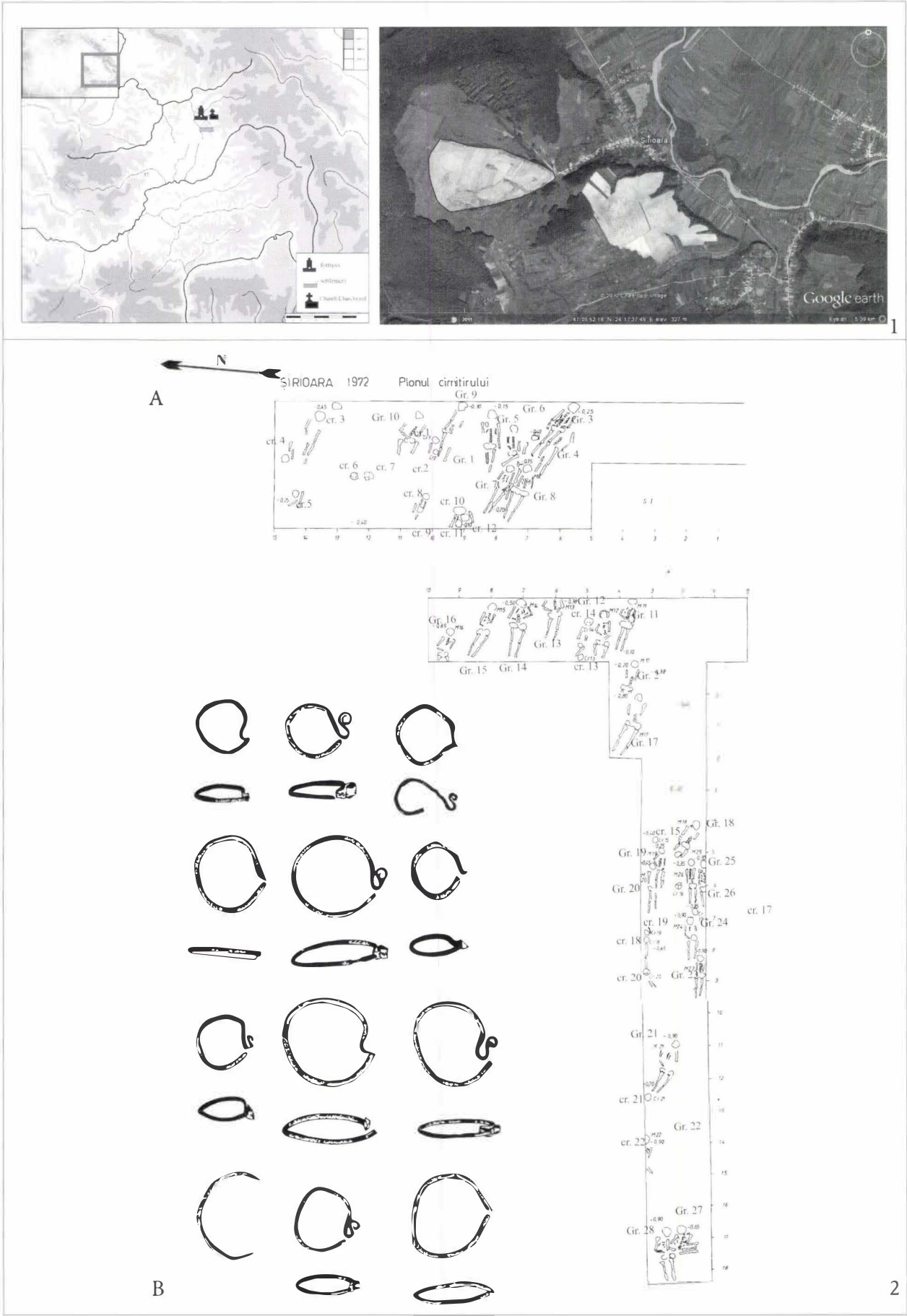


Plate 51. Șirioara–Castle. 1. Archaeological site
2. A: Excavations plan, B: Grave goods (after Iambor 2005, Pl. 32)

DATA CONCERNING CHANGES IN A CEMETERY SURROUNDING A MEDIEVAL CHURCH (LESSONS LEARNED FROM A RESCUE EXCAVATION)

ZSOLT NYÁRÁDI

Keywords: medieval village, church, cemetery, pottery, iron tools, clothing accessories

Cuvinte cheie: sat medieval, biserică, necropolă, ceramică, artefacte de fier, accesorii vestimentare

The restoration of the church in Bögöz (Romanian: Mugeni), started in 2012, offered a unique opportunity for the archaeological excavation of a cemetery surrounding a still standing medieval church. The trench system was created to drain rain water and surrounded the church from all, except the western side. As the main objective was the drainage of water from the roof and walls we occasionally had opportunity to study the church's construction layers. Further away from the church we got a southern, an eastern and a northern cross-section of the entire cemetery. The analysis of the excavated graves and their documented cross-sections enables us to create a complete image of a cemetery opened during the 12th century, which had been used maybe not intensively but constantly up until the end of the 19th century.

We can actually find out which were the most used parts along the centuries. The destroyed graves are not enough for studying the settlement's demography but they still yield much valuable data about burial rituals. By using this data we can analyze the effects of a more widely adopted 18th century legislation on burials, and through the detailed anthropological analysis of bone material we may gain insight into the lives of the medieval and modern era inhabitants of Bögöz.

The Churches of Bögöz

The settlement lies in the Bögöz basin, along the Küküllő River (Romanian: Târnava Mare) (Plate 1.1–1.3). The excavation of its medieval church was done during the restoration of its historic monument. The church mentioned in 1333¹ can be found on the left terrace of the Nagy-Küküllő River, bordered in the east by Kányád creek (Plate 1.3).

From the outstanding results of the 2012 excavation we mention that we managed to identify the presence of parts of an Árpád age settlement predating the church. In the nave's northern part, in the fifth excavation trench, beneath the church's construction layers we found the pit of a building (supposedly a dwelling) which had been dug into the ground (Plate 9.2–3). We completely excavated its northern side. The nave's northern wall was built over the buildings southern side, a gothic pillar was placed over its western side, and its eastern side fell outside our excavation surface (Plate 2.1). The object's filling yielded brown and grayish brown pottery fragments with spots, tempered with small pebbles and sand, made on a slow potter's wheel, with wave shaped lines and groups of wave shaped

lines scratched into them as decorations. Beside these pots we also found dark brown fragments, tempered with sand and small pebbles, belonging to a ceramic cauldron. The fragments would have been part of the cauldron's edge and its side, which had burn marks on the inside (Plate 13.11–18). Beside the pottery fragments we also found a small quantity of animal bones and a fragment of a hair ring.

The building most probably burned down because in its filling we found a large quantity of wattle-and-daub, with traces of charcoal. (Plate 13.18–10) Based on the artifacts, this object dates back to the 12th century. Pottery fragments from this period can be found in secondary position scattered all around the area, so it is obvious that before the church had been built, a section of a settlement stretched along the left bank of the creek. Some of its archeological material could also be found inside the earliest graves (Plate 13.20–22). A similar settlement section was discovered between 1960–1961, in Vízlok, Bögöz commune, where during a rescue excavation, artifacts and dwelling traces were unearthed, dating back to the Árpád dynasty, among which there were also fragments

¹MonVat I. 115.

of pots and ceramic cauldrons with bottom stamps.² So far we do not have any material evidence regarding the settlement's first church, but we suspect that it can be found entirely inside today's church, where until now there have been no archaeological excavations. Its existence is indicated by early (12th–13th century) graves on top of which the wall of the church's nave stands today. It is similar to what was uncovered in 2009 and in 2012. The early Romanesque church was completely taken down by the end of the 13th century and none of its materials were used in the building of the next church. At least this is what the base ledge carved from soft sandstone, stretching all around the building's nave suggests. On the western side, where the nave and the tower meet, László Dávid regarded the roughness of the 3–4 meter high wall to indicate that it came from using an earlier church wall.³

During the beginning of the 14th century a large church was built in the same spot, supposedly with an elongated semicircular sanctuary, at least this is what the observations from the 1966 renovation indicate. The layout still bears the transitional features of the Romanesque church, the most obvious example for this being the western gateway with the interior part having a semicircle shaped top while its exterior ribbed archivolt ends in a pointed arch. The carvings have suffered considerable damage over time but we may find more detailed descriptions about them in Balázs Orbán's writings.⁴ During this time a tower was also built along the nave's western side. Its eastern wall protrudes into the interior space of today's church. This building is one of the earliest towers in the Székely Land.

The monstrance compartments, originally built into the southern and northern walls of the nave, indicate that two secondary altars were probably placed inside the nave, near the arch (*Plate 11.7*). The northern one has a straight top while the southern one has a pointed arch shaped top and its upper third is divided into two parts with a sharpened rim which also points to the transitional style. The upper third of the pointed arch has an Anjou fleur-de-lis, which was used as a decorative element during the time of Charles I (Charles Robert) (*Plate 11.6*). A similar one can be found on a shield shaped blazon relief, which also dates back to the 14th century, in the sanctuary of a church in nearby Nagyalambfalva (Romanian:

Porumbenii Mari).⁵ The secondary altars were discovered in 2012 during the restoration and excavation of the wall and after a close inspection of their surroundings it became obvious that they were built at the same time as the wall itself.

In 2009 we had already noticed on the northern side of the sanctuary the traces of a vestry predating the gothic building (*Plate 2.4*). Its foundation walls were completely unearthed during the landscaping that had been done in 2012. Underneath the wall made up of small pebbles, yellowish gray lime chunks and mortar we discovered a grave in which we found two hair rings with 'S' shaped endings.⁶ There are very few known early vestries such as this in Udvarhely County (Udvarhelyszék) but this is mainly due to the lack of archaeological data. In 1993 another building predating the gothic vestry was discovered during the rescue excavation in Vargyas (Romanian: Vârghiș).⁷ The building section discovered at the ruined church in Kányád (Romanian: Ulieș), through analogy being considered a vestry built during the 14th century on the southern side of the sanctuary, is so far unique in Udvarhely.⁸ This also points out that one can find early vestries in the Székely Land on both southern and northern sides.

The frescos depicting Ladislaus I of Hungary (Szent László), Margaret of Antioch and the Final Judgment cycles were painted on the northern wall of the church in Bögöz during the second half of the 14th century (*Plate 1.6–7*). The exterior of the church was also supposedly painted at this time. At least this is what the fresco fragments both small and large, found especially on the northern but also on the southern side, appear to indicate. These were recovered during the excavations from the filling of the graves and the level of the gothic building. They appeared in greater quantities in 2009, inside trench 2, in the pit which had been dug next to the wall of the gothic sanctuary, the other half of which we excavated in 2012. The filling of the pit yielded a large quantity of bluish grey, brown, red, pink and white colored fresco fragments.

A cemetery wall of stone was built around the new church, of which we discovered traces during the 2012 excavation, southeast from the church (*Plate 2.2*). Its layer was covered by grey, dense humus slightly mixed with chunks of

² Ferenczi 1974, 166–169.

³ Dávid 1981, 86.

⁴ Orbán I. 38.

⁵ Dávid 1981, 215.

⁶ Sófálvi 2010, 34.

⁷ Bartók 1995, 145–146.

⁸ Derzsi – Sófálvi 2008, 270.

mortar and had been covered by the debris from the gothic nave's ceiling (beginning of the 18th century). This wall had been taken down some time during the gothic reconstructions and then rebuilt on a larger scale. The wall, with its shallow foundation (20-25 cm) and 75-80 cm thickness could not have had a serious defensive role, it was merely a low wall closing off a sanctified area, which completely disappeared after it was torn down and new graves were dug in its place. The excavated wall section was no doubt part of an early stone cemetery wall in the area, to which the earliest reference dates back to the 15th century.⁹

More significant work on the church was only done in the second half of the 15th century, when it was completely rebuilt according to the gothic spirit of the time. Supposedly, the sanctuary was demolished first and then rebuilt, extended a bit, with a polygonal closure, with gothic tracery windows, pillars, a ribbed vault of stone and richly decorated keystones (*Plate 1.4*). At the same time, they made an ogee-shaped sitting booth in the eastern part of the sanctuary's southern wall. They also rebuilt the arch found at the junction of the nave and the sanctuary, which ends in a peak curve, its front being made up of ashlars.

The rebuilding of the church's nave took place during the beginning of the 16th century. The roof was removed and the walls were raised higher in order to be able to fit the large gothic windows. Traces of this elevation can clearly be seen today on the western gable. An entrance was opened on the southern side, fitted with a door frame and in that same spot the old Romanesque window was sealed up. The elevated ceiling of the church, unlike the sanctuary, was fitted with terracotta ribs (*Plate 11.8*), and seven pillars decorated with sculpted black andesitic ledges, were put in place in order to balance it. Their capitals were made of the same material. The earlier vestry from the northern part was demolished and a wider one was built and fitted with a stone frame entrance (*Plate 2.3*). Once the construction was finished the entire interior of the church was covered with stone slabs.

The earlier cemetery wall was demolished and replaced with a new one with a deeper foundation. At that time the church was still covered with shingles. The 2012 excavations revealed that during the end of the 16th century the roof of the church was covered with tiles because, in the layer found directly above the gothic building level we found roof tile fragments.

It was during this period that the chapel found on a hill to the east of the church was built, which was demolished following the Reformation. In 1665 only the name of the area indicated its existence: a place called 'Chapel', which is mentioned in the countryside near Ócfalva (Romanian: Oțeni).¹⁰

Following the Reformation, the village's inhabitants converted to Calvinism, and as such, in concordance with the Calvinist puritan views, they covered the wall paintings with whitewash. They removed the altars and the icons and painted the entire church with whitewash. The church did not undergo any significant changes, not even during the Turkish invasion of 1661. Church archives from that period reveal that ceremony vestments from Catholic times were removed. In order to remedy this, numerous carpets and cloth donations occur during the following years. It is weird that there are no archival, or archaeological references attesting the burning of the church, when numerous other churches from Udvarhely County were destroyed¹¹, reports from later church visits indicate its restorations as rebuilding.¹²

The medieval church underwent major changes for the first time during the beginning of the 18th century (*Plate 1.5*). The church inspection in 1721 found both the church and the cemetery wall in a ruined state and the county judge was held responsible for this because he did not take any action.¹³ This time the ruined ceiling was removed first and replaced with a new coffered ceiling painted by *Stephanus Fabritius* and *Daniel Philip*, through the patronage of the Borsai and the Korda families. Part of the debris from the old ceiling was put in the south eastern corner of the cemetery. During the 2012 excavation numerous rib fragments were recovered from this debris layer. After this they probably also replaced the roof, covering it with tiles, some of which have the year 1746 marked on them. During the excavation we found layers of this renovation in spots which had not been cut across by later graves, even in areas further away from the church.

The interior of the church was completely modified by the middle of the century according to the new style of the period. An organ loft standing on two pillars was built in 1746, in the eastern part of the former sanctuary, and a gilded

¹⁰ Liber Eccl. 1644, 129.

¹¹ Forró 2003, 22–34.

¹² EUET I, 445–446.

¹³ Liber Eccl. 1715, 232.

⁹ Benkő 2012, 153.

organ made by János Szabó was placed on it. In 1748, through the donation of István Borsai Nagy, the church received a new preacher chair. In 1761, Borsai and his wife Éva Ecsedi commissioned a Transylvanian Saxon craftsman to build a richly painted loft with a twisted parapet, bearing Saxon features, which can still be seen today. The southern door was also made in the same year.¹⁴

In 1841 the tower with its wooden porch was rebuilt, elevated and fitted with Baroque windows and decorative elements. The elevation of the tower, however, generated some unexpected problems as the tower itself was built in the 14th century, it couldn't bear the weight overload and its western side began to sink. In order to prevent it from collapse it was surrounded with thick buttresses but as a result, the western entrance became unusable and so it was walled up.

During the work on the tower, some minor changes were also done on the church: a window was built into the northern wall with the donation made by Mrs. János Ugron baroness Ágnes Györffy, and it was then that they stumbled upon traces of the forgotten wall paintings, which were exposed during the renovation done in 1898, under the guidance of József Huszka.¹⁵ However, they were not restored at that time, not even in 1943, when Dezső Dercsényi, following his on-spot inspection, proposed their conservation.

Despite the fact that the church has an important place among historical monuments, little is known about its construction phases and the exact date of its beginning. This is mainly due to the fact that although the church's standing visible parts were studied by many art historians,¹⁶ archaeological and other types of research were always somehow neglected during the building's restoration.

New restorations were done on the church in 1966 but its thorough investigation was once again postponed, however, the notes and sketches done by Sándor Vetési, following the replacement of the floor inside the church offer us vital data even today. According to his observations in the place of the sanctuary of today's gothic church there was a not much smaller Romanesque sanctuary with a semi-circular apse. It also turned out that there was a crypt inside the sanctuary, inside the nave, at a depth of a mere half a meter. The gothic floor was still intact and carvings, unknown until then, also turned up

with fragments from the gothic terracotta ribs.¹⁷ Following the removal of the church's external plastering in the 1990's, new medieval carvings were discovered and recorded by Elek Benkő in his photographic documentation.

A program for the adequate restoration and investigation of the church was launched in 2009. As part of it, during that year, a group made up mostly of architects surveyed the entire inside of the church. Meanwhile some preliminary archaeological excavation was also done under the guidance of András Sófalvi, in concordance with the demands of architecture blueprints. The primary objective of the three small surface excavation trenches (one explored the area of the tower and nave and their connection on the southern side, while the other two explored the vestry's outer and inner surfaces) was the static inspection of the church's foundation walls and acquiring information about the site's stratigraphy and condition.

In spite of the shortness of the investigation and the small archaeological surfaces, it still yielded much new information. In the pit opened in the south-western part we managed to point out that the nave and tower, as assumed earlier, were built as one single structure. The excavated graves, containing no additional objects, superimposed with each other, and the church's southern wall, pointed out that the southern walls location was once occupied by an earlier graveyard so there also must have been an earlier church. The foundation walls of the vestry predating the gothic phase appeared on the northern side. Underneath the foundation of the wall built in the 14th and 15th century the remains of a burial site belonging to the first church were uncovered (GR-10). Here, as inventory we found a hair ring with an 'S' shaped ending, which lead us to believe that the burial dates back to the 12th and 13th century.¹⁸

The historical monument's specific restoration was done in 2012. The archaeological excavations, in spite the fact that they were under the complete subordination of the restoration and the work being done as part of this, and that they were mostly intended to be rescue excavations (we could only inspect the specific surfaces and depths designated by the architects, so we were not able to excavate the earliest graves). As such, these did not add much new data to the research done until now, but we made corrections and managed to confirm observations made so far. Based on the

¹⁴ Dávid 1981, 87.

¹⁵ Dávid 1981, 88.

¹⁶ Entz 1996, 137.

¹⁷ Dávid 1981, 78, as well as Sófalvi 2010, 31.

¹⁸ Sófalvi 2010, 34.

plans of the architects, the first step aimed to clear rain water near the walls. In order to achieve this, a system of trenches had to be created all around the church, except its western side. Landscaping, which included a lowering of the ground level, was done in order to reduce the humidity of the walls. The archaeological excavations, lasting from May until October, considerably enriched our knowledge about the church in Bögöz and its surrounding cemetery. During the excavation we documented the traces of 225 graves so this cemetery has become one of the best researched cemeteries in the area.

The research of cemeteries surrounding a church in Udvarhely County

The beginning of the excavations is linked to the restoration of the historical monument. During the beginning of the investigation, researchers did not really attribute any special significance to the burials and they rather saw them as obstacles instead of integral complementary parts of the research of the church. The restorations initiated in the 1960's were not even subjected to archaeological supervision. This is probably why the observations made during the restoration of the church in Bögöz in 1966 were preserved thanks to László Vetési. The renovation involving the replacement of the floor did not reach the level at which the graves can be found.¹⁹

The graves were also left undisturbed at the church in Felsőboldogfalva (Romanian: Feliceni) during the renovation of the historical monument, between 1974 and 1975.²⁰ During the renovation of the church in Rugonfalva (Romanian: Rugănești) in 1971–1972, István Molnár and Zoltán Székely already did some trial excavations. They mentioned several burials, but did not document all the graves, which they had found, so we don't even know their exact number.²¹ Burials were also identified during the renovation of the medieval church in Székelykeresztúr (Romanian: Cristurul Secuiesc) in 1968. The northern, southern and western sides of the church were inspected through research trenches under the supervision of István Molnár, the director of the town's museum, and Alexandru Bogdan, an employee of the historical Monuments directorate in Bucharest. An ossuary was then detected on

the northern side, graves dating back to the age of the Árpád dynasty were also excavated on the northern side, which included hair rings with 'S' shaped endings as inventory.²²

During the 1976 renovation of the church in Ěnlaka (Romanian: Inlăceni), much valuable data was uncovered regarding the history of its construction, but only one single burial was mentioned in the renovation's reports.²³

An unprofessional excavation, not respecting the methodology of church and cemetery excavation, was also done in 1993 in Vargyas, where plans were made to build a new church in the location of a medieval church, which had been demolished in 1841. The entire surface of the old demolished church was slashed across with narrow research trenches and a significant surface was also excavated outside the church, on the northern and western sides. During the excavation, some skulls were recorded with green pigmentation traces.²⁴ The research of the area, near the monastery found in the center of Székelyudvarhely (Romanian: Odorheiu Secuiesc), in 1981, also showed signs of lack of a proper methodology since, István Ferenci excavated 14 graves in a multilayered cemetery surrounding the church and regarded these to be victims of a plague.²⁵

An excavation corresponding to the demands of a professional research was done in Székelydălya (Romanian: Daia) between 1992 and 1997, during which the construction history was revealed and 27 graves were excavated.²⁶

In 1999, in Felsősófalva (Romanian: Ocna de Sus) the church's floor was replaced and during this the walls were inspected. No burials were found at that time.²⁷ In 2001, the replacement of the floor leads to a short inspection of the church interior in Farcád (Romanian: Forțeni). The main objective of this inspection was to determine the chronology of the building's interior. During the excavation few graves were found, which had been disturbed during the construction of the nave.²⁸

A small excavation was done in 2006 in Bágy (Romanian: Bădeni), which can also be attributed to the replacement of the floor. This shed some light on the existence of an earlier church dating back to the Árpád dynasty.

²² Benkő 1992, 153–154.

²³ Molnár 1977, 31–39.

²⁴ Bartók 1995, 145–146.

²⁵ Ferenczi 2002, 60–61; Sófalvi 2007, 66; Benkő 2012, 257.

²⁶ Marcu 1998, 157–180.

²⁷ Sófalvi 2005, 99–100.

²⁸ Demjén – Nyárádi – Sófalvi 2008, 87.

¹⁹ Sófalvi 2010, 34–35.

²⁰ Demjén – Nyárádi – Sófalvi 2008, 82.

²¹ Benkő 1992, 132–136.

The level containing the graves was not reached in this case either during the excavation.²⁹

In 2004, during the drainage of ground-water from the area around the church of Tarcsafalva (Romanian: Tărcești), a one meter wide and 1.8–2 m deep trench was excavated north of the church, which showed traces of burials in its cross-section, at a depth of 70–80 cm.³⁰

During autumn 2010, in Tordátfalva (Romanian: Turdeni) a short rescue excavation was organized, with the objective of preventing the deterioration of the northern wall. In order to achieve this, two 50–60 cm wide drainage canals were created directly both on the inside and the outside of the wall and during this, the traces of 16 graves were documented.³¹

The most burials in cemeteries surrounding still standing churches in Udvarhely County, 68 in number, were documented in Székelykeresztúr in 1979, when a 22 square meter surface was excavated in front of the church's northern frontage.³²

Regarding the excavation of cemeteries, a professionally more feasible method is connected to the research of ruined churches. During the complete excavation of the interior of the church in Szentábrahám (Romanian: Avrămești), 176 graves were documented in the period between 1985 and 1987, and this shed light on the limits of the entire cemetery in the area.³³

During the excavation of the ruins of the medieval church in Kányád, graves were discovered dating back to the Árpád dynasty and up until the 18th century, both inside and outside the building's perimeter. During the excavations, between 2005 and 2006, we managed to document the traces of 56 burials inside four excavation pits.³⁴

During the 2006 excavation of the medieval church in the village of Szentimre (Saint Emeric), found at the outskirts of Székelyudvarhely, which had died out during the 16th century, we documented 30 graves at a site that had been considerably damaged by tillage and agriculture. These were found very close to the surface, at a depth of 20–50 cm.³⁵

Between 2002 and 2003, another settlement that had died out was excavated in Udvarhely County. During the excavation of the medieval church in Dobó (Romanian: Dobeni), 40 percent of the interior surface of the building was investigated. A total of 16 graves were excavated, three of which were found outside the church, on the southern side.³⁶

We found the ruins of the church in Máréfalva (Romanian: Satu Mare) in the *Botos-düllő*, during the excavations done in 2007–2008, and we documented 32 burials during the excavation of the Romanesque and gothic sanctuaries, vestry and the gate tower.³⁷

During the 18th century the church in Lövete (Romanian: Lueta) was moved from *Felső-kiáltódomb* to the village center. The location of its medieval church was used as a cemetery until the middle of the 19th century, and because of this both the medieval church and the cemetery had been severely damaged so a considerable number of the 55 burials which were uncovered during the archaeological excavations in 2010–2011, came from the modern era.³⁸

The rescue excavation at the medieval church in Fenyéd (Romanian: Brădești) was done between 2010–2011, due to the severe erosion and landslides in the area. Then, we mainly excavated the cemetery's south-eastern part. The age of the uncovered 26 burials spanned from the Árpád dynasty up until the 17th century.³⁹

Another 34 burials were uncovered during the excavation of the medieval fortified church in Homoródszentmárton (Romanian: Mărtiniș), between 2011–2012.⁴⁰

The medieval cemetery in Bögöz

a. General features

The cemetery surrounding the church was opened during the 12th century, following the construction of the first church and it was used up until the end of the 19th century. Today, it is surrounded by a slightly oval cemetery wall, stretching toward east and west, which had been build following the gothic reconstructions. During the excavation we found the remnants of an earlier cemetery wall, which can be connected to the 14th century constructions. We did not find anything

²⁹ Demjén – Nyáradi – Sófalvi 2008, 91–92.

³⁰ Demjén – Nyáradi – Sófalvi 2008, 89.

³¹ Nyáradi – Rejtő, 2011, 232.

³² Benkő 1992, 156–158.

³³ Benkő 1992, 220–238.

³⁴ Derzsi – Sófalvi 2008, 271–273.

³⁵ Nyáradi 2012, 169–171.

³⁶ Bordi 2009, 227–261.

³⁷ Demjén – Sófalvi 2009, 21–25.

³⁸ Nyáradi – Sófalvi 2011, 6–13.

³⁹ Nyáradi – Sófalvi 2011, 5–9.

⁴⁰ Sófalvi 2012, 166–167.

indicating that it had been surrounded earlier by a cemetery trench – as observed in Rugonfalva⁴¹; or a hedge, for which our best example so far is the early foundation trench for a hedgerow uncovered in the eastern side of the cemetery in Homoród-szentmárton, at the base of which unbaptized children were buried.⁴²

In the cemetery in Bögöz we excavated a surface of 160–170 square meters in 2012, in which we stumbled upon the traces of 215 burials, to which another 10 burials excavated in 2009 were added.

During the archaeological excavation we opened small excavation trenches along the walls, and we also investigated the drainage trenches, which generally had a width of 1 m. One of the major disadvantages of the rescue excavation was that we could only work on the areas designated by the planners and that we could only investigate the areas archaeologically to the relative depth appointed by them. We calculated the excavation's relative depth from the threshold stone at the southern entrance, its absolute value being 450.07 m.

With the exception of the western side, we investigated the cemetery in even proportion, so we made specific observations regarding its use and functioning (*Plate 10*). The investigation of the cemetery was done with a trench system – although archaeologically it was quite destructive as we only managed to partially excavate many graves – we made stratigraphic observations at nearly every grave, thanks to which we managed to determine much more precisely when they were made. The dating of some of the graves was further facilitated by the church's construction and repair layers, their starting levels and the filling of the graves themselves.

In order to more easily document the two longitudinal trenches, we divided them into five meter sections and their full length was 36–37 meters. Along the length of the wall, also counting the ones made during the 2009 excavation, we opened a total of 10 small excavation pits. The ones made in 2012 were connected by trenches with the two longitudinal trenches. In order to determine more precisely the graves, we had documented the cross-section of every wall. The graves, which had been detected but left unexcavated also received numbers, their proportion was 32 percent of the number of total graves.

In quantitative terms the data from the excavated graves revealed that, along the centuries the most extensively used part of the cemetery was the southern part, as 43 percent of the documented graves were found here (*Plate 2.5*). Other excavations done in the Székely Land also confirmed that a church's southern side was the most preferred burial place during the middle ages.⁴³ In Bögöz 30% of the graves were found on the northern side and 27% on the eastern side.

37% of the excavated graves belonged to children and 63% to adults. This evidently doesn't accurately reflect medieval data, as everyone knows that child death rates were much higher back then, but they are not considerably different from the average percentages between 41–59%.⁴⁴ The distortion of the data can be attributed to the fact that the large graves made during the modern period destroyed a greater proportion of the smaller child graves, while during the modern period child death rates had dropped much lower than they were earlier.

Very little secondary scattered bone material was recovered from the medieval burials, which can be explained by the fact that an ossuary was in use in the cemetery grounds. Its exact location could not be determined during the excavation. The small makeshift wall section made from round stones, with a shallow foundation, discovered on the church's northern side, east of the vestry, which is also earlier than the gothic vestry, of which we only found the western wall, is maybe connected to such a building (*Plate 2.4*). The ossuary functioning on the cemetery grounds was dismantled in the 18th century, supposedly because it became filled. The human remains removed from there were taken north of the church and buried in an eight meter long oval pit. We cut across that pit during the excavation of the northern side of the trench surrounding the church. The pit reached the relative depth of 1.5–1.6 m, of which bone material made up a layer one meter thick, along its full length. After detecting the large quantity of bone material, the human remains excavated from here, if compared to the average weight of the full human skeleton reveal that we discovered around 200–250 individuals. And this must have been only one third of the materials yielded by the pit. Beneath it we found several 16th–17th century burials, which helped us date it. The starting levels of the pit and its filling, which contained a considerable amount

⁴¹ Sófávi 2012, 176.

⁴² Sófávi 2012, 166.

⁴³ Benkő 2012, 153.

⁴⁴ Mende 2005, 186.

of roof tiles, support the idea that it was created during the 18th century.

We collected the bone material found in secondary position and reburied it in the abandoned cemetery found east of the church.

By the middle of the 17th century the cemetery had become considerably full and because of this a new cemetery was opened east of the church, on the right side of Kányád creek, which was already being used in 1665.⁴⁵ In spite of the opening of a new cemetery, the wealthier families in the village continued to use the cemetery surrounding the church.

b. The cemetery's internal chronology

At first observation of the churchyard, it became clear that the medieval cemetery was still used rather intensively during the 19th century. Because the construction plans included a 40-50 cm level deepening, before the work commenced we surveyed the gravestones found inside the churchyard and we removed all but two of them. The last burial was done in 1898. We identified a total of 27 gravestones, four of which had only their bases remaining, which had been buried in the ground, and nine had the inscriptions completely eroded of their sandstone surfaces. Three of the gravestones dated back to the 18th century and the rest to the 19th century. Beside the graves, which had been marked with tombstones, there were also other unmarked graves dating back to the same century. By this time however, there were already secular laws forbidding burials near churches. The first such secular decrees regulating burials were issued under the reign of Maria Theresa and their primary goal was to create more hygienic burial practices. These applied to every religious denomination.⁴⁶

The first decree was issued in 1769, stipulating that the dead are to be buried deeper and that cemeteries are to be surrounded with fences as protection from grazing cattle. Later on wake ceremonies were prohibited, and further decrees stipulated that dead bodies are not to be left unburied for more than two days and that they should not be taken to the church but directly to the cemetery. New decrees were issued in 1775, which came into force in Hungary in 1777. Burials inside churches were prohibited, even inside crypts, and even their construction inside churches are also prohibited.⁴⁷ The coming

into force of these decrees did not always generate fundamental changes in distant villages. The fact that they were reissued in 1807⁴⁸ and in 1808⁴⁹ indicates that they were not really abided.

A new decree appears in 1876, according to which: 'every commune must maintain a properly fitted communal burial place, corresponding to the local population and to health needs'.⁵⁰ This law effectively prohibited burials in the area of used churches, but as we can see this decree was also disregarded.

During the excavation 9% of the graves dated back to the 19th century and out of the 20 identified graves only five were excavated. These had sizeable deep pits which cut through each of the construction layers and their filling was exceptionally loose and disturbed (*Plate 4.1-2*). Their pits destroyed a considerable number of earlier graves and we found much of their bone material scattered in secondary position inside their filling. In many cases, larger pieces were barely preserved of the coffins nailed with forged nails. The excavated graves were in medium condition, the smaller bones and the middle section of the skeleton were completely absorbed in many cases.

Travelling back in time, the next graves were the ones connected to layers of the 18th century renovation of the church. In spite of the fact that a new cemetery was opened during the 17th century, during the 18th century the old burial place became more intensively used. Out of the 225 excavated graves, 59 dated back to this period, representing 26 percent of the total number. The depth of these burials corresponded with the provisions of the sanitary decrees as their depth was about 2 meters⁵¹ and their filling was exceptionally loose, containing the materials of many disturbed layers and graves. Their pits cut through the geological black humus and yellow clay layers, in many cases reaching even the stony subsoil, especially in the cemetery's eastern part (*Plate 5.1*). These graves were in relatively bad condition with their bone material mostly absorbed. In many cases only the upper plank part of the coffin could be documented, in some cases with nothing was left from the bones.

The next group of burials dated back to the period of the Principality, as the new cemetery was opened in the 17th century, the use of the

⁴⁵ LiberEccl. 1664, 129.

⁴⁶ Nyáradi 2012, 7-45.

⁴⁷ Hóman - Szegfű 1939, 515, 517-519.

⁴⁸ SREkL I. 116.

⁴⁹ TUEkL I. entry dating back to 1808.

⁵⁰ PEKT 1913, 331.

⁵¹ PEKT 1913, 331.

old one decreased and 13 percent of the graves could be dated to this period. During this period only the relatives of the wealthier members of the community were buried here, which is supported by the inventory of the graves. 22% of the burials made during this period had added objects. These graves also contained roof tile fragments, which lead us to the conclusion that the shingles were removed and the church's roof was refitted with ceramic roof tiles during the 16th century. Most of these burials already had coffins sealed with nails, and their filling was thick and occasionally contained scattered bones. Their starting level began underneath the 18th century renovation levels and went down to a depth of 1.5–1.6 meters, often reaching into the clayey subsoil (*Plate 3.1*).

The group of late medieval graves dated back to the period after the gothic construction. By this time pits had become deeper than in the case of earlier graves and they reached down to 1.3–1.4 meters below the gothic floor level. Their filling also contained fragments of frescos destroyed during the gothic constructions, but no traces of roof tiles. 24% of the graves date back to this period, burials with coffins became more widespread at this time, but their vast majority had still all wood coffins without nails. Their bone material was mostly in good condition.

21% of the excavated graves were found around the church built in the 14th century. The boundaries of this area ended at the floor level of the gothic construction level. These also had shallow pits, and their filling was pretty mixed and already contained traces of the demolished old church as well as mortar traces from the new one. None of these graves had any added objects, and we didn't find any traces of coffins. We could say that the bones were in good condition, there weren't any visible traces of them being absorbed. They were buried in a geological layer of black, thick humus. The shallow grave depths did not reach the layer of clay found beneath (*Plate 8.1–2*).

The earliest graves dated back to the 12th–13th century. Their pits had been dug in rather clean soil, which still contained the materials of the settlement predating the church. These graves, in relation to the floor level had been dug at a very shallow depth of about only half a meter, they were preserved in more protected areas, especially along the walls and many of them had already been disturbed during the constructions in the 14th century (*Plate 7.1–3*). Only 7% of the excavated graves belonged to this period. The dispersal of these graves within the surface of the cemetery is relatively uniform.

If we were to superimpose the percentages of the 225 excavated graves according to the ages they date back to, with the surface of the cemetery we could see that in certain periods some areas were used more intensively. During the 14th–15th centuries more burials were made in the southern side of the church. During the 16th century we can find 55 percent of the burials on the northern side and during the Principality period the southern side was the one mostly favored. Because, the southern side was predominantly used during the 18th century, the medieval cemetery was most damaged on this side. There weren't any medieval graves preserved in this area, except the ones in the south eastern corner, which were rather close to the cemetery wall.

c. Burial traditions

The position of the arms may be the print of a local tradition and the exceptions may even indicate newcomers or foreigners. The position of the arms was interpreted in about 25% of the graves, which was rather random if broken down to each period. Examples in Székely Land so far indicate that basically the arms were placed stretched out along the body in earlier graves, while during the late middle ages it became a wide spread practice to place the arms bent and clutching over the pelvic area.⁵² In the earliest graves we also found examples of cases, where the arms had been placed alongside the body and cases, where they were clutched together. We observed one case (GR-10), where the hands were placed underneath the pelvis. The small number of examples does not allow us to make any statement or draw any conclusion. However, we can say that during the late Middle Ages, placing the arms alongside the body was the most common while we barely have any examples of arms clutched together and placed over the pelvis. This observation appears somewhat contradictory to the general examples known in Székely Land. Viewed in total, the placing of the arms alongside the body formed the most general image, considering every period and this was visible in 62% of the interpreted cases. Following the Reformation, a previously unused arm position appeared in Bögöz, where one arm was bent and placed over the pelvis while the other is stretched out along the body. All of these examples had been encountered in 3% of the total number of graves. This arm position completely disappeared with

⁵² Benkő 2012, 155.

the modern period and no such examples were found dating to the 18th–19th centuries. This arm position could also be found in the same period in other cemeteries in the area, like in the cemeteries in Szentábrahám⁵³ or Székelykeresztúr⁵⁴, but we may also find other numerous examples beside these. During the modern period the placing of the arms over the pelvis or stretched out alongside the body were both used in mostly equal proportion. Small children were often buried in frog positions, regardless of the period. During the analysis of the positions of the arms we did not find any cases in which they were raised up and the cases in which they were placed bent in a straight angle were also quite rare (GR-161).⁵⁵

The orientation of the graves varied between 219 and 304 degrees, most of them having an orientation between 240–290°, so a considerable number of graves have been oriented in relation to the church walls. The values, between 304° and 322°, are found in the south-eastern part of the church, while 218–240° are found at the church's north-eastern part. The weird orientation of some of them: GR-152 (316°), GR-128 (218°), GR-129-130 (219°) is probably due to the fact that these were oriented according to the first cemetery wall built in the 14th century, and were buried in its direct vicinity. But there are also burials in the mentioned areas with similar weird orientations, which predate the cemetery wall: GR-145 (308°), GR-127 (239°); and also some which belong to later centuries, even up until the 18th century: GR-135 (322°), GR-154 (305°), GR-157 (304°), GR-150 (232°), on the southern side and GR-72 (233°), GR-123 (225°) on the northern side (*Plate 4.2*). The fact that these differences in the orientations occur only in these areas leads us to conclude that, because here they could already clearly follow the church orientation (because of the breaking sanctuary section), the orientation of some of the graves was done only approximately. The differences in orientation can still be considered minimal in comparison to other medieval churches.⁵⁶

An even more interesting observation was the fact that the old medieval orientation toward east and west is still strictly kept even after the Reformation. None of the excavated graves was in opposite position, or with a north-south orientation, as it occurred after the Reformation in the

case of the graves in the cemetery in Telekfalva⁵⁷ (Romanian: Teleac), or even in Máréfalva and at Szentábrahám⁵⁸.

The fact that the orientation of the earlier graves corresponds with the ones of the burials made in later centuries lets us conclude that the very first Romanesque church, demolished during the end of the 13th century, which can be completely found within the interior part of today's church, had a similar orientation.

The burials with coffins appeared in Székely Land during the 14th and 15th centuries. The 28 graves in the cemetery in Székelykeresztúr, which had been dated with the help of a coin minted under Louis I of Hungary, certainly indicated this.⁵⁹ During the investigation of the ruins of the church in Kányád we managed to indicate their existence in the 15th century⁶⁰, but their use however, only became widespread during the 16th century. In Bögöz, the earliest burials containing coffins date back to the 16th century. In Bögöz we managed to prove in some cases directly or indirectly, that in earlier periods, the deceased were wrapped in shrouds. The legs of the body in burial GR-13, buried in the 12th–13th century, had been bent at the knees, which clearly indicate that the body was placed in the pit wrapped in a shroud (*Plate 2.8*). In the case of the child grave GR-45, the grave itself indicated the burial method. The skull found in the grave which had been dug into the yellow clay subsoil, had been placed on a small ledge with a sharp edge, which was 25 cm higher than the first part of the grave, the child was buried in a half sitting position (*Plate 2.7*).

We managed to detect organic material only in one single case above the basin of grave GR-42 we noticed a dark brownish pigmentation that indicated the material itself.

In the beginning, coffins were mere crate type objects, without a bottom, which were made with wooden joints. The deceased was placed on a bulrush or a surface made of any other type of organic material, and the wooded structure was lowered on top.⁶¹ We noticed a similar mark in the case of grave GR-146 that was dated to the 16th century. It had, on the edge of the pit a 2.5–3 cm wide band of decaying wood which preserved the imprint of the coffin. A closer inspection revealed that it had not been its bottom as there were no planks under the bones. We observed a

⁵³ Benkő 1992, fig. 34.

⁵⁴ Benkő 1992, 157 fig. 18.

⁵⁵ Béres 2005, 300.

⁵⁶ Ritoók 2005, 176.

⁵⁷ Nyáradi – Sófalvi 2009, 105 fig. 9.

⁵⁸ Benkő 2012, 154.

⁵⁹ Benkő 2012, 155.

⁶⁰ Derzsi – Sófalvi 2008, 272.

⁶¹ Szatmári 2005, 117.

similar occurrence in Homoródszentmárton, in 2011 during the excavations done around the church, where in the lower right corner of grave GR-1 a 2–3 cm pigmentation indicated the place of the wood but the planks themselves were not preserved. This type of coffin was still in use during the first half of the 17th century; at least this is what graves GR-37 and GR-59 indicated, found in the Reformed church in Telekfalva excavated in 2007, where already coffin nails were used.⁶² The observations done during the excavation of the coffin in a child's grave even enabled us to reconstruct it.⁶³

Based on the observations made during the excavation in Bögöz we may conclude that although there coffins with iron nails existed in the 16th century, these were not generally widespread. At this time most coffins still had wooden nails or joints, as during the excavation we stumbled upon mostly traces of wooden planks of the coffins and no iron nails. Out of the 225 burials only 39 contained coffin nails.

By the 18th century, the fashion wave according to which coffins were decorated with imprints, nailed in place with small cooper nails, with various motifs or sometimes inscription decorating the top reached Bögöz as well (*Plate 2.6*). Larger forged iron nails covered with wood remains saturated with iron corrosion residues, were found in moderate condition as well as smaller iron nails decorated with copper spherical caps. The type of wood used for the coffins can be determined from the wood remains. During the making of copper ornaments, the spherical caps were glued on the tips of the forged iron nails using some type of whitish-gray adhesive (casein?), as the tip of the iron nail does not go into the spherical cap, and the copper plating has a single layer, so it is very likely that it was attached by gluing. The remains of the whitish-gray glue could be detected under the cap of nearly every nail. Similar ones were still in use in Bögöz during the first half of the 19th century. During the excavations we uncovered five coffins with imprints, one of the most intact being the coffin in grave 73, which had the year 1826 marked upon it. Similar coffins were found during the excavation of the Sándor crypt in the parish church in Csiksomlyó (Romanian: Șumuleu Ciuc).⁶⁴

During the 2012 excavations we found several burials containing the remains of children

belonging to the same families, who had died during plagues. The newborn baby and the 1 year old infant had been buried in a common grave during the 14th–15th centuries (GR-180, GR-181). A few hundred years later this same thing happened again. The two young children were buried in the same coffin (GR-158-159). In another case, in which they were of about the same age but supposedly not part of the same family (GR-107, GR-108), they had been buried in a common grave but separate coffins.

Other interesting examples of burial rituals within families are graves GR-53 and GR-60. Soon after the burial (GR-60) of the woman deceased during the 19th century, when the coffin's planks were still completely intact, the grave had been reopened in order to bury a young adolescent child (GR-53) on top of his mother (*Plate 3.2*).

During the excavation we uncovered in the southeastern part an interesting element regarding the use of the cemetery. In contrast to other surfaces, here we had found several layers of graves on top of each other. During the digging of the pits for the graves during the modern period, they stopped immediately once they had reached the earlier burials, so we encountered 17th–18th century graves at the same depth as the ones from the 13th–14th centuries. There were cases when up to two or three burials had been placed directly on top of each other, so this was obviously the densest parts of the excavated cemetery (*Plate 6.1–2*).

d. Inventory, clothing objects

Out of the graves from the Árpád dynasty, which were in very bad condition, only one grave was found to contain added objects. In 2009, the skull found in the partially excavated grave GR-10 had two silver hair rings with 'S' shaped endings, with a diameter of 2 cm and 1.8 cm.⁶⁵ Similar findings dating to the Árpád dynasty have been found in greater numbers due to the intensity of the excavations in recent years in Székely Land.⁶⁶ During the 14th century, the vestry's northern wall had been built over a part of a grave. A small round belt buckle with a 3.5–4 cm diameter was found in secondary position, inside the filling of grave GR-1. Similar ones were found in several cemeteries surrounding churches in Székely Land.⁶⁷ Another belt buckle was found in secondary position during the cleaning of the vestry's interior (*Plate 12.16*).

⁶² Nyárádi – Sófalvi 2009, 86–88, 90.

⁶³ Nyárádi – Sófalvi 2009, 103 fig. 7.2–3.

⁶⁴ Botár 2009, 51.

⁶⁵ Sófalvi 2010, 33–35.

⁶⁶ Nyárádi 2012, 162–163.

⁶⁷ Benkő 2012, 159.

Very few artifacts dated to the 14th–15th centuries. The filling of grave GR-19 yielded a highly corroded object with a hooked ending, found in secondary position (*Plate 12.9*). The silver denarius minted under the reign of John Hunyadi from 1446, recovered from the brownish grey, thick filling of grave GR-141 was also found in a secondary position⁶⁸ (*Plate 12.3*). The only grave containing a coin in situ was grave GR-35, where the right hand was holding a silver denarius minted under Louis II of Hungary (1516–1526), Matthias II's 1615 imprint from Körmöcbánya (Slovak: Kremnica)⁶⁹ (*Plate 12.2*).

Another silver denarius minted in 1582 under Rudolf II (1576–1608), was found scattered in excavation pit nr. 1⁷⁰ (*Plate 12.1*).

The number of artifacts dating back to the late middle ages was enriched by a ring found upon the left hand of the body in grave GR-137 (*Plate 12.15*). Inside grave GR-32, around the right hand of the skeleton, we found a highly corroded iron object, but we did not manage to discern its purpose. We also found a medieval spur in secondary position inside the filling of grave GR-137 (*Plate 13.1*).

Most of the artifacts dating back to the period of the Principality are head ornaments, coronets. Inside grave GR-112, which belonged to a child, we found the remains of a coronet made from interwoven metal wire, decorated with small white and blue pearls that had slid down to the skull's right side (*Plate 11.1–2*). Similar coronets decorated with pearls were found in Szentábrahám⁷¹ and in Csíkszentmárton (Romanian: Tomești).⁷²

Beside the coronet decorated with pearls, the more simple lace-like head ornaments decorated with metal wire were more commonly found. The skull inside grave GR-139 showed traces of a highly corroded coronet with metal wires, fitted with leather. A similar discoloring also appeared on the skull in grave GR-144. In this case, we also found, on the ring finger of the left hand, a broken silver ring (*Plate 12.14*). The remains of similar 2.5–3 cm wide coronets with metal wires were recovered from graves GR-190 and GR-171.

Sadly, most of these were preserved in a very poor condition and in some cases we only managed to document the imprints of the metal

materials. The graves excavated in the Reformed church in Telekfalva, which had been dated with the help of coins and which contained similar objects, may offer us greater insight.⁷³

The long hair pin, ending in a small solid, bulb, was also one of the preferred accessories of this period and we found such objects in secondary position in excavation pit 5, at a depth of 140 cm. Similar hair pins were found in greater numbers at the excavation of a dwelling at a site in Csekefalva-Lok (Romanian: Cechești).⁷⁴

Another type of the Principality period artifacts are the iron boot fittings (*Plate 13.4–7*), which in our case were found only as residual objects. In recent years they were found in graves in Udvarhely at the Jesus Chapel⁷⁵ and in Fenyéd.⁷⁶ Among the other scattered artifacts we also ought to mention iron fragments belonging to two pocket knives recovered from pit 1., which had a ring on the edge of its handle and bore the maker's seal on the blade, had lengths of 9.5 cm and 8.5 cm (*Plate 13.2–3*).

A completely corroded iron button was found in poor condition, decorated with embossed/engraved flower ornaments (*Plate 12.5*), similar to the ones found on adorning dolmans.⁷⁷ Almost completely corroded clothing accessories are the hooking elements of a clothing clip and the fragments of an incomplete iron buckle.

In grave GR-85, which belonged to a child and was dated to the 18th century, we uncovered traces of a coronet made from wire and pearls, with the forehead area decorated with lace fabric in a zigzag pattern. A gilded woven material was found near the shoulders of the skeleton, which was supposedly holding down the coronet. The coronet was placed upon a fine brownish colored cloth, alongside the spiral shaped wire ornaments, also with elliptic shapes and with small white pearls stitched between them (*Plate 11.4*). The wire found on the coronet's right side, had blue pearls stitched on it. The head ornaments made from spiraled wire and glass pearls only began to appear from the 17th century. A coronet with spirals similar to the one found in Bögöz was also recovered from the garden of Orbán Balázs Gymnasium in Székelyudvarhely, which also had pieces of bronze wire used with small glass pearls. The grave containing the remains of a woman

⁶⁸ Unger 1980, 33, type 485.

⁶⁹ Unger 1980 61, type 870.

⁷⁰ Unger 1980, 56, type 812.

⁷¹ Benkő 1992, 236.

⁷² Botár 2005, 51.

⁷³ Nyáradi – Sófalvi 2009, 91.

⁷⁴ Benkő 1992, Pl. 77.1–3.

⁷⁵ Sófalvi 2012, 27 fig. 18.

⁷⁶ Undisclosed excavation.

⁷⁷ Benkő 2012, 165.

was dated with the help of the denarius minted in 1622 under Ferdinand II.⁷⁸

From this period are the fragments of a pending ornament, weak, corroded copper discs decorated with engravings. One of the pieces, on which we can still see the copper wire fastening ring, appears to bear the head of a bird. The pieces bear patterns engraved on their surface (*Plate 12.12*).

An interesting find were iron fragments of a chest handle, a button and nail with a folded end used to fasten the handles or the lid of the chest. The handle of the chest, found in mediocre condition, was forged from an angular iron beam, and was decorated by torsion of the beam. The interior of the ring formed by the folded nail, found in good condition, had distinguishable traces of wear. The filling of grave 53 yielded part of a chest lock fitting in the lid of the chest (*Plate 12.18–21*).

In the 18th century graves, mostly the parts of accessories of clothing elements were preserved. A clothing clip was found in grave 114, near the left hand, copper buttons were found in the chest area in grave 168 (*Plate 12.7*), and in grave GR-178 the upper part and the shoulders of the clothing were adorned with stitched decorations, made from small sheet metal pieces, on both the left and right side (*Plate 11.5, 12.13*).

A more thorough analysis of the graves offers unique opportunities to follow the changes and the use of a medieval cemetery, and from the anthropological analysis of the recovered bone material one can find out important details concerning the daily lives, lifestyles and diseases of the people, as well as gain valuable information about burial rituals, their evolution and changes. The rescue excavations showed the existence of an early cemetery wall and the existence of a settlement layer dated to the Árpád dynasty, thus predating the church, but also answering many questions regarding the features of the 12th–13th century cemetery and its size.

Appendix

The burial descriptions focus primarily on the depth and orientation of the graves, the gender and age of the deceased, features of the skeleton and the position of the bones. We determined the age and gender of the excavated skeletons on the spot. A follow-up anthropological examination has not yet confirmed our data so this is only informative. Grave depths are given in relative values.

Abbreviations used:

M – depth, T – orientation (in the cases where we were unsure about the angle we made due with just showing the orientation), N – gender, K – age, P – period

GR-1: pit 1., M: -1.83 m, T: 253°, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

The stretched skeleton was preserved only from the waist down, its left hand was beside the body, the bones were preserved in good condition, its filling was dark grey, thick humus, yielding a belt buckle in secondary position. It is intersected by GR-2 and the tower's south western pillar.

GR-2: pit 1, M: -1.76 m, T: 265°, K: infans I, P: 16th cent.

The stretched skeleton was preserved only from the femur down, its bones were preserved in good condition, its filling was dark grey, containing chunks of mortar and fresco fragments. It had been buried over GR-1, and it is intersected by the tower's south western pillar.

GR-3: pit 1, M: -1.83 m, T: 278°, K: infans II, P: 16th cent.

The skull and the right side of the stretched skeleton had been disturbed, its right hand was stretched along the body, its filling contained chunks of mortar and fresco fragments. It is intersected by the tower's south western pillar, it disturbed GR-5.

GR-4: pit 1, M: -1.76 m, T: 270°, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

The stretched skeleton was preserved in a shattered state, its filling was brownish grey and thick. It is intersected by both the wall of the tower and that of the nave.

GR-5: pit 1, M: -1.89 m, T: 278°, K: infans I, P: 16th cent.

The stretched skeleton was preserved in a shattered state; its filling was dark grey, thick humus with chunks of mortar. It is intersected by the tower's south eastern pillar and the remains of coffin planks from GR-3 were recovered from here.

GR-6: pit 1, M: -1.98 m, T: 252°, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

The stretched skeleton was preserved in good condition, only its right leg and the pelvis were excavated, its filling was dark grey, thick, slightly mixed with mortar chunks. The body's left side is intersected by the tower's wall, it is newer than GR-4.

⁷⁸ Benkő 1992, 176.

GR-7: pit 1, M: -1.81 m, T: 270°, K: iuvenis, P: 12th–13th cent.

The most of the remains had been disturbed by the foundation of the nave's wall, its filling was brown, thick humus slightly mixed with chunks of clay.

GR-8: pit 1, M: -1.84 m, T: 270°, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

Most of the remains had been disturbed by the foundation of the nave's wall, the top part of the skull was excavated, its filling was brown, thick humus slightly mixed with chunks of clay.

GR-9: pit 2, M: -1.29 m, T: 273°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

The left side of the skeleton was preserved, its left arm was bent, its filling was grayish brown, slightly mixed with mortar chunks, spots of clay. It was intersected by the gothic sanctuary's northern wall, and the vestry's wall.

GR-10: pit 2, M: -1.39 m, T: 280°, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

The arms of the stretched skeleton had been placed underneath the pelvis, the bones were in good condition, the skeleton was excavated until the top of the femur, its filling was brown humus with patches of clay and coal. The wall of the early vestry had been built on top of it. Its annex objects were two silver hair rings with 'S' shaped endings found on the skull.

GR-11: pit 5, M: -1.23 m, T: 247°, K: infans I, P: 12th–13th cent.

Only the upper part of the body was preserved, its filling was grayish brown, thick, with chunks of wattle and daub, and patches of coal. It is intersected by GR-12 and it had been dug in the pit of object 3.

GR-12: pit 5, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

Only the upper part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was dark gray, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar, roof tile fragments and patches of clay. It intersects GR-11.

GR-13: pit 4, M: -1.32 m, T: 266°, N: male, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

It was excavated from the waist down, the arms had been placed on the pelvis, its feet had been bent, its filling was brownish gray, thick humus with patches of clay. It is intersected from the waist up by the wall of the gothic pillar.

GR-14: pit 6, M: -1.35, T: 267°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

Its skull had been crushed, its hands were clutched together on its pelvis, the knees down it fell outside of the excavation area, its filling was grayish brown, thick, containing chunks of wattle and daub, patches of clay and fragments of pottery dating back to the Árpád dynasty.

GR-15: pit 4, M: -1.33 m, T: east-west, K: infans I, P: 12th–13th cent.

Only the crushed skull was excavated, the rest of it fell outside of the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, with some patches of clay, it intersects grave GR-38.

GR-16: pit 6, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

Only the upper part of the grave was excavated, we didn't reach the skeleton; its filling was dark grey, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar, roof tiles

and patches of clay. Its relation to GR-17 could not be determined.

GR-17: pit 6, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

Only the upper part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton; its filling was dark gray, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar, roof tiles and patches of clay. Its relation to GR-16 could not be determined.

GR-18: pit 7, M: -1.16 m, T: 273°, K: iuvenis, P: 14th–15th cent.

The extended skeleton's skull was tilted to the right, the arms were stretched out along the body, the skeleton was excavated until the knees; its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar. It is intersected by GR-66 and it had been buried over GR-54.

GR-19: pit 7, M: -1.2 m, T: 255°, N: male, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

The skull of the extended skeleton had been disturbed by the gothic constructions, the arms were stretched out along the body, and its filling was dark gray, thick and slightly mixed. In its filling we found an iron object with a hooked end (*Table 12.22*), in secondary position. It intersects grave 64; it had been disturbed by grave 20.

GR-20: pit 7, M: -1.28 m, T: east-west, K: adultus, P: 15th cent.

The skeleton's skull was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was dark gray, thick, slightly mixed humus, an iron hook was recovered in secondary position. It intersects GR-19.

GR-21: trench 1 (0–5 m), M: -1.4 m, T: 280°, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

Only the left ankle was excavated, its filling was dark gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and fresco fragments. It was buried over GR-30 and GR-34, it is intersected by GR-28.

GR-22: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was dark gray, thick, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay. It is intersected by grave GR-25 and it disturbed GR-26.

GR-23: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was dark gray, thick, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay. It is intersected by GR-24.

GR-24: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, thick, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay. It is intersected by graves GR-24 and GR-27 and it disturbed GR-23 and GR-26.

GR-25: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent. Only part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was dark gray, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar, roof tiles and patches of clay. It intersects GR-22, GR-24, GR-26 and GR-36.

GR-26: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent.

Only part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was dark gray, thick, containing

patches of clay. It is intersected by GR-23, GR-24, GR-25, GR-27 and GR-28.

GR-27: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was gray, thick, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay. It intersects graves GR-24, GR-26 and it had been disturbed by grave GR-29.

GR-28: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 16th–17th cent.

Only part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was dark gray, thick, mixed, containing chunks of mortar, patches of clay and roof tiles. It is intersected by GR-29, it was buried over GR-21, GR-26 and it disturbed GR-27.

GR-29: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent. Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles. It is intersected by GR-30 and it had been buried over GR-27 and GR-28.

GR-30: trench (5–10 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent. Only a part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was brownish gray, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay. The pit of the ossuary had been dug over it and it intersects GR-29 and GR-32.

GR-31: trench 1 (5–10 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was dark gray, thick, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and wattle and daub. It intersects GR-32 and GR-56.

GR-32: trench 1 (5–10 m), M: -1.53 m, T: 256°, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton was uncovered from the pelvis down, and its right arm was also uncovered, lying stretched out along the body, its filling was gray, thick, containing fresco fragments, it sank into the yellow subsoil. It is intersected by graves GR-30 and GR-31, a corroded metal object is discovered at its right hand.

GR-33: trench 1 (5–10 m), M: -1.61 m, T: 273°, K: infans I, P: 16th cent.

All that was left of the skeleton were the crushed skull and the femurs, the bones of the skeletons' middle section had become absorbed to a significant degree, its filling was dark gray, loose and mixed with mortar. It had been buried over GR-47 and GR-48, we discovered the traces of the coffin's wooden planks on the skeleton, several coffin nails were found, it intersects GR-35 and GR-37.

GR-34: trench 1 (5–10 m), M: -1.57 m, T: 269°, K: adultus, P: 15th–16th cent.

The skull had been disturbed, the skeleton was preserved up to the elbow line, its filling was brownish gray, thick, with chunks of mortar, it sank into the yellow clayey subsoil. The skeleton is intersected by GR-35, the pit of the ossuary had been dug over it and grave GR-21 was buried over it.

GR-35: trench 1 (5–10 m), M: -1.57 m, T: 275°, N: male, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton's skull had tilted to the side, its right arm was stretched along the body, the left had been placed over the pelvis, its right leg fell outside the excavation

area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it sank into the yellow subsoil. It intersects GR-33 and GR-56, grave GR-37 had been buried over it, we found coffin nails and also remains from the coffin, a denarius dating back to Matthias II's 1615 imprint from Kőrmöcbánya (Slovakian: Kremnica) had been placed in its right hand (*Table 12.2*).

GR-36: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was dark gray, thick, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay. Graves GR-21 and GR-25 were buried over it.

GR-37: trench 1 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was dark gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay. It intersects graves GR-33 and GR-35; the ossuary's pit had been dug over it.

GR-38: trench 2, T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was dark gray, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay; it intersects grave GR-15.

GR-39: trench 1 (5–10 m) M: -1.33 m, T: 278°, K: infans II, P: 16th cent.

The skull was crushed, the right hand had been placed over the pelvis, the left was stretched out along the body, the legs were placed over each other, its filling was dark gray, with chunks of mortar and fresco fragments. It had been buried over GR-40.

GR-40: trench 2, M: -1.29 m, T: 275°, K: adultus, P: 13th–14th cent.

Only the skeleton's right leg is excavated, its filling is brownish gray, thick, with patches of clay, it intersects GR-39.

GR-41: trench 2, T: east-west, P: 16th cent. Only part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was dark brown, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay and fresco fragments. Grave GR-43 had been buried over it.

GR-42: trench 2, M: -1.47 m, T: 253°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton's middle section was excavated, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it had become discolored above the pelvis, we observed the imprints of organic material; grave GR-43 had been buried over it.

GR-43: trench 2, T: east-west, P: 19th cent. Only a part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was dark gray, loose, mixed, containing patches of clay, stones, roof tiles and it intersected graves GR-41 and GR-42.

GR-44: trench 1 (10–15 m), M: -1.47 m, T: 264°, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

The body's upper part was excavated, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing mortar chunks, clay patches and graves GR-49 and GR-50 had been buried over it.

GR-45: trench 1 (10–15 m), M: -1.65 m, T: 280°, K: infans II, P: 15th cent.

The skeleton had been excavated to the knees, a small 25 cm ledge had been left under its head, its filling was

yellowish brown, thick, slightly mixed; grave GR-51 had been buried over it.

GR-46: trench 1 (10–15 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent.

Only one part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was dark gray, loose, mixed, containing patches of clay, it intersects grave GR-47.

GR-47: trench 1 (10–15 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent.

Only one part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was brownish gray, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay and chunks of mortar, graves GR-33 and GR-46 had been buried over it and the ossuary's pit had also been dug into it.

GR-48: trench 1 (10–15 m), T: east-west, P: 16th cent.

Only one part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was dark gray, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay and chunks or mortar, grave GR-33 had been buried on top of it.

GR-49: trench 1 (10–15 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, mixed, containing patches of clay, chunks of mortar, roof tiles, decorative imprints belonging to coffins were found in secondary position, it intersects GR-44 and GR-50.

GR-50: trench 1 (10–15 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was brownish gray, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay, chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it intersects graves GR-44 and GR-49, it had been disturbed by grave GR-73.

GR-51: trench 1 (15–20 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent.

Only one part of the grave was excavated, the skeleton was not found, its filling was gray, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay, chunks of mortar, building debris and roof tiles, it intersects graves GR-45, GR-53, GR-55 and it is intersected by grave GR-73.

GR-52: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.18 m, T: 261°, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

The skeleton was excavated from the knees down, the grave had been dug down into the clayey subsoil, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing patches of clay, its upper part is cut intersected by GR-55.

GR-53: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.96 m, T: 277°, K: iuvenis, P: 19th cent.

The extended skeleton was preserved in very bad condition, the pelvis and the ribs had become absorbed, the arms were stretched out along the body, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, building debris and roof tiles, we found many coffin nails, and the coffin itself was also mostly preserved. Glass orb belonging to a shirt turned up near the waist line, as well as the remains of a belt buckle. The grave had been dug into the pit of M-60, soon after its funeral. It intersects grave GR-76 and it had been disturbed by grave GR-51. In secondary position was found a copper ring in good condition, made with folded edges, decorated with plant motifs/

vine ornaments, which had broken and become stretched out, its current length 3.8 cm (*Table 12.11*).

GR-54: C7, M: -1.3 m, T: 256°, K: iuvenis, P: 14th–15th cent.

The skull of the extended skeleton had been disturbed by the gothic constructions, the right arm was bent and placed on the pelvis, its filling was dark gray, slightly mixed with mortar; GR-18 had been buried on top of it.

GR-55: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.80 m, T: 276°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

The pelvic area was excavated, its filling was brownish gray with mortar and patches of clay, 16th century pottery fragments were found. The grave was intersected by GR-51, GR-73 and GR-74; it disturbed grave GR-52.

GR-56: trench 1 (5–10 m), T: east-west, P: 15th–16th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay, it is intersected by graves GR-31 and GR-35, the ossuary's pit had been dug over it.

GR-57: trench 1 (15–20 m), M: -1.65 m, T: 275°, K: adultus, P: 15th–16th cent.

Only the right arm of the skeleton was preserved, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing mortar chunks, it intersects GR-74.

GR-58: trench 1 (15–20 m), T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was yellowish brown, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay, the gothic vestry's northern wall had been built over it.

GR-59: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.45 m, T: 275°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

The right side of the grave was preserved, its right arm is intersected by GR-53, its left side had been disturbed during the construction of the gothic vestry. Its filling is brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed with clay.

GR-60: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -2.1 m, T: 267°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 19th cent.

The ribs and vertebrae of the extended skeleton had become absorbed, the arms were stretched along the body, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, roof tiles, we detected a large piece of a coffin plank. We uncovered the corroded remains of a metal wire coronet on the skull (*Table 1.3*), we found seven glass orb in the chest area (*Table 12.6*), organic material at the skull, supposedly we found the remains of a flower bouquet which had been placed inside the coffin. Not long after its burial, GR-53 had been dug over it, it intersects graves GR-74 and GR-76.

GR-61: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.52 m, T: 241°, N: male, K: adultus, P: 15th–16th cent.

The extended skeleton was cut by several graves, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay, it had been disturbed by GR-67.

GR-62: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.65 m, T: 283°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

Only the skeleton's scapulae and some ribs were excavated, its filling was brownish gray, thick,

containing chunks of clay; it was intersected by GR-83 and GR-77.

GR-63: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.5 m, T: 262°, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

The skeleton was excavated only from the knees down, the bones were in poor condition, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing roof tiles and chunks of mortar, it was intersected by GR-86 and GR-91.

GR-64: C-7, M: -1.20 m, T: 282°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

Only the left femur was left of the skeleton, its upper part had been disturbed by the gothic constructions while its right side by GR-19. Its filling was dark gray, thick, with some patches of clay.

GR-65: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.40 m, T: 261°, K: infans I, P: 18th–19th cent.

Only the upper part of the skeleton was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, the arms had been bent over the pelvis, and its filling was grayish brown, loose, mixed with mortar and roof tiles. We found a larger piece of coffin plank as well as some coffin nails.

GR-66: C-7, M: -1.28 m, T: 260°, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

Only the upper part of the skeleton was excavated, the rest of it falling outside of the excavation area, the arms were stretched along the body, its filling was dark gray, thick, slightly mixed with mortar. It had been buried on top of GR-18 and GR-142.

GR-67: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.53 m, T: 276°, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

Only the skeleton's right leg was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its top section was intersected by GR-75. Its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing patches of clay and chunks of mortar, it had disturbed grave GR-61.

GR-68: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.55 m, T: 276°, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

Part of the skeleton's skull and the left arm were excavated, it had been disturbed at the lower arm level by grave GR-70, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed with chunks of mortar, it had been buried over GR-71, during the excavation we also uncovered coffin nails.

GR-69: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.57 m, T: 275°, K: infans I, P: 16th cent.

Only the crushed skull was preserved, the rest was intersected by graves GR-70 and GR-69, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed with chunks of mortar.

GR-70: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: -1.90 m, T: 270°, K: iuvenis, P: 18th–19th cent.

The completely excavated skeleton was in greater part absorbed, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing debris or mortar and roof tiles, coffin nails were uncovered during the excavation. The grave had disturbed GR-68, GR-69 and GR-79.

GR-71: trench 1 (25–30 m), M: -1.78 m, T: east-west, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton's left leg was preserved along with the heel and the toes, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed with chunks of mortar, it is intersected by grave GR-68 and it disturbed GR-78.

GR-72: trench 1 (20–25 m), M: 1.7 m, T: 233°, K: newborn, P: 19th cent.

The bones were completely absorbed, only the coffin plank was preserved, which was decorated with imprints on its sides and middle, a year number (1826?) could clearly be distinguished. Its filling was gray, loose, containing roof tiles and mortar chunks; it is intersected by grave GR-82.

GR-73: trench 1 (15–20 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, loose, containing building debris; it had disturbed graves GR-51 and GR-55.

GR-74: trench 1 (20–25 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, loose, containing roof tiles and chunks of mortar, it had been disturbed by GR-55 and GR-57, and in turn it had been intersected by GR-60.

GR-75: trench 1 (20–25 m), T: east-west, P: 17th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, loose, containing building debris, it had disturbed graves GR-67 and GR-76, it is earlier than the demolishing of the gothic vestry.

GR-76: trench 1 (20–25 m), T: east-west, P: 17th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, loose, containing roof tiles and chunks of mortar, it had been disturbed by graves GR-53, GR-60 and GR-75, it is earlier than the demolishing of the gothic vestry.

GR-77: trench 1 (30–35.7 m), M: -1.65 m, T: 282°, K: iuvenis, P: 18th cent.

The skeleton's lower part is excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, mixed with roof tiles and chunks of mortar. We noticed the traces of the coffin 7–8 cm above the skeleton, we also found coffin nails, it intersects grave GR-62.

GR-78: trench 1 (26–30 m), M: -1.86 m, T: 248°, K: infans I, P: 17th–18th cent.

The skeleton's lower part was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, the bones were preserved in poor condition, its filling was yellowish brown, thick, mixed with roof tiles and chunks of mortar. During the excavation we found coffin nails, it is intersected by grave GR-72.

GR-79: trench 1 (26–30 m), M: -1.67 m, T: 237°, K: infans I, P: 17th–18th cent.

The grave was documented from the waist down, its upper part had been disturbed by GR-70, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, and during the excavation we also found coffin nails.

GR-80: trench 1 (26–30 m), M: -1.71 m, T: 262°, K: adultus, P: 17th–18th cent.

The grave was documented from the waist down, its upper part had been intersected by GR-81 and GR-82, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling

was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we also uncovered coffin nails.

GR-81: trench 1 (26–30 m), M: -1.92 m, T: 238°, K: adultus, P: 18th–19th cent.

Part of the skeleton's skull and its right arm were excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, mixed, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we found coffin nails, it disturbed grave GR-80.

GR-82: trench 1 (26–30 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay, it had been disturbed by grave GR-72 and it intersects GR-80.

GR-83: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.96 m, T: 243°, K: adultus, P: 18th–19th cent.

The skeleton's upper part was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, the skull was crushed, the right arm was bent over the pelvis, the bone in the spine area had become absorbed. Its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing roof tiles and chunks of mortar, it disturbed graves GR-62 and GR-77. The coffin planks were decorated with bronze imprints, especially the edges of the coffin, the inscription was indecipherable.

GR-84: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.54 m, T: 282°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 18th cent.

The skeleton was excavated down to the pelvis, its lower section fell outside the excavation area. The skull was crushed, the arms were stretched out along the body, the bones were preserved in poor condition. Its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, stones and roof tiles. It had been dug over the pits of GR-93, GR-95 and GR-96, it partially intersects the early cemetery wall.

GR-85: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.78 m, T: 252°, K: infans 1, P: 18th cent.

The skeleton's skull was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and brick debris. In child grave GR-85, on the crushed skull, we uncovered the remains of a coronet made from wire and pearls, complete with a lace cloth in the forehead area. A gilded cloth material was uncovered at the skeleton's shoulder area. The coronet was placed upon a fine brown cloth, next to the ornaments made from spiraled blue wire, there were also some with an elliptic shape, the spaces between them decorated with stitched white pearls. The motifs made from glass pearls were preserved only where the copper wire holding the pearls did not become completely corroded. A fabric strap and a lace ornament were preserved in admirable condition. The wire found on the coronet's right side had blue pearls on it. During the excavation we also uncovered coffin nails; the grave disturbed GR-88.

GR-86: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose,

containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it disturbed graves GR-53, GR-63 and GR-87.

GR-87: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing pebbles, chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it disturbed grave GR-86.

GR-88: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.45 m, T: 241°, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

The skeleton's left lower arm and part of its femur was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area and the other part was intersected by GR-85. The grave had been dug over GR-89.

GR-89: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.53 m, T: 252°, K: infans 1, P: 16th–17th cent.

The skeleton was excavated from the knees down, its upper part fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, mixed, containing patches of clay. We found a coffin plank beneath the bones, no nails were found. The grave had been disturbed by GR-88.

GR-90: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent.

Only a part of the grave was excavated, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles.

GR-91: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), T: east-west, P: 17th–18th cent.

We observed the pit of the grave only in cross section, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, it disturbed grave GR-63.

GR-92: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.49 m, T: 254°, N: male, K: adultus, P: 15th–16th cent.

The skeleton's middle section was excavated, its upper part fell outside the excavation area, its lower part was intersected by the cemetery wall. Its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing clay.

GR-93: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.67 m, T: 240°, K: adultus, P: 17th–18th cent.

The skeleton's left arm was excavated, as well as its part beneath the pelvis, its upper part was intersected by GR-95 and GR-96, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, and mixed with clay. During the excavation we uncovered coffin nails, grave GR-84 had been buried on top of it.

GR-94: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.8 m, T: east-west, P: 17th–18th cent.

Only a part of the coffin was uncovered, which was also decorated with bronze imprints, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and patches of clay, it is intersected by GR-98.

GR-95: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.8 m, T: 257°, K: iuvenis, P: 17th–18th cent.

Only the skeleton's toes were uncovered, the rest was intersected by GR-96, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and clay. During the excavation we uncovered a coffin plank as well as coffin nails, grave GR-84 had been buried on top of it and it disturbed GR-93.

GR-96: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), T: east-west, P: 17th–18th cent.

We only excavated a part of the grave, its filling was yellowish brown, thick, containing chunks of mortar, pebbles, it disturbed graves GR-93 and GR-95, while GR-84 had been buried on top of it.

GR-97: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

We only noticed a part of the coffin, no nails were found, its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it disturbed GR-98.

GR-98: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent.

We only noticed the large grave, we did not reach the level of the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing roof tiles and chunks of mortar, it disturbed GR-94, GR-97 and GR-119, while it was disturbed by grave 117.

GR-99: trench 1 (30–37.5 m), M: -1.4 m, T: east-west, K: infans, P: 16th cent.

We noticed the skeleton in the southern cross section, we partially disturbed it during the excavation, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing clay, it is earlier than the cemetery wall.

GR-100: trench 4, M: -1.45 m, T: 274°, K: juvenis, P: 16th cent.

The extended skeleton was completely excavated, with the exception of the skull, the arms had been placed on the pelvis, its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed with mortar.

GR-101: trench 4, M: -1.47 m, T: 265°, K: infans 2, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton was excavated from the pelvis down, its legs were intersected by GR-105, its right arm was placed on the pelvis, the left was stretched out along the body. Its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and clay, grave GR-106 had been buried on top of it.

GR-102: trench 4, M: -1.47 m, T: 265°, K: infans 2, P: 16th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated down to the pelvis, the collapsed skull had tilted to the right, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and clay.

GR-103: pit 8, M: -1.15 m, T: 262°, K: infans 2, P: 14th–15th cent.

The skeleton was excavated from the pelvis down, its upper part is intersected by the gothic buttress, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar.

GR-104: pit 4, P: 17th–18th cent.

We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing roof tiles, clay chunks and mortar chunks, it had been buried over GR-106.

GR-105: pit 4, P: 17th–18th cent.

We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing roof tiles, clay chunks and mortar chunks, it intersects grave 101.

GR-106: pit 4, K: newborn, P: 17th–18th cent.

We noticed the cross section of the grave, it had been damaged during the excavation, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing roof tiles, chunks of

clay and mortar, it intersects grave 101 and grave 104 had been buried on top of it.

GR-107: pit 4, M: -1.65 m, T: 261°, K: infans 2, P: 17th–18th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated down to the pelvis, its lower part fell outside the excavation area, part of the bones had become absorbed, the skull was crushed, the arms were slightly bent, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we found coffin nails, it had been buried in a common pit together with GR-108, but in separate a coffin.

GR-108: pit 4, M: -1.65 m, T: 261°, K: infans 2, P: 17th–18th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated down to the pelvis, its lower part fell outside of the excavation area, part of the bones had become absorbed, the skull was crushed, the arms were slightly bent and placed upon the pelvis, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we found coffin nails, it had been buried in a common pit together with GR-107, but in a separate coffin.

GR-109: pit 5: (5–10 m), M: -1.1 m, T: 273°, K: infans 1, P: 14th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated down to the knees, its skull was crushed, the arms were stretched out along the body, it was damaged during excavation, its filling was dark gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it disturbed grave GR-127, it had been buried on top of grave GR-111, it is earlier than the cemetery wall.

GR-110: pit 5 (0–5 m), M: -1.56 m, T: 266°, K: adultus, P: 15th–16th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated from the shoulders down, the arms were stretched out along the body, its filling was yellowish brown, thick, containing chunks of mortar and clay, during the excavation we noticed traces of coffin planks, but we did not find any coffin nails, it is intersected by GR-114.

GR-111: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.13 m, T: 252°, K: juvenis, P: 13th–14th cent.

The skeleton was excavated from the knees down, it had been partially disturbed by grave 109, its filling was dark gray, thick, slightly mixed with mortar fragments, it is earlier than the first cemetery wall.

GR-112: trench 4, M: -1.65 m, T: 244°, K: infans 2, P: 16th–17th cent.

The extended skeleton's skull was crushed, it had tilted slightly to the right, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles. The remains of a coronet, woven from metallic wire, decorated with small white and blue pearls, were found on the skull, slipped down to the right side a bit. During the excavation we also found coffin nails.

GR-113: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.85 m, T: 237°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 19th cent.

The skeleton was excavated from the shoulders to the knees, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, only the longer bones were preserved, the rest having become absorbed. Its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, we found several coffin nails, it intersected GR-110.

GR-114: trench 5 (0–5 m), M: -2.06 m, T: 258°, K: adultus, P: 18th cent.

The skeleton was excavated until the knees, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, the arms were stretched out along the body, the bones were preserved in poor condition. Its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles. During the excavation we found coffin nails, as well as the remains of the coffin and near the left hand we found a clothing clip. The grave intersects GR-110 and GR-121.

GR-115: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -0.97 m, T: 263°, K: newborn, P: 17th–18th cent.

The skeleton was partially damaged during excavation, the skull was missing, the legs were slightly bent, the arms were stretched out along the body, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, it had disturbed GR-145.

GR-116: trench 5 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent. We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing roof tiles and mortar, it was in an undeterminable superimposition with grave GR-117.

GR-117: trench 5 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent. We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing roof tiles and mortar, it was in an undeterminable superimposition with grave GR-116, it intersected GR-98 and GR-118.

GR-118: trench 5 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 15th–16th cent.

We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing mortar, it disturbed grave GR-122 and in turn was disturbed by graves GR-98 and GR-117.

GR-119: trench 5 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent. We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing mortar, roof tiles and clay patches, it is intersected by GR-98, it disturbed GR-120.

GR-120: trench 5 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 15th–16th cent.

We excavated only one part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing mortar and brick debris, it is intersected by grave GR-121, and in turn it disturbs grave GR-122.

GR-121: trench 5 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 15th–16th cent.

We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing mortar, roof tiles and clay patches, it disturbed graves GR-121 and GR-114.

GR-122: trench 5 (0–5 m), T: east-west, P: 15th–16th cent.

We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, slightly mixed, containing mortar, it is intersected by graves GR-121 and GR-118.

GR-123: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.14 m, T: 225°, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

We excavated the skeleton from the knees down, its filling was dark gray, thick, containing building debris and chunks of mortar. It had disturbed the first

cemetery wall and grave GR-135, and it is intersected by grave GR-136.

GR-124: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.70 m, T: 262°, K: iuvenis, P: 17th–18th cent.

Only the femur and part of the tibia were left of the skeleton which had been disturbed to a high degree, its filling was gray, loose, containing mortar chunks and roof tiles, it is intersected by GR-128.

GR-125: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.78 m, T: 251°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 18th cent.

Its skull had been disturbed by GR-124, it was excavated until the knees, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was gray, loose, and containing roof tiles and chunks of mortar, during the excavation we also found coffin nails. It intersects grave GR-126.

GR-126: trench 5 (5–10 m) M: -1.78 m, T: east-west, K: adultus, P: 17th–18th cent.

Only the skeleton's ankle was preserved, the right one was found later on, it received a separate number (GR-134), its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, during the excavation we also found coffin nails, the grave is intersected by GR-126.

GR-127: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.08 m, T: 240°, K: iuvenis, P: 12th–13th cent.

Only part of the skeleton's femur and the tibiae were preserved, its filling was gray, thick and slightly mixed. It is intersected by graves GR-109 and GR-128, and it is earlier than the first cemetery wall.

GR-128: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.01 m, T: 218°, K: iuvenis, P: 17th–18th cent.

The skeleton's femur and tibia were excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing building debris, during the excavation we found traces of a coffin, it had been buried on top of graves GR-129 and GR-132, it disturbed graves GR-124 and GR-127.

GR-129: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.17 m, T: 219°, K: adultus, P: 13th–14th cent.

The skeleton's left tibia and ankle are excavated, its filling is brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it had been disturbed by grave GR-130, it is earlier than the first cemetery wall.

GR-130: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.28 m, T: 219°, K: adultus, P: 13th–14th cent.

The body's lower part was excavated as the part from the knees up fell outside the excavation area, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it disturbed grave GR-129, it is earlier than the first cemetery wall.

GR-131: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.92 m, T: 247°, K: adultus, P: 18th cent.

The skeleton's right femur, tibia and ankle were excavated, its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we found coffin nails as well as a few coffin decorative imprints, it is intersected by GR-113.

GR-132: trench 5 (5–10 m), M: -1.18 m, T: 264°, K: adultus, P: 12th–13th cent.

The skeleton's tibia and ankle were excavated, the upper part fell outside the excavation area, its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed, grave GR-128 had been buried on top of it.

GR-133: trench 5 (5-10 m), M: -1.66 m, T: 250°, K: adultus, P: 18th cent.

Part of the skeleton's femur was preserved, its upper part fell outside the excavation area, the lower part had become absorbed, its filling was gray, loose, containing mortar chunks, roof tiles and brick debris, during the excavation we found coffin nails, it had disturbed grave GR-111.

GR-134: see the description of grave GR-126.

GR-135: trench 5 (5-10 m), M: -1.35 m, T: 259°, K: adultus, P: 12th-13th cent.

The skeleton was preserved from the pelvis down, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing patches of clay, it had been disturbed by graves GR-123, GR-129 and GR-130.

GR-136: trench 5 (5-10 m), P: 19th cent.

We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing roof tiles, chunks of clay, mortar and brick debris, it disturbed GR-123.

GR-137: trench 6, M: -1.29 m, T: 270°, K: adultus, P: 15th-16th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated until the knees, its lower part was disturbed by GR-120, the arms were stretched out along the body, its filling was grayish brown, thick, mixed with chunks of mortar, during the excavation we also uncovered several coffin nails, we found a silver ring on the ring finger of the left hand (*Table 12.15*), and we also recovered from the filling a medieval spur, in secondary position. One of the spur's arms is missing, its length is 11.5 cm (*Table 13.1*).

GR-138: pit 9, M: -1.33 m, T: 263°, K: adultus, P: 12th-13th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated until the pelvis, the left side of its skull was intersected by the nave's southern wall, its right side had been disturbed by GR-141, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing patches of clay, grave GR-143 had been buried over it.

GR-139: pit 9, trench 8, M: -1.33 m, T: 263°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 16th-17th cent.

The skeleton was excavated until its pelvis, its lower part had been disturbed by grave GR-191, its filling was loose, it contained chunks of mortar and fresco fragments, the skull had the remains of a much corroded coronet made from metallic wire, which had been set in place with leather, we did not find traces of a coffin.

GR-140: pit 9, M: -1.37 m, T: east-west, K: adultus, P: 16th-17th cent.

The skeleton's ankle was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, loose, mixed, containing mortar chunks.

GR-141: pit 9, T: east-west, P: 14th cent.

We only excavated a part of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, we found a denarius in secondary position, minted under John Hunyadi silver denarius from 1446 it had disturbed grave GR-138 and grave GR-143 was buried over it (*Table 12.3*).

GR-142: pit 7, M: -1.37 m, T: 271°, K: adultus, P: 14th-15th cent.

The extended skeleton was preserved until the pelvis,

its right hand and lower section had been disturbed by unexcavated graves, its left arm was stretched out along the body, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, grave GR-66 had been buried over it.

GR-143: pit 9, M: -1.18 m, T: east-west, K: adultus, P: 14th-15th cent.

We noticed the skeleton in the pit's eastern cross section, its skull was damaged during the excavation, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, it had been buried over graves GR-138 and GR-141.

GR-144: pit 9, trench 8, M: -1.38 m, T: 254°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 16th-17th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated until its pelvis, its lower part fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and fresco fragments, we found a broken silver ring on the left hand's ring finger, Noble patina and copper chloride on the surface of a copper ring broken into 5 pieces. The exterior of the ring has two decorative lines scratched in it, parallel with the edges, its diameter 1.7-1.8 cm, the other one 2-2.2 cm. We noticed the discoloring caused by a coronet made from metallic wire on the skull, it is intersected by grave 191.

GR-145: trench 5 (10-16.7 m), M: -1.11 m, T: 308°, K: iuvenis, P: 13th-14th cent.

The skeleton's middle part was preserved, the arms were stretched out along the body, its filling was dark gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, it had been disturbed by grave GR-115, graves GR-149 and GR-153 had been buried over it, it is earlier than the first cemetery wall.

GR-146: trench 5 (10-16.7 m), M: -1.35, T: east-west, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

Only the skeleton's ankle and toes were preserved, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, during the excavation we noticed the imprint of the coffin's edge, we assume that it did not have a bottom, we did not find any coffin nails, it had disturbed grave GR-148 and it is intersected by grave GR-156.

GR-147: trench 5 (10-16.7 m), M: -1.25 m, T: east-west, K: adultus, P: 13th-14th cent.

The skeleton's left ankle and its toes were preserved, its filling was dark gray, mixed with patches of mortar, its top part was intersected by GR-155.

GR-148: trench 5 (10-16.7 m), M: -1.20 m, T: 246°, K: iuvenis, P: 14th-15th cent.

Part of the skeleton's femur, its tibia and its ankle were excavated, the rest of it had been disturbed by GR-146, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing patches of clay.

GR-149: trench 5 (10-16.7 m), M: -1.30 m, T: 282°, N: male, K: adultus, P: 13th-14th cent.

Its skull had been disturbed by GR-153, its right leg, from the knee down, fell outside the excavation area, its left leg had been disturbed by grave GR-151, its filling was gray, thick, containing patches of clay, mixed, the first cemetery wall had been built over it, it intersects grave GR-145, and grave GR-152 had been buried over it.

GR-150: trench 5 (10-16.7 m), M: -1.20 m, T: 232°, K: adultus, P: 16th-17th cent.

The extended skeleton was excavated from the pelvis down, its upper part fell outside the excavation area, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, during the excavation we uncovered traces of coffin planks, we did not find any coffin nails, it had disturbed grave GR-152.

GR-151: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.33 m, T: 248°, K: iuvenis, P: 16th–17th cent.

The complete extended skeleton was excavated, its skull had been disturbed by GR-170, its left hand was on the pelvis, the right was stretched put along the body. Its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, during the excavation we noticed the traces of coffin planks, no coffin nails were found, it disturbed grave GR-152, and it had been buried over grave GR-149, it intersects grave GR-170.

GR-152: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.23 m, T: 316°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

The skeleton's pelvic area, the femur and a part of the arms were left, which had been placed over the pelvis, its upper part was disturbed by GR-153, and the rest by graves GR-150 and GR-151. Its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar. It had been buried near the first cemetery wall, over grave GR-149.

GR-153: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.23 m, T: 322°, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

The skeleton's tibia, ankle bones and toe bones were excavated, its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and building debris, during the excavation coffin nails were also found, it had disturbed grave GR-152, it was buried following the demolishing of the first cemetery wall.

GR-154: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.4 m, T: 305°, N: male, K: adultus, P: 17th cent.

The entire extended skeleton was excavated, the skull was crushed, the bones had crumbled in the spine area, the arms were stretched out along the body, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing building debris and chunks of mortar, during the excavation we found coffin planks as well as coffin nails, it had been disturbed by grave GR-157, it was buried following the demolishing of the first cemetery wall.

GR-155: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.25 m, T: east-west, K: adultus, P: 15th–16th cent.

The skeleton's left lower arm and finger bones were excavated, the rest fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, it had disturbed grave GR-147, and in turn it had been disturbed by burials GR-156 and GR-161.

GR-156: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.25 m, T: east-west, P: 17th–18th cent.

Part of the wooden coffin was preserved but the bones had all crumbled away, during the excavation we also found coffin nails, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it had been buried over GR-160, and graves GR-158 and GR-159 were buried over it, it disturbed graves GR-146 and GR-155.

GR-157: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.67 m, T: 304°, K: infans 2, P: 17th–18th cent.

The extended skeleton was completely excavated, its preservation state was poor, the arms were stretched out along the body, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we uncovered coffin planks on a large surface, along with coffin nails, it had disturbed grave GR-154 and it is intersected by GR-171.

GR-158: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.45 m, T: 279°, K: newborn, P: 16th–17th cent.

The skeleton was partially damaged during the excavation, the arms were placed over the pelvis, part of the bones had crumbled away, the coffin's edge could clearly be distinguished, no nails were found, its filling was gray, thick, mixed with mortar. It had been buried over grave GR-156, and in the same coffin as burial GR-159.

GR-159: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.45 m, T: 279°, K: newborn, P: 16th–17th cent.

The skeleton was partly damaged during the excavation, the arms were placed over the pelvis, part of the bones had crumbled away, the edge of the coffin could clearly be distinguished, no nails were found. Its filling was gray, thick, mixed with mortar, it had been buried over grave GR-156, and in the same coffin as GR-158.

GR-160: trench 5 (18–24 m), M: -1.2 m, T: 289°, K: infans 2, P: 16th cent.

Part of the lower leg was excavated, the body's upper part was disturbed by GR-168, its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar and brick debris, graves GR-156 and GR-167 had been buried over it.

GR-161: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.86 m, T: 280°, K: adultus, P: 19th cent.

The skeleton's left side was excavated, the condition of the bones was poor, the body's right side fell out of the excavation area, the arms were placed on the pelvis, its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, as well as the residual bone material of several other disturbed burials, its filling yielded a fragment from a copper imprint. During the excavation we found coffin nails, it disturbed grave GR-155.

GR-162: trench 7, T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent. During the excavation we only noticed the pit of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was yellowish brown, clayey and mixed with chunks of mortar.

GR-163: trench 7, T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent. During the excavation we only noticed the pit of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was yellowish brown, clayey and mixed with rocks and chunks of mortar.

GR-164: trench 7, T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent. During the excavation we only noticed the pit of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was grayish brown, mixed with rocks, clay and chunks of mortar.

GR-165: trench 7, T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent. During the excavation we only noticed the pit of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was yellowish brown, mixed with clay and chunks of mortar.

GR-166: trench 7, T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent.

During the excavation we only noticed the pit of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was yellowish brown, mixed with clay and chunks of mortar.

GR-167: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.52 m, T: 279°, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton's skull and its right side fell outside the excavation area, the bones of the left hand had been disturbed by grave GR-168, the pelvis and vertebrae had crumbled away. Its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, during the excavation we noticed the traces of coffin planks, no nails were found. It had been buried over GR-160 and it is intersected by grave 169.

GR-168: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.86 m, T: 286°, K: infans 2, P: 18th cent.

The entire skeleton was excavated, most of the bones had become absorbed, copper buttons were found in the chest area. The fragments of three copper buttons with iron fastening rings, encased in textile, found in very poor condition. The textile cover of the copper buttons was preserved by the copper's corrosion residues. The metallic corrosion-residues on the back of one of the buttons had preserved the texture of the clothing piece it used to be attached to. Its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it disturbed graves GR-160, GR-167 and GR-172.

GR-169: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.92 m, T: 291°, K: adultus, P: 18th cent.

We completely excavated the extended skeleton, part of the bones had become absorbed, the arms were bent on the pelvis, its filling was light gray, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles. Coffin planks and nails were found during the excavation, the edge of the coffin could clearly be distinguished, it partially disturbed grave GR-167 and grave GR-176 had been buried over it.

GR-170: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), T: east-west, P: 17th cent.

We noticed a part of the pit of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and brick debris, it partially disturbed grave GR-151.

GR-171: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.7 m, T: east-west, K: adultus?, P: 17th–18th cent.

The grave was preserved in very poor condition, the bones had crumbled away completely, its filling was dark gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles. During the excavation we noticed the traces of coffin planks, we found the remains of the cloth of a corroded coronet on the skull, it partially disturbed grave GR-157.

GR-172: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.42 m, T: 281°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

The skeleton's pelvic area and the left arm were excavated, its upper part had been disturbed by GR-168, the rest fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and brick debris.

GR-173: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.32 m, T: 283°, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

The extended skeleton was completely excavated, the skull had tilted slightly to the right, the left arm was

bent over the pelvis, the right was extended along the body, its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed with mortar, during the excavation we found a coffin plank but no nails were uncovered. The grave had been buried over GR-179 and it disturbed graves GR-174, GR-180 and GR-181.

GR-174: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.38 m, T: 279°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

We completely excavated the skeleton, its skull and its right side, with the exception of the tibia, had been disturbed by GR-173, the arms were stretched out along the body, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar.

GR-175: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.38 m, T: 269°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

We excavated the complete skeleton, we did not find its skull, the left side had been disturbed by grave GR-185, the right arm was intersected by GR-182. Its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it had been buried over grave GR-177.

GR-176: trench 5 (10–16.7 m), M: -1.45 m, T: 285°, K: adultus, P: 18th cent.

We only uncovered the skeleton's partial skull and its right upper arm, its filling was dark gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we found coffin nails, its pit had been dug over GR-169 and it had disturbed grave GR-178.

GR-177: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.55 m, T: 283°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

We excavated the entire skeleton, its skull had been disturbed by GR-175, its right arm by GR-183, the upper part of the right arm by GR-182, its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, grave 175 had been buried over it.

GR-178: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.88 m, T: 273°, K: iuvenis, P: 17th cent.

The entire skeleton had crumbled away, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, we detected the remains of coffin planks. Small perforated round discs were found in the shoulder area, both on the left and right sides, which were decorative elements of his clothing. Silver discs, found in good condition, covered with the alloying material's corrosion products. The silver wire was coiled up in a spring like shape, then cut across parallel with the spring's axis, and the resulting rings were pressed into discs. During the excavation of the grave we found 69 pieces, their diameter 0.5 cm, the copper needle with a bulb shaped ending was slightly bent, its length 1.8 cm (*Table 12.10*). The grave had been disturbed by GR-176 and GR-186.

GR-179: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.49 m, T: 288°, K: adultus, P: 14th–15th cent.

The left femur and the tibiae were excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, grave GR-173 had been buried over it.

GR-180: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.37 m, T: 273°, K: newborn, P: 14th–15th cent.

The skull of the completely excavated skeleton had been disturbed by GR-173, the rest of it was damaged during work, the arms were stretched out along the

body, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, it had been buried in the same pit as GR-181, it is intersected by grave GR-173.

GR-181: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.37 m, T: 273°, K: infans 1, P: 14th–15th cent.

The skull of the completely excavated skeleton had been disturbed by GR-173, the rest of it was damaged during work, the arms were stretched along the body, its filling was brownish gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, it had been buried in the same pit as GR-180, it is intersected by grave GR-173.

GR-182: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), M: -1.88 m, T: 270°, K: adultus, P: 18th cent.

The skeleton was excavated from the femur down, its upper part fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we found coffin planks as well as nails, it had disturbed graves GR-175 and GR-177, it is intersected by grave GR-183.

GR-183: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.97 m, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

The grave's left side was excavated, the greater part of the skeleton fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we found coffin nails. We noticed the traces of a green cloth in the chest area, it had disturbed graves GR-177 and GR-182, it is intersected by grave GR-184.

GR-184: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), T: east-west, P: 19th cent.

We noticed the large size pit of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it had disturbed graves GR-183, GR-189 and GR-190.

GR-185: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

We excavated the skeleton's right side, most of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles. During the excavation we noticed traces of coffin planks, it had disturbed grave GR-175.

GR-186: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

We only documented the pit of the grave, we did not reach the level of the bones, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it had disturbed graves GR-178 and GR-187.

GR-187: trench 5 (16.7–24 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

We documented the pit of the grave in the cross section, its filling was gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it had been disturbed by the pit of grave GR-186.

GR-188: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.53 m, T: 275°, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

The grave's right side was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, the right arm was placed over the pelvis, the bones were in poor condition. Its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and brick debris, GR-190 had been buried over it, it disturbed grave GR-189 and it was intersected by the pit of GR-193.

GR-189: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.42 m, T: 275°, K: infans 2, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton's skull and its vertebrae were left, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it had been disturbed by grave GR-188 and it is intersected by grave GR-184.

GR-190: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.53 m, T: 275°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 17th cent.

The skull of the completely excavated skeleton was crushed, the uncovered bones were in pretty poor condition, its filling was brownish gray, thick, mixed with mortar, during the excavation we found coffin nails and the remains of coffin planks and we found the remains of a metal wire coronet on the skull. The grave had been buried over GR-198, its left side was intersected by the pit of grave 193, it disturbed graves GR-184 and GR-188.

GR-191: trench 8, M: -1.54 m, T: 291°, K: infans 2, P: 17th cent.

We excavated the skeleton until the pelvis, the bones were in poor condition, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and fresco fragments, it had disturbed graves GR-139 and GR-144.

GR-192: trench 8, M: -1.56 m, T: 291°, N: female, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

The skeleton was excavated until the pelvis, the left arm was stretched along the body, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and fresco fragments, during the excavation we detected a coffin plank, no nails were found, it is intersected by GR-193.

GR-193: trench 8, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

We documented the pit of the grave, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it had disturbed graves GR-188, GR-190 and GR-192.

GR-194: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.64 m, T: 267°, K: iuvenis, P: 16th–17th cent.

The entire grave was excavated with the exception of the skeleton's lower leg and right hand, the arms were in stretched out position along the body. Its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, we found coffin planks as well as coffin nails, it had been buried over graves GR-195 and GR-203, it is intersected by grave GR-202.

GR-195: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.51 m, T: 257°, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

The grave's left side was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, the ribs and vertebrae had become absorbed, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, we detected the remains of a coffin plank, no nails were found. GR-194 had been buried over it, while it was buried over grave GR-203 and it is intersected by grave GR-202.

GR-196: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.36 m, T: 274°, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

The completely excavated skeleton's skull and upper part were left, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and brick pigments, during the excavation we detected a coffin plank, no nails were found, it was disturbed by grave GR-197, it had been buried over grave GR-201 and GR-204 was buried over it.

GR-197: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.64 m, T: 279°, N: male, K: adultus, P: 16th cent.

We excavated the complete skeleton, the crushed skull was tilted to the left, a part of the ribs and vertebrae had become absorbed, during the excavation we found traces of a coffin plank, no nails were found, it had disturbed graves GR-196 and GR-201, it is intersected by grave GR-202.

GR-198: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), T: east-west, P: 16th–17th cent.

During the excavation we only documented the pit of the grave, we did not reach the level of the grave, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and brick debris, grave GR-190 had been buried over it.

GR-199: trench 5 (28–35.8 m), M: -1.42 m, T: 277°, K: adultus, P: 15th–16th cent.

The skeleton's left side was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, the ribs and the vertebrae had become absorbed, the arm was stretched out along the body, its filling was gray, mixed, containing chunks of mortar, it had been buried over GR-200.

GR-200: trench 5 (28–35.8 m), M: -1.54 m, T: 267°, K: adultus, P: 15th–16th cent.

The grave was completely excavated, the skull and the left side were disturbed by grave GR-209, its right arm was stretched out along the body, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, GR-199 had been buried over it.

GR-201: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.48 m, T: 278°, K: infans 2, P: 16th cent.

The skull of the completely excavated skeleton was tilted to the right, the skeleton's left side was disturbed by GR-197, its right side by GR-202, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, during the excavation we detected the remains of a coffin plank, no nails were found, grave GR-197 had been buried over it.

GR-202: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.55 m, T: east-west, K: infans 2, P: 18th cent.

We excavated the pit's right side, the bones had become completely absorbed, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, during the excavation we found coffin planks, it had been buried over graves GR-194, GR-195, GR-197, it is intersected by graves GR-201 and 204.

GR-203: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), M: -1.69 m, T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent.

We excavated the grave's left side, no bones were found in the edge of the pit, they fell outside the excavation area, its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, it was disturbed by grave GR-201 and GR-204 had been buried over it.

GR-204: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), T: east-west, P: 15th–16th cent.

A part of the grave was documented, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, thick, slightly mixed, containing chunks of mortar, graves GR-196, GR-202 and GR-203 had been buried over it and it was intersected by GR-205.

GR-205: trench 5 (24–28.7 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

A part of the grave was documented, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, loose, mixed,

containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it disturbed grave GR-204.

GR-206: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

A part of the grave was documented, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it disturbed grave GR-208.

GR-207: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

A part of the grave was documented, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, mixed, containing clay, chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it disturbed grave GR-208.

GR-208: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

A part of the grave was documented, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, mixed, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it was disturbed by the pit of GR-207, it is intersected by grave GR-206.

GR-209: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), M: -1.82 m, T: 269°, K: adultus, P: 16th–17th cent.

The completely excavated skeleton had almost entirely crumbled away, a part of the long bones remained, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it disturbed GR-200.

GR-210: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), M: -1.63 m, T: 275°, K: iuvenis, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton's right leg was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, it was disturbed by GR-211 from the pelvis up, its filling was gray, thick, mixed with mortar, it is intersected by grave GR-211.

GR-211: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), M: -1.86 m, T: 268°, K: iuvenis, P: 16th–17th cent.

The skeleton's left side and its legs were excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, the left hand was stretched out next to the body, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it disturbed grave GR-210.

GR-212: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), M: -1.69 m, T: 268°, K: iuvenis, P: 14th–15th cent.

The skeleton's lower leg was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was light gray, thick, mixed with mortar.

GR-213: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), M: -1.63 m, T: 275°, K: iuvenis, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton's right leg was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was yellowish brown, containing mortar, it had been buried over GR-214.

GR-214: trench 5 (28.7–35.8 m), M: -1.63 m, T: 275°, K: iuvenis, P: 16th cent.

The skeleton's right leg was excavated, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, containing mortar, it had been buried over GR-213.

GR-215: pit 10, T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent.

We documented a part of the grave, a few ribs were uncovered, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it was disturbed by grave GR-216.

GR-216: pit 10, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.
We excavated a part of the pit detected in the cross section, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles, it disturbed graves GR-215 and GR-217.

GR-217: pit 10, T: east-west, P: 14th–15th cent.
We excavated a part of the pit, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar, it was disturbed by GR-216.

GR-218: trench 9, M: -1.31 m, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.

We reached the top part of the skull inside the grave, the rest of it fell outside the excavation area, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, it is intersected by the pit of grave GR-219.

GR-219: trench 9, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.
We excavated a part of the pit, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar, it intersects grave GR-218.

GR-220: trench 9, T: east-west, P: 13th–14th cent.
We documented the skull of the grave in the cross section, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing

some mortar chunks, it was covered by the gothic layers.

GR-221: trench 9, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.
We excavated a part of the pit, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles.

GR-222: trench 9, T: east-west, P: 18th cent.
We excavated a part of the pit, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, loose, containing chunks of mortar and roof tiles.

GR-223: trench 9, T: east-west, P: 16th cent.
We excavated a part of the pit, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was grayish brown, thick, containing chunks of mortar.

GR-224: trench 9, T: east-west, P: 16th cent.
We excavated a part of the pit, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar.

GR-225: trench 9, T: east-west, P: 16th–17th cent.
We excavated a part of the pit, we did not reach the skeleton, its filling was brownish gray, thick, containing chunks of mortar.

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Zsolt NYÁRÁDI

Haáz Rezső Museum
Odorheiu Secuiesc, RO

Rezumat

Restaurarea bisericii monument din Mugeni (magh. Bögöz), începută în 2012, a oferit prilejul efectuării unor săpături arheologice preventive în cimitirul medieval al așezării. Lucrările de drenaj au permis ocazional surprinderea unor nivele de construcție a bisericii. Prin trasarea unor secțiuni și sondaje în partea estică, nordică și sudică a bisericii s-au putut identifica mai multe orizonturi de înmormântare ale cimitirului, deschis în secolul al XII-lea și folosit cu

intensitate variabilă, dar în mod constant, până la finalul secolului al XIX-lea. S-au identificat părțile intens folosite ale cimitirului. Mormintele dezvelite nu oferă date suficiente pentru o analiză demografică detaliată a așezării, analiza lor însă aduce noi date importante referitoare la efectele adoptării și îndeplinirii regulilor impuse prin lege din secolul al XVIII-lea. Analiza antropică a scheletelor păstrate relevă unele aspecte ale vieții locuitorilor satului în epoca medievală și modernă.

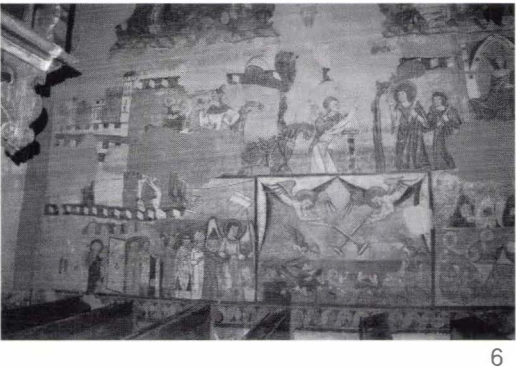
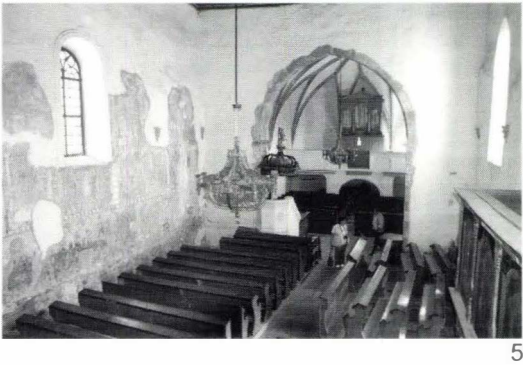
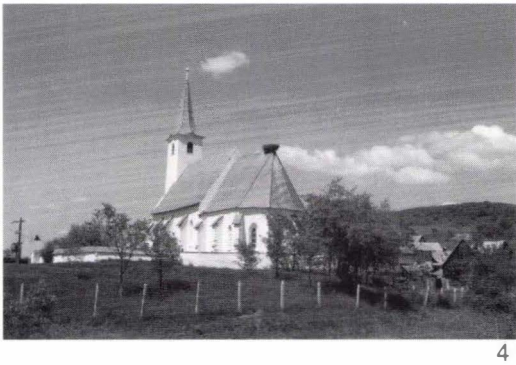
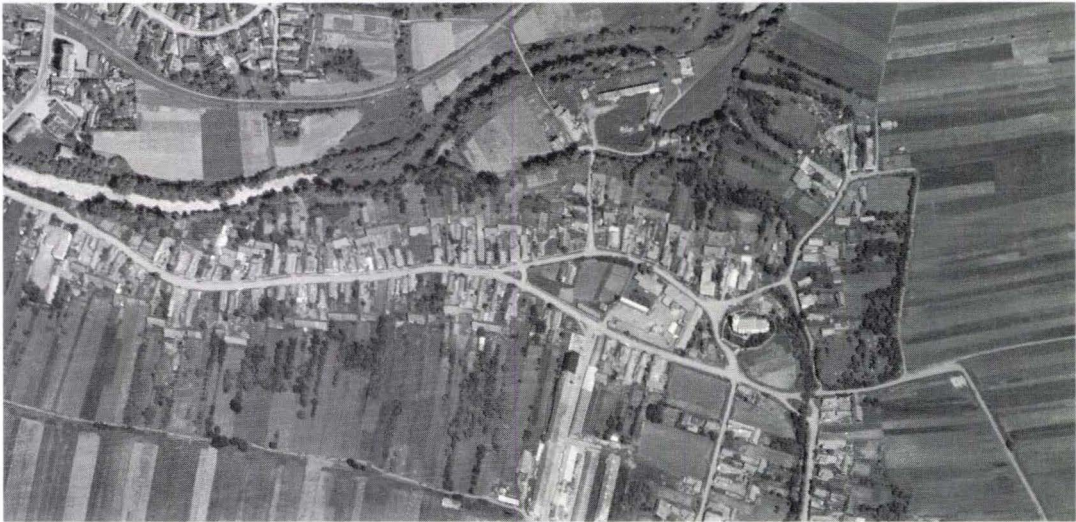
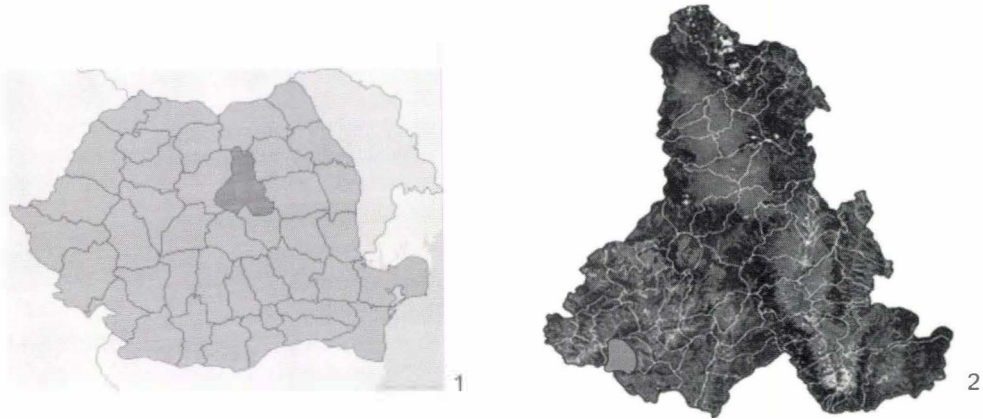


Plate 1. 1: Map of Romania, with Harghita County; 2: Map of Harghita County with Bögöz commune; 3: Satellite image of Bögöz and its church; 4: The medieval church in Bögöz, south eastern view; 5: The interior of the church in Bögöz; 6–7: The restored 14th century wall paintings on the church's northern wall.



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Plate 2. 1: Detail from a dwelling dated to the Árpád dynasty, with the graves which had been dug into it (obj. 3), southern view; 2: Detail from the early cemetery wall in the church's south eastern side, northern view; 3: Detail from the northern wall of the demolished gothic vestry; 4: The wall of the Romanesque and the gothic vestry, northern view; 5: Detail from trench 5 with the excavated graves, the church's southern side; 6: Grave 76 with the excavated coffin imprints; 7: Grave 45 in a half sitting position; 8: Burial dated to the Árpád dynasty on the church's northern side (pit 4.)

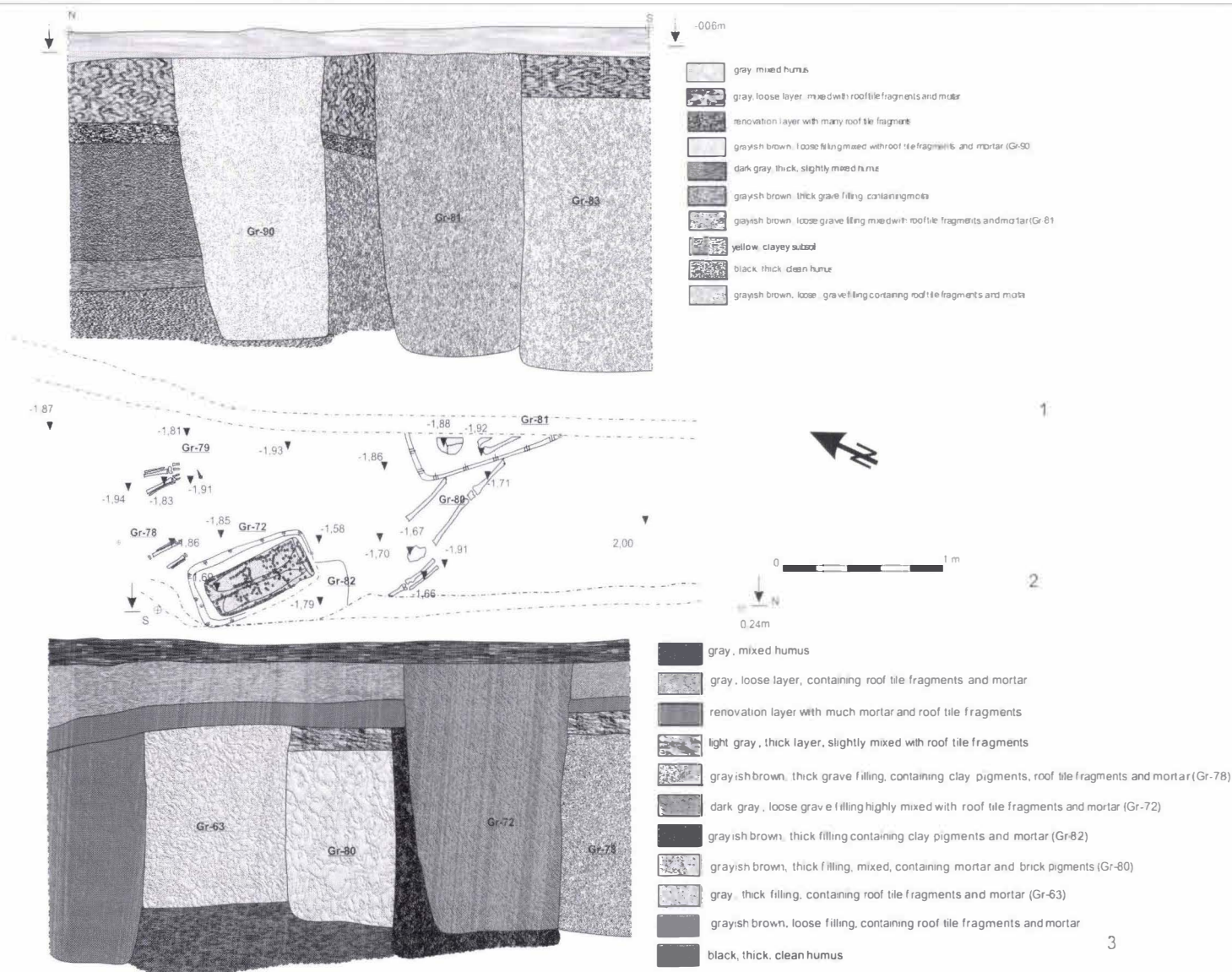


Plate 4. 1: Pit-1 (26.4–30 m), northern witness; 2: Pit 1 (26.4–30 m), investigated surface; 3: (26.4–30 m), southern witness.
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro>

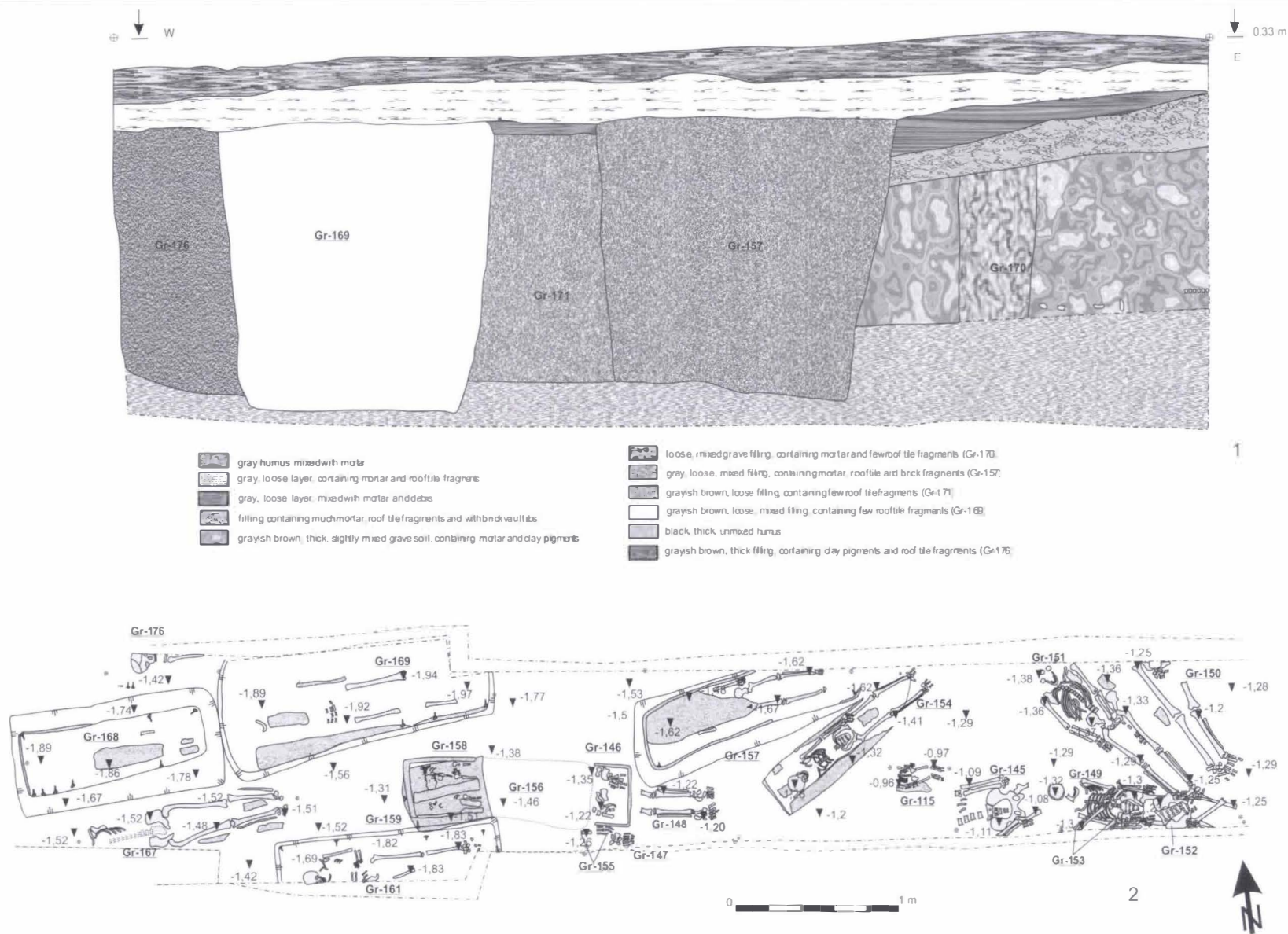


Plate 6. 1: Pit-5 (10–15 m), northern witness; 2: Pit -5 (10–15 m), investigated surface.

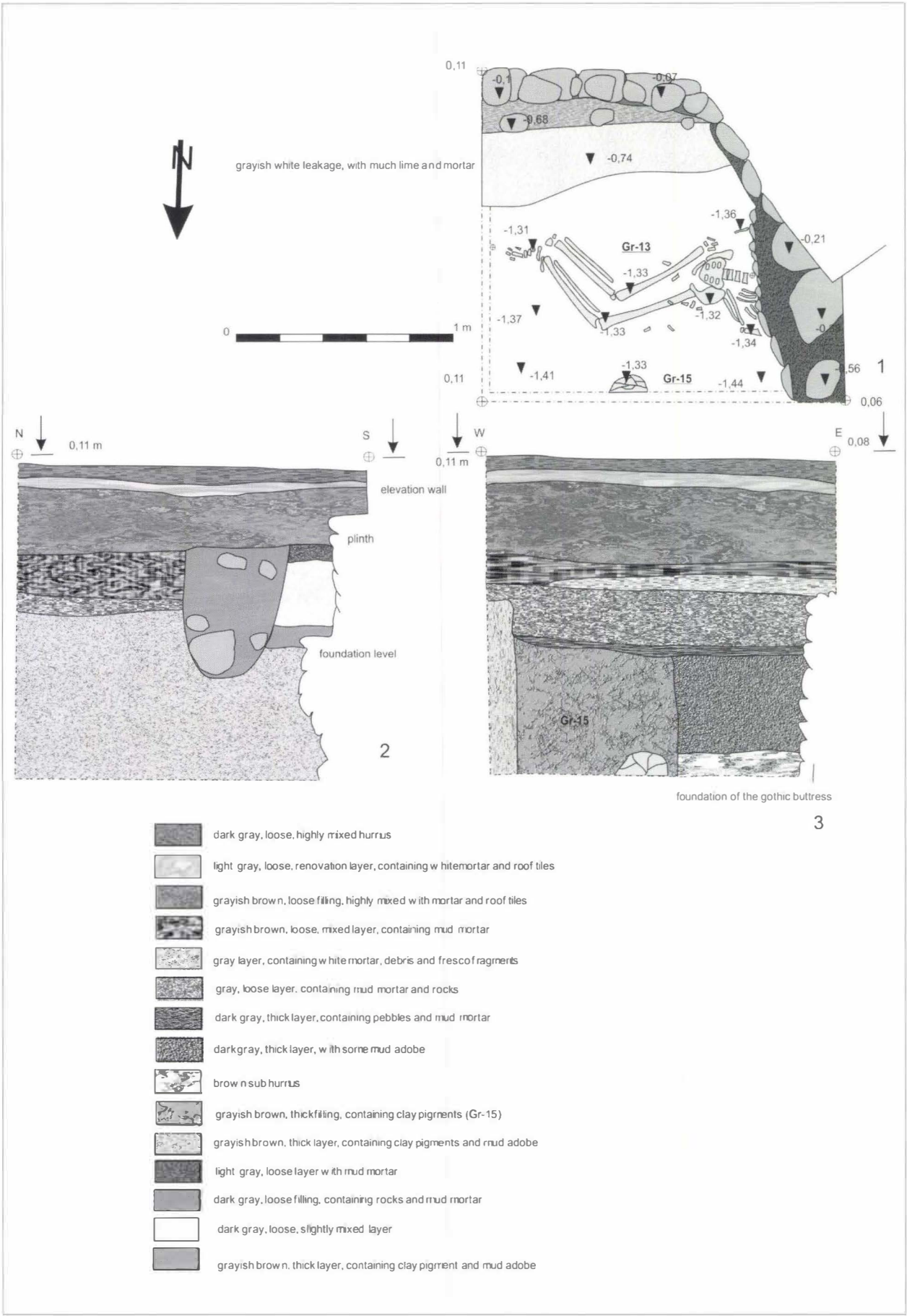


Plate 7. 1: Pit-4, investigated surface; 2: Pit-4, eastern witness; 3: Pit-4, northern witness.

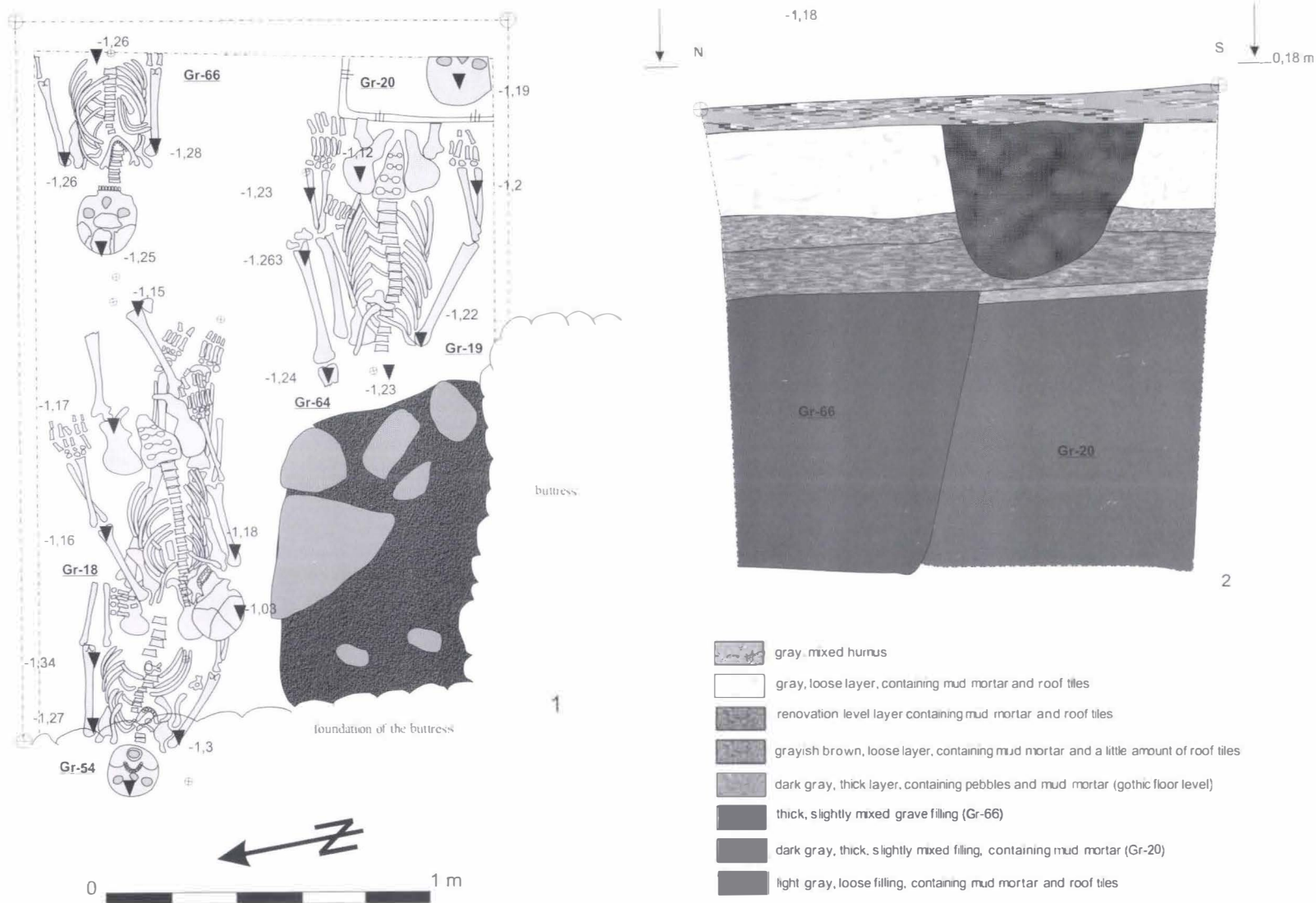
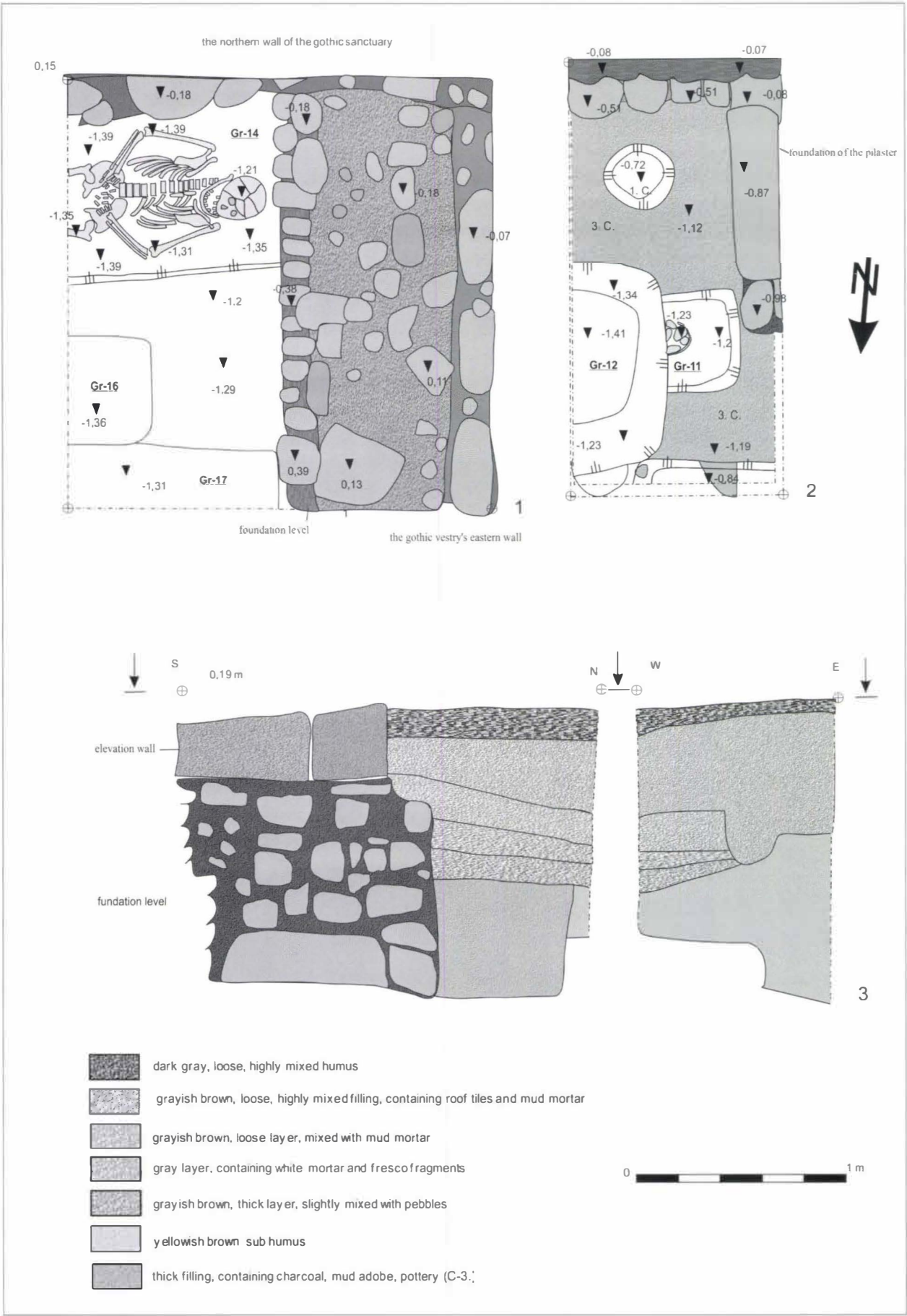


Plate 8. 1: Trench-5, investigated surface; 2: Trench -5, western witness; 3: Trench -4, northern witness.
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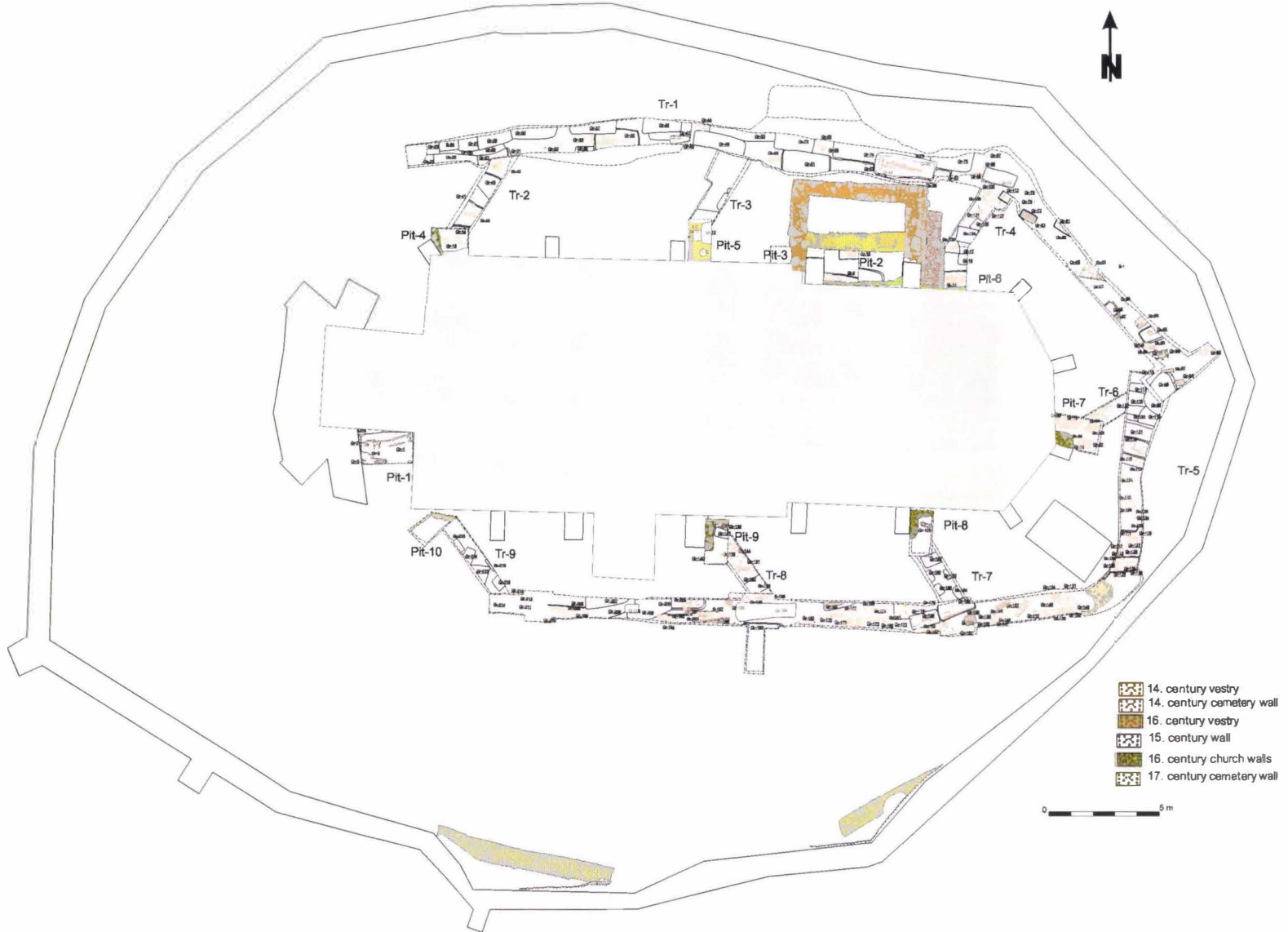


Plate 10. The layout of the church in Bögöz with the excavation surfaces (2009–2012)



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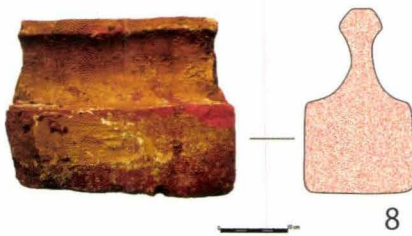
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Plate 11. 1–2: Remains of a pearled coronet (Gr-112); 3: Remains of a metal wire coronet on the skull (Gr-60); 4: Coronet made from pearls and lace (Gr-85); 5: Silver clothing ornaments around the shoulders of the deceased (Gr-178); 6: Monstrance compartment in the southern secondary altar; 7: The northern secondary altar's monstrance compartment; 8: Gothic brick rib from the south eastern part of the churchyard

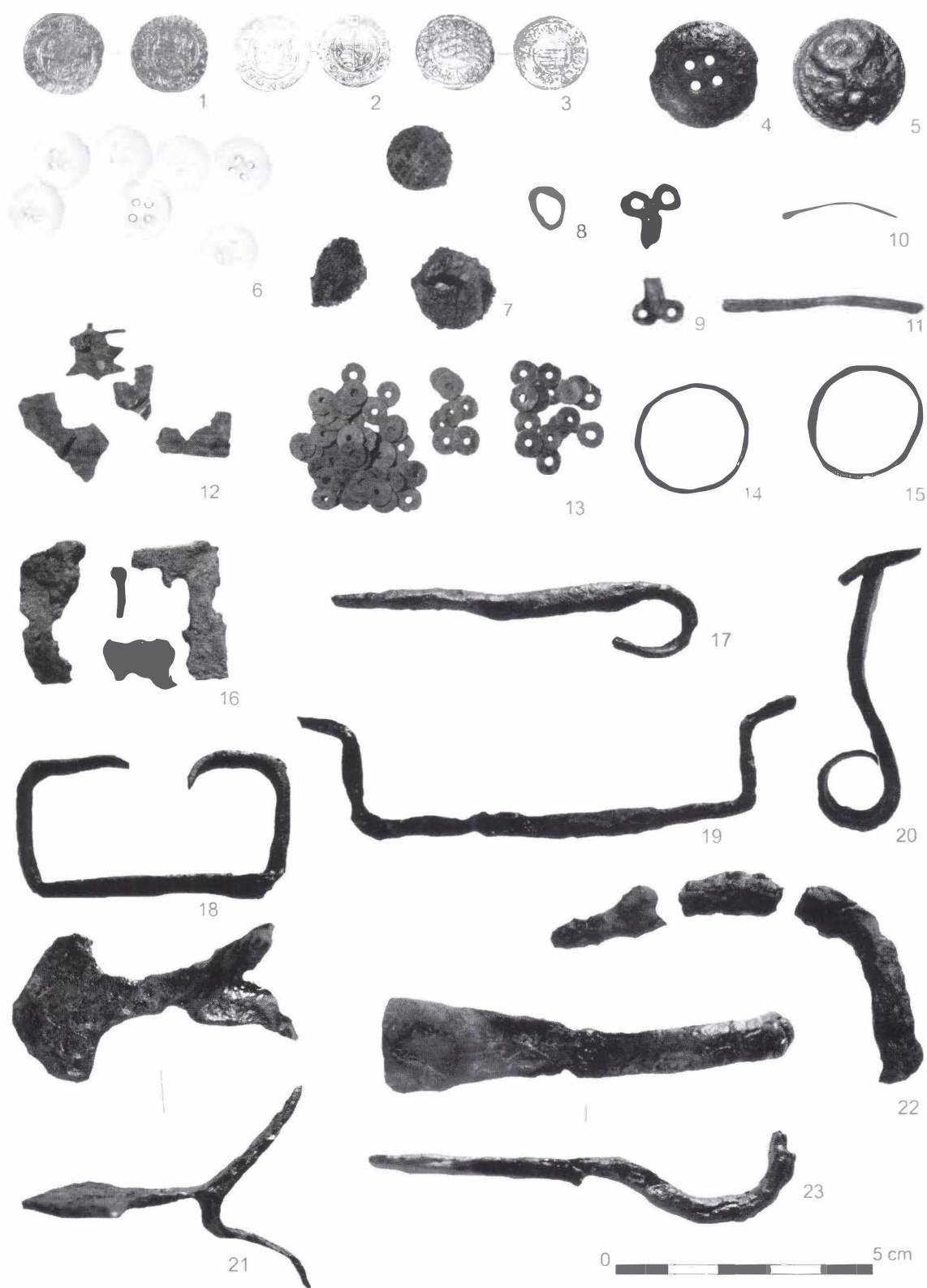


Plate 12. 1: Silver denarius (Emperor Rudolf -1582) trench 1, residual; 2: Matthias of Austria's 1615 imprint from Körmöcbánya (Slovakian: Kremnica), trench 1, Gr. 35; 3: Silver denarius (John Hunyadi - 1446) pit 9, Gr. 114; 4: Button, residual, trench 1; 5: Iron button, residual, inside the vestry; 6: Glass buttons, Gr. 60, trench 1; 7: Copper button, Gr. 168, trench 5; 8: Copper object, chain link, trench 7., residual; 9: Clothing clips, Gr. 114, trench 5; 10: Copper needle, trench 5., residual; 11: Copper ring, filling of S-53, trench 1; 12: Pending ornament, S-161., filling, trench 5; 13: Clothing ornaments made from silver discs, Gr. 178, trench 5; 14: Copper ring, Gr. 144, trench 10; 15: Copper ring, Gr. 137, trench 6; 16: Iron buckle, interior of the vestry, residual; 17: Nail, vestry, residual; 18: Special nails, trench 7., residual; 19: Chest handle, vestry, residual; 20: Forged nail, residual, trench 7; 21: Part of a chest lock, Gr. 53, trench 1; 22: Iron object, filling of Gr. 19, pit 7.

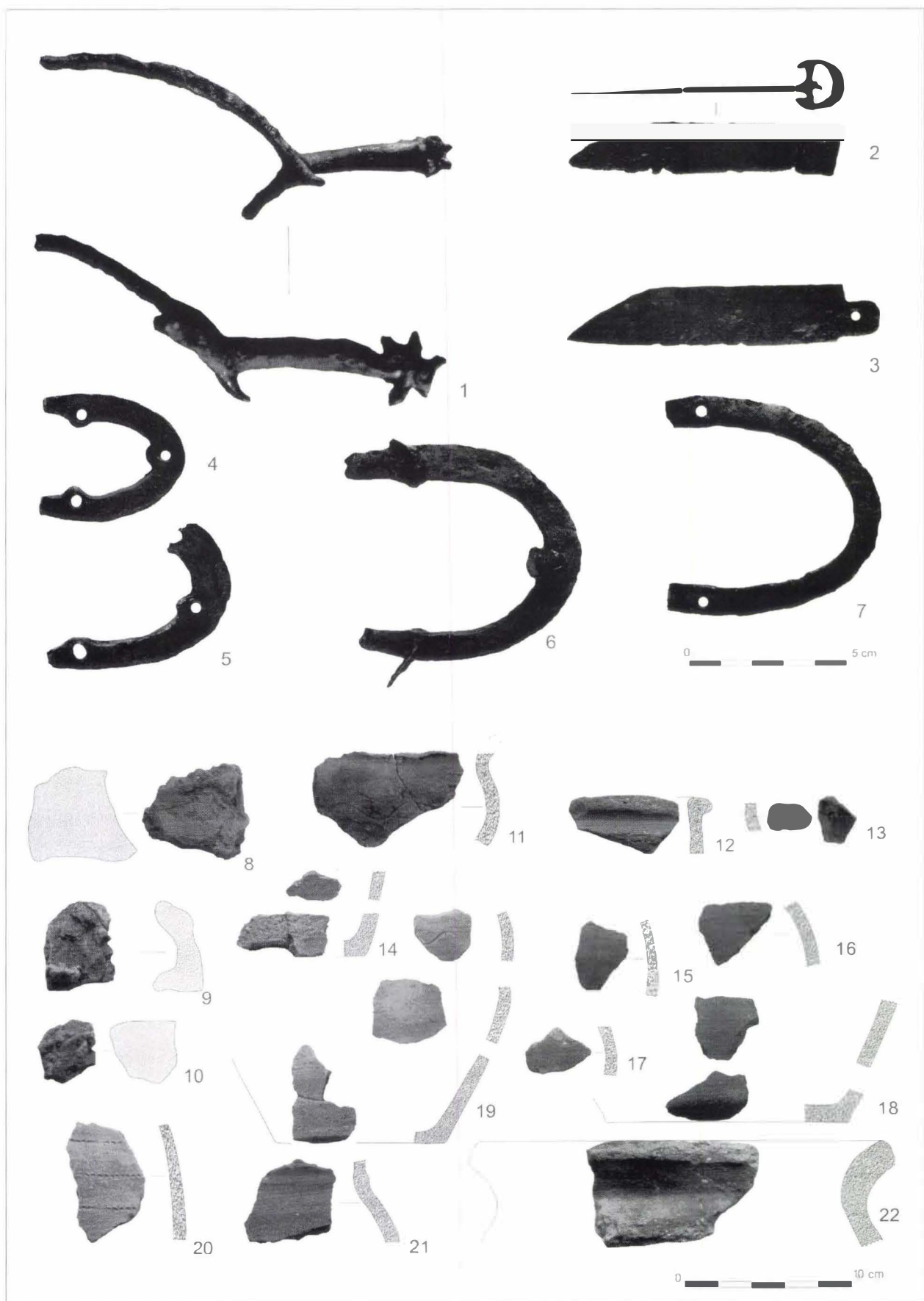


Plate 13. 1: Iron spur, filling of Gr. 137, trench 6; 2: The blade of a forged iron pocked knife with maker's stamp, trench 1, residual; 3: Forged iron pocket knife, with maker's stamp, trench 1, residual; 4-7: Forged iron boot heel-pieces, trench 1, residual; 8-10: Pieces of wattle and daub, obj. 3, pit 5; 11-18: Pottery fragments dated to the Árpád dynasty, obj. 3, pit 5; 20-22: Pottery dated to the Árpád dynasty, disturbed grave soil.

DENDROKRONOLÓGIAI VIZSGÁLATOK A MAROSVÁSÁRHELYI VÁRTEMPLOMBAN

BOTÁR ISTVÁN, GRYNÆUS ANDRÁS,
TÓTH BOGLÁRKA, WALGRAFFE DENIS

Kulcsszavak: Marosvásárhely – ferences templom, dendrokronológia, történeti fedélszerkezet, torony, keltezés
Keywords: Târgu Mureș - franciscan friary, roof structure, tower, dendrochronology, chronology
Cuvinte cheie: Târgu Mureș - mănăstire franciscană, dendrocronologie, șarpantă, turn, datare

A tanulmány a marosvásárhelyi református vártemplom, egykori ferences templom tornyának fa elemeiből és szentély-fedélszerkezetéből származó minták dendrokronológiai vizsgálata szerint, valamint építéstörténeti megfigyelések alapján a torony és a szentély-fedélszerkezet építéstörténetét tárja fel. A torony esetében nem lehet azonosítani építés korabeli elemeket, a keltezett fa elemek mindegyike 1602–1603 körül kivágott fákból származik, azaz már az 1601–1602. évi templomdúlást követő helyreállításhoz kapcsolható. A szentély tetőszerkezetéről azonban kiderült, hogy középkori eredetű, 1479/1480-ban kivágott fákból épült fel, és jelentős részben túlélte a 17. század eleji dúlásokat. A 17. század eleji pusztítás a szerkezet északi felét érintette leginkább. A helyreállítás során 1602/1603 telén kivágott fákból készült elemekkel javították a sérült részeket az eredeti szerkezetnek megfelelően, és követték a korábbi ácsjel-rendszert is. A tanulmányban részletesen bemutatjuk a középkori fedélszék szerkezetét, ácsjel-rendszerét, a későbbi beavatkozások jellegzetességeit, illetve a tetőszerkezet építési periódusait is.

Marosvásárhely egyik legfontosabb középkori építészeti emléke az egykori ferences templom, amelynek hatalmas, négyfiatornyos tornya a város egyik jelképe. (1. kép) A manapság vártemplomként említett, reformátusok által használt templom téglatornyának építését Entz Géza a 15. század első felére – középre teszi, és feltételeken Hunyadi János nevéhez köti.¹ Ez a nézet a témával foglalkozó művészettörténészek körében általánosan elfogadott. Az elmúlt évszázadok pusztításai és átépítései ellenére az épületnek több olyan faszervezete van, amelyek keltezése fontos építéstörténeti adatokkal szolgálhat. Erre a legalkalmasabb módszer a dendrokronológia, amely optimális esetben akár fél éves pontossággal is keltezheti a szerkezethez használt fák kivágását.

A ferences kolostor épületeinek régészeti ásatását vezető Soós Zoltán 2010-ben a templom-torony építési idejének új, természettudományos módszerrel történő meghatározását kezdeményezte, és felkérést kaptunk tőle, hogy végezzük el a toronyba beépített faelemekből vett minták

dendrokronológiai vizsgálatát, a faelemek évgyűrű-elemzés alapján történő kormeghatározását.² Ugyanő hívta fel a figyelmünket a szentély feletti fedélszerkezetre. A 2010-ben végzett első mintavétel során az épület bejárásakor kiderült, hogy a szentély feletti, középkorinak tűnő tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet vizsgálatának (igényes félfecskefarkú ácskötések, különböző formájú ácsjelek) valóban fontos építéstörténeti hozadéka lehet. (2-3. kép)³ Így ez alkalommal a torony faelemein kívül a szentély feletti fedélszerkezet elemeiből is vettünk famintákat (1–20. minta). A templom történeti faszervezeteinek – a tetőszerkezetek, és a toronyba beépített födémek, faelemek – dendrokronológiai vizsgálata azért fontos kérdés, mert noha a források szerint 1601-ben, majd 1602-ben a hajdúk feldúlták és felégették a várost és a templomot,

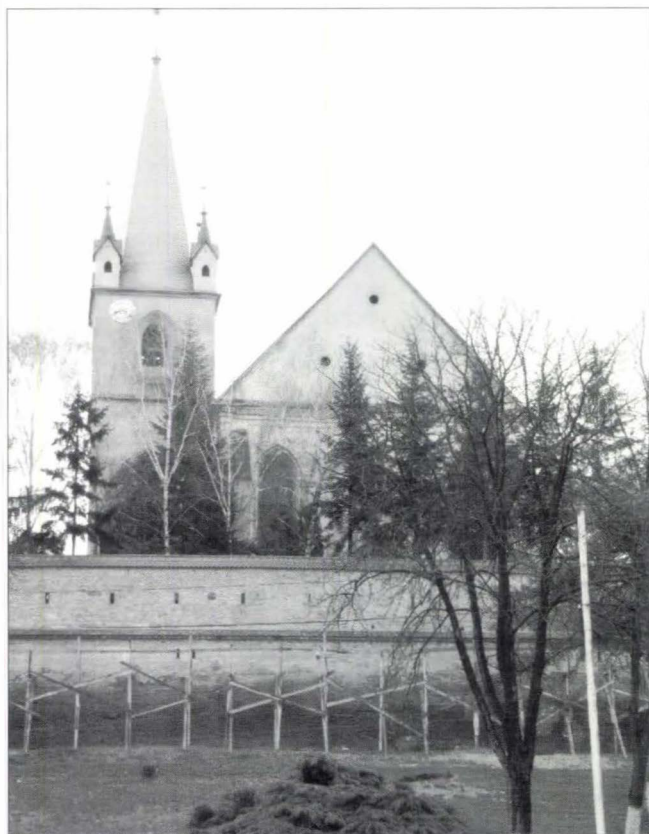
¹ A művészettörténeti keltezésen túl Entz fontos adatként említi, hogy Kelemen Lajos a torony friss vakolatába bekarcolva Johannes Hunyadi nevével együtt arab jegyekkel írt 1442-es évszámot látott. Kelemen 1945, 62; Entz 1990, 41, 44; Entz 1996, 108. A templomnak két 15. századi harangja is volt, amelyek már csak Orbán Balázs leírásából ismertek. Orbán 1870, 128.

² A torony építési idejének meghatározása nem csak önmagában a vásárhelyi ferences építészet szempontjából fontos. Entz Géza szerint ugyanis a marosvásárhelyi torony a Székelyföldön nagy hatást fejtett ki: mintaként szolgálhatott a székely falvak hasonlóan épített, hatalmas nyugati tornyai számára. Néhány csiki templomtorony 17. századi dendrokronológiai keltezése miatt ez számunkra is érdekes kérdés volt. Botár et al. 2006. További irodalom a dendrokronológia módszeréről általában: Grynaeus 2004, Grynaeus 2011, Schweingruber 1983, Flechter 1978.

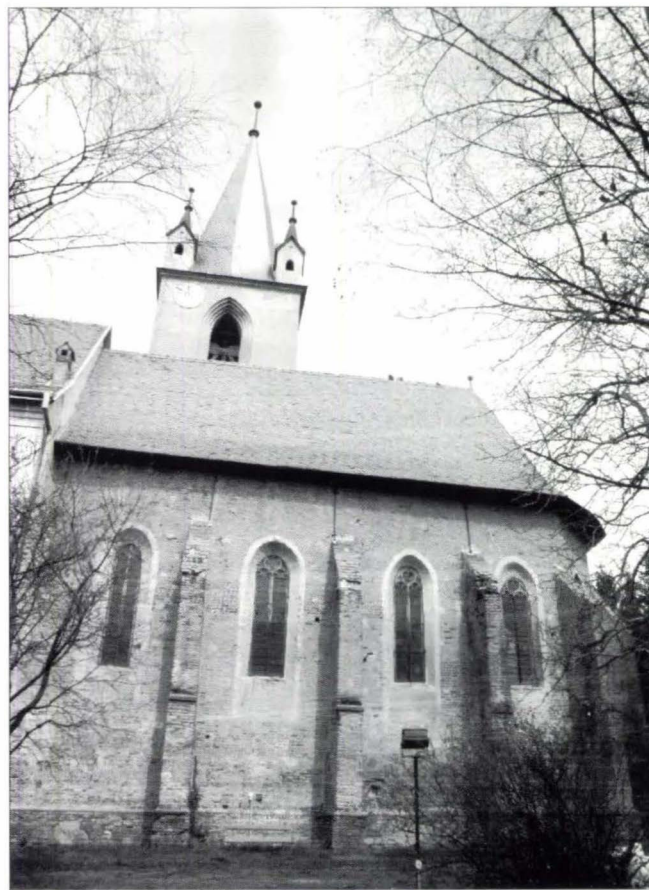
³ Entz 1996, 74.: „Marosvásárhelyen 1400 körül épült a ferencesek nagyméretű temploma és kolostora.”

a szentély fedélszerkezete 17. századnál korábbinak tűnt.⁴ A faminták dendrokronológiai elemzése során kiderült egyrészt, hogy a toronyban vett faminták minden bizonnyal csak a torony javítási idejéről vallanak, de a torony építési idejét nem határozzák meg. Megállapíthattuk továbbá, hogy a szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet elemeit – a modern, fenyőfa anyagú megerősítéseket leszámítva – két építési periódushoz lehet kötni. Az eredmények megerősítése és helyes értelmezése végett 2011-ben és 2013-ban újabb faminta-vételre került sor (21–36., illetve 37–65. minta). Ezen kívül elvégeztük a szentély feletti fedélszerkezet építészeti és építéstörténeti felmérését a fedélszék építési és javítási idejének meghatározása, továbbá a szerkezet pontos megismerése és leírása céljából.

A hajó feletti tetőszerkezet fenyőfából épített dőltszékes újkori szerkezet. A hajót 1693-ban Teleki Mihály költségén famennyezettel fedték le, majd a 18. század végén Türk Antal építőmester stukkókkal díszített fa szerkezetű mennyezetet készített.⁵ Adatbázisunk szélesítése érdekében 2011-ben több mintát vettünk a fedélszerkezet gerendáiból.⁶ A mintavétel során azonban kiderült, hogy a szerkezethez kifejezetten fiatal egyedeket használtak fel. Utóbb a laboratóriumi elemzés során az is egyértelművé vált, hogy a legfeljebb 32–49 évgűrűt tartalmazó minták lucfenyőből származnak (*Picea abies* Karst.), így keltezésük akkor is erősen kétséges lenne, ha hosszabb évgűrűsorozatokat tartalmaztak volna. Eddigi munkánk során sajnos még nem sikerült erdélyi lucfenyő szerkezeteket biztosan keltezni.



1. kép: a marosvásárhelyi Vártemplom tornya nyugatról



2. kép: a szentély és a torony délről

⁴ Maros-Vásárhelyi Nagy Szabó Ferenc az 1601-ben történt eseményekről így emlékezik meg: „A hajdukát Mihály vajda onnat – igirete szerint – szabadnyerességre elbocsátja, hogy az országot égessek, rabolják és dúlják a mint akarják.” (60. o.), „1601-k esztendőben legelőször hogy a klastromot felverték vala és azoknak egyetmás javait...a templomba költöztek vala, nem csak felverék, de ugyan meg is égeték mind – tornyot, templomot, iskolát.” (69. o.), illetve: „Elsőben 1601-k esztendőben szent Lőrincz nap tájatt a klastromot, szentegyházat verék fel egy délután-tájban, és el is égeték ugyan mind a szentegyházat, tornyot, iskolát.” (71. o.). Az 1602-es fosztogatásról ezt olvashatjuk emlékirataiban: „Másodszor 1602-k esztendőben úrnapijára viradólag hajnal előtt”. Nagy Szabó 1885.

⁵ Lángi – Mihály 2006, 107; B. Nagy 1977, 39–40.

⁶ 34. minta: keletről a 3. szaruállásnál a legalsó szelemen, 35. minta: keletről az 1. kötőgerenda, 36. minta: keletről a 3. kötőgerenda.

Jelen tanulmányban a toronyban és szentély feletti fedélszerkezetben vett faminták dendrokronológiai elemzésének eredményeiről számolunk be a szentély feletti fedélszerkezet építészeti és építéstörténeti felméréseinek, valamint elméleti rekonstrukciónak bemutatásával.⁷

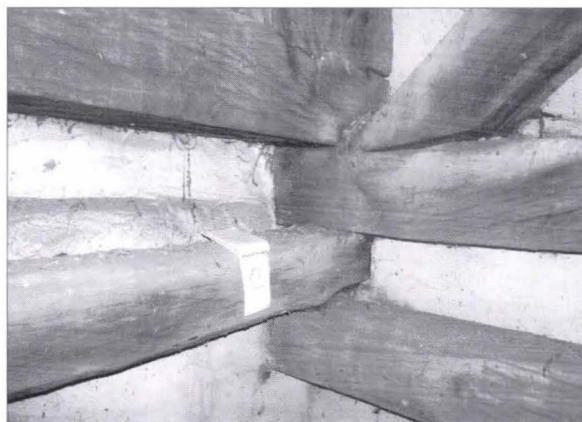
A toronyban vett faminták dendrokronológiai elemzése, a toronyra vonatkozó építéstörténeti következtetések

A marosvásárhelyi vártemplom tornyának falába beépített faelemek dendrokronológiai kutatása alapvetően a toronyban található történeti faszervezetek és ez által a torony építésének, illetve javításainak kormeghatározására irányult. A toronyalj boltozott. A toronybelsőt az első emeleten lévő, keleti falban nyíló bejáraton keresztül lehet megközelíteni. A toronytestbe lépve feltűnik, hogy az eredeti szintek ma már teljesen hiányoznak, a harangok szintjére nem az egykori földemeken keresztül, hanem a falak mellett húzódó falépcsőkön juthatunk fel, amelyek Debreczeni László 1941-ben készült felmérésén már szerepelnek. (1. ábra) A dendrokronológiai vizsgálathoz a toronyban 2010-ben 14 faelemből, 2013-ban 3 elemből vettünk mintát. A faminták a torony tetőszerkezetének elemeiből (1–3., 6. minta), a mai harangállás elemeiből (7–9. minta), a korábbi harangszerkezet megmaradt alépítményéből (10–14. minta), valamint az 1. és 2. emelet egykori három földemgerendájából (37–39. minta) származnak.

Helyszíni munkáink során mindig nagy hangsúlyt fektetünk annak vizsgálatára, hogy a faelem elsődleges vagy másodlagos beépítésben található-e, helyzete alapján építés korabelinek tekinthető-e. A marosvásárhelyi ferences templom tornya esetében nem állt módunkban a kiválasztott elemeket minden említett szempont szerint megvizsgálni, ugyanis a torony belső falfelülete vakolt és meszelt, a gerendák fészkeinek környezete nem látható. (4. kép) Egyetlen esetben, a mai harangtartó szerkezet alatt, a nyugati, észak-déli irányú gerendánál figyelhettük



3. kép: a szentély feletti fedélszerkezet keletről

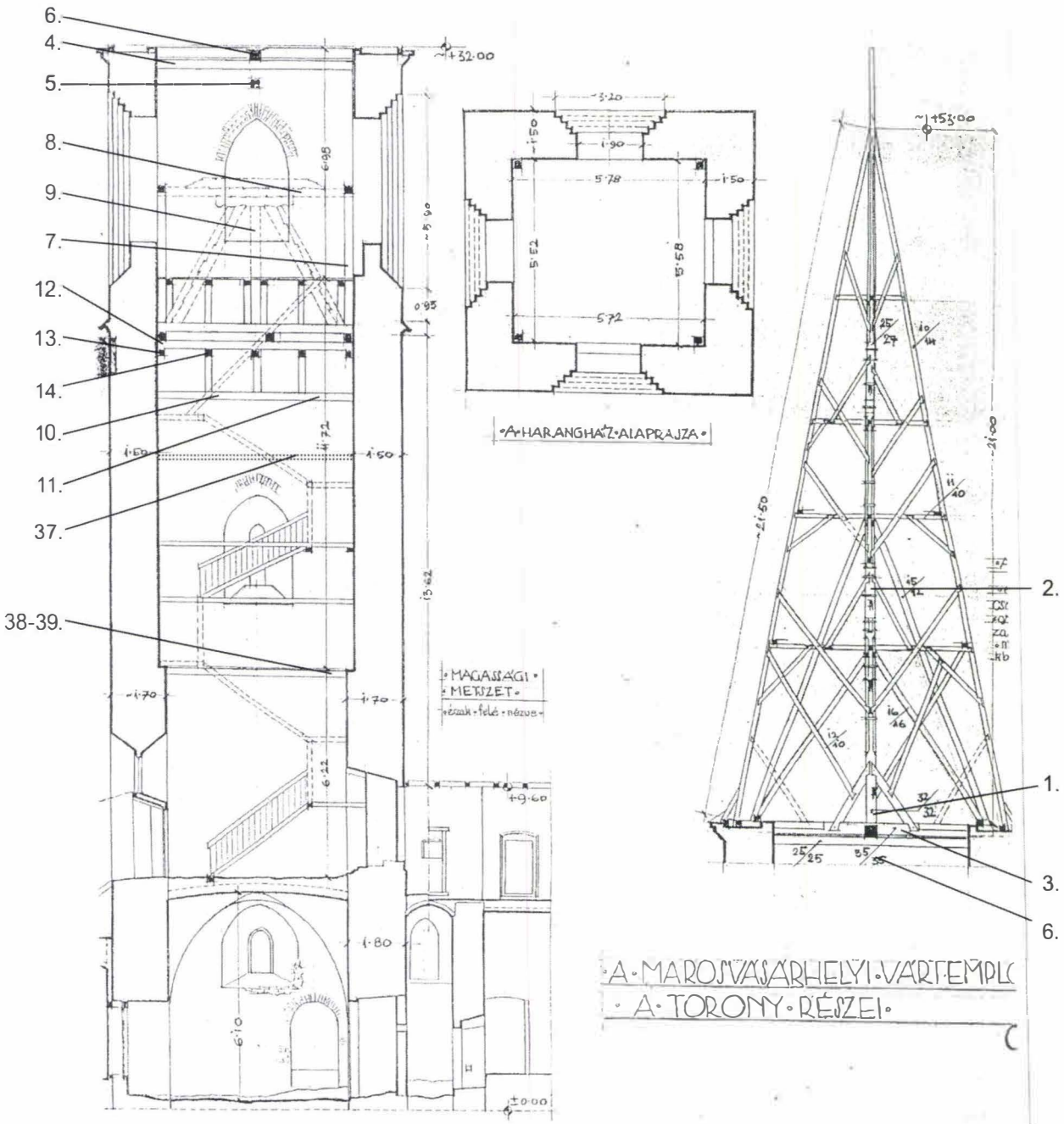


4. kép: a torony északkeleti belső sarka a mai harangállás alatt (a 12. faminta helye)



5. kép: a toronysisak szerkezete

⁷ A 2010-ben és 2011-ben végzett helyszíni munkákat és a faminták elemzését a Maros Megyei Múzeum támogatta, a 2013-ban végzett helyszíni és laboratóriumi munka, továbbá jelen tanulmány megírása az OTKA K 100983. számú kutatás része (Erdélyi történeti faszervezetek és faberendezések dendrokronológiai kutatása). A famintákat a csíkszeredai Erdélyi Dendrokronológiai Laboratóriumban elemeztük. A szentély feletti fedélszerkezet építészeti felmérését Köllő Miklós építész készítette, segítségét ezúton is köszönjük.



1. ábra: a marosvásárhelyi vártemplom toronyának kelet-nyugati metszete a mintavételi helyek feltüntetésével (Debreczeni László, 1941.)

meg, hogy az nagyobb fészekben fekszik, tehát a gerenda minden bizonnyal utólag került helyére (13. faminta). Így már a helyszíni megfigyelések alapján is valószínűnek tűnt, hogy amennyiben sikerül is a famintákat keltezni, falkutatás nélkül nem lehet azokat minden kétséget kizáróan a torony építéséhez kötni.

A toronysisak – helyszíni megfigyeléseink szerint – egységes faszerkezet. (5. kép) A sisak elemein nem látható másodlagos felhasználásra utaló nyom, az elemek külső megjelenése

egységes, és az illesztéseknél vésett ácsjelek figyelhetők meg.

A mai harangtartó szerkezet korára – többek között – az egymásra fektetett gerendák kapcsolási módja is utal (fogazás). Az ácsok munkájára jellemző, hogy a szerkezet elemein több helyen

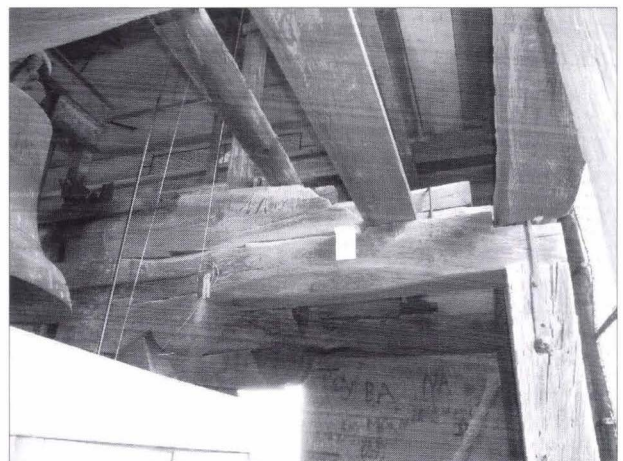
Debreczeni László felméréseit Soós Zoltán múzeumigazgatónak köszönhetjük. A felmérések megtalálhatók az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Marosvásárhelyi Vidéki Gyűjtőlevéltárában az E/II. 1/a,b,c,d,e,f – 1941. szám alatt.

megmaradt a fa kérge.⁸ (6. kép) Az 5. minta kivételével, amely minden valószínűség szerint vörösfenyőből (*Larix decidua* Mill.) származik, az összes vizsgált elem tölgyfából (*Quercus* sp.) való. A 3. szinten lévő ablak alatt, a középső kelet-nyugati irányú födémgerendából származó 39. minta mindössze 18 évgűrűt tartalmazott, így az alkalmatlan dendrokronológiai elemzésre. A toronyban vett faminták évgűrűsorának lemerését követően összehasonlítottuk egymással a tölgyminták adatsorait, és egyértelműen

kirajzolódott, hogy a minták – egy kivétellel – két csoportba sorolhatók. Egykorú a toronysisakból vett négy minta (1–3. és 6. minta), a korábbi harangszerkezet megmaradt alépítményéből három minta (10–12. minta), valamint az 1. és 2. emelet egykori három födémgerendájából két minta (37–38. minta). A kilenc egykorú minta egyesítésével kapott 142 éves (!) adatsort a máramarosi és az udvarhelyi tölgykronológia is keltezi: az első évgűrűt 1462-re, az utolsót 1603-ra.⁹ A minták ez alapján meghatározott datálását a következő táblázat tartalmazza.

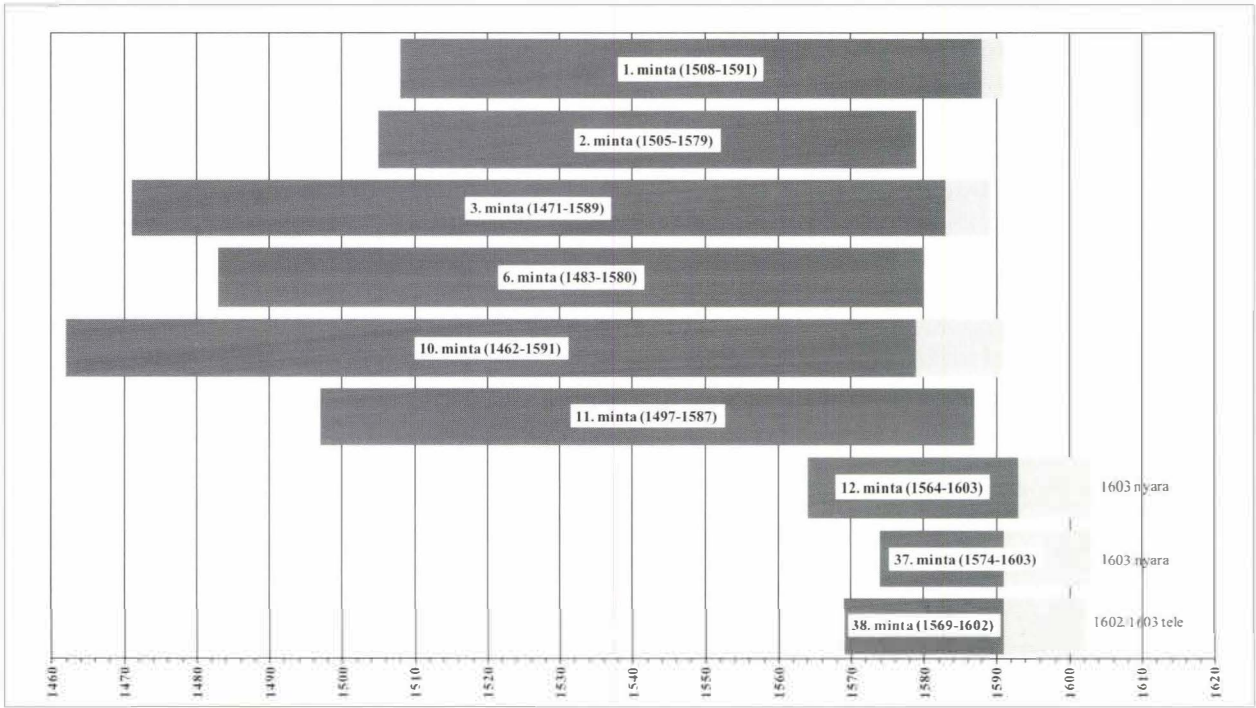
A TORONY 17. SZÁZADI FAELEMEIBŐL SZÁRMAZÓ MINTÁK	FAFAJ	ÉV	SZ	WK, TP	BÉL	IDŐREND	KELTEZÉS
1. minta: toronysisak, középső oszlop alsó része (ácsjel: l W formájú jel)	tölgy	84	3	-	-	1508-1591	1601-1605 körül
2. minta: toronysisak, középső oszlop középső része (ácsjel: l W formájú jel)	tölgy	75	-	-	-	1505-1579	1592 körül vagy azután
3. minta: a toronysisak alapját képező szerkezet kelet-nyugati irányú gerendája	tölgy	119	6	-	-	1471-1589	1596-1600 körül
6. minta: a toronysisak alapját képező szerkezet észak-déli irányú gerendája	tölgy	98	-	-	-	1483-1580	1593 körül vagy azután
10. minta: a 3. szinten lévő ablak felett, a déli kelet-nyugati irányú gerenda	tölgy	130	12	-	-	1462-1591	1592-1596 körül
11. minta: a 3. szinten lévő ablak felett, az északi kelet-nyugati irányú gerenda	tölgy	91	-	-	-	1497-1587	1600 körül vagy azután
12. minta: a mai harangtartó szerkezet alatt, a déli kelet-nyugati irányú gerenda	tölgy	40	10	WK, TP	-	1564-1603	1603 nyara
37. minta: a 3. szinten lévő ablak felett közvetlenül, kelet-nyugati irányú gerenda (az egykori 2. emelet födémgerendája)	tölgy	30	12	WK, TP	-	1574-1603	1603 nyara
38. minta: a 3. szinten lévő ablak alatt, a déli kelet-nyugati irányú födémgerenda (az egykori 1. emelet födémgerendája)	tölgy	34	11	WK	-	1569-1602	1602/1603 tele

⁸ Mintavételezésre elsősorban olyan faelemeket keresünk, amelyeken megmaradt a fa kéreg alatti külső része, a szíjács, és lehetőség szerint a kéreg alatti utolsó évgűrű, a záróévgűrű (szakszóval Waldkante, rövidítése: WK). Amennyiben a minta tartalmazza a záróévgűrűt, a fa kivágásának idejét féléves pontossággal lehet meghatározni. Ha a záróévgűrűben csak korai, vagyis tavaszi pásztát (TP) lehet megfigyelni, a fát az adott év nyarán vágták ki; ha a záróévgűrű teljes, tehát késői pásztát is tartalmaz, a fa kivágása az adott évben a vegetációs időt követően, vagy a következő évben rügyfakadás előtt, tehát télen történt. Tölgyfa-minták elemzése esetén a fa külső szíjácsévgűrűi is segítséget jelentenek a fa kivágási idejének pontosabb behatárolásában. A tölgyfák ugyanis – földrajzi elhelyezkedéstől függően – nagyjából hasonló számú szíjácsévgűrűvel rendelkeznek. A dendrokronológiai gyakorlat szerint statisztikai úton 2006-ban kiszámolt erdélyi szíjácsévgűrű-átlag 15 ± 2 évgűrű. Ezzel az átlaggal számolunk a fa kivágási idejének meghatározásánál, ha a minta szíjácsa nem teljes, vagyis a minta nem őrizte meg a záróévgűrűt.



6. kép: a mai harangállás szerkezete (a 9. faminta helye)

⁹ Összehasonlítási értékek a máramarosi kronológiával: $t=5.35$, $Gw=63.8/99.0\%$, valamint az udvarhelyi kronológiával: $t=7.71$, $Gw=64.2/99.9\%$.



2. ábra: a toronyból származó 17. századi faminták egymáshoz viszonyított időrendje

A tanulmányban szereplő táblázatokat a következők szerint kell értelmezni. ÉV: a mintán mérhető évgűrűk száma, azon belül a szíjács-évgűrűk száma tölgyminták esetén (SZ); WK (Waldkante): a minta tartalmazza a záróévgűrűt; TP: a záróévgűrű nem teljes, csak tavaszi pászttát tartalmaz (a fát a vegetációs időszak elején vágták ki); BÉL: az évgűrűk a mintán a fa beléig mérhetők; IDŐREND: a minta első és utolsó évgűrűjének kelezése; KELTEZÉS: a fa kivágásának éve, illetve megbecsülhető időintervalluma.

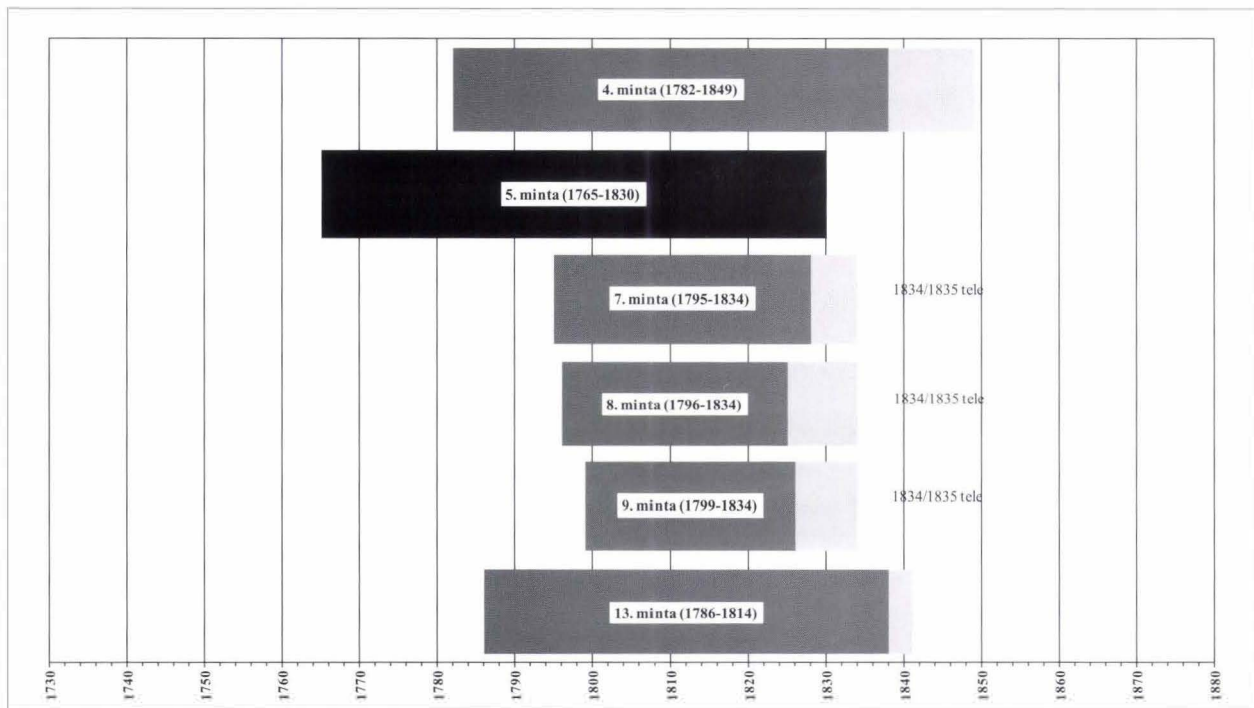
A tanulmányban szereplő diagramokon tölgyfa-minták esetében sötétebb szürkével a gesztévgűrűket, halvány szürkével pedig a szíjácsévgűrűket jelöltük.

Ha a minta tartalmazta a záróévgűrűt, és pontosan meg lehetett határozni a fa kivágási idejét, az is olvasható az ábrán.

A toronyból származó egykorú minták másik csoportját a mai harangtartó szerkezet három mintája (7–9. minta), a harangablak felett található kelet-nyugati irányú, északi gerendából vett 4. minta, valamint a mai harangállás alatti, észak-déli irányú nyugati gerendából származó 13. minta alkotja. Az öt tölgyminta egyesített adatsorát viszonylag alacsony összehasonlítási értékekkel lehetett datálni a máramarosi kronológia alapján a 18–19. századra.¹⁰ A dendrokronológiai összehasonlítás alapján a minták kelezését a következő táblázat tartalmazza.

A TORONY 19. SZÁZADI FAELEMEIBŐL SZÁRMAZÓ MINTÁK	FAFAJ	ÉV	SZ	WK, TP	BÉL	IDŐREND	KELTEZÉS
4. minta: a mai harangszerkezet feletti, kelet-nyugati irányú, északi gerenda	tölgy	68	11	WK (?), TP	-	1782-1849	1849 nyara (?)
5. minta: a harangablakok feletti, észak-déli irányú, falba épített gerenda	vörösfenyő	66	-	-	-	1765-1830 (?)	1830 után (?)
7. minta: a mai harangtartó szerkezet délkeleti sarokoszlopa	tölgy	40	6	WK	-	1795-1834	1834/1835 tele
8. minta: a mai harangtartó szerkezet felső, kelet-nyugati gerendái közül északról a 2. gerenda	tölgy	39	9	WK	-	1796-1834	1834/1835 tele
9. minta: a mai harangtartó szerkezet északi, középső oszlopa	tölgy	36	8	WK	-	1799-1834	1834/1835 tele
13. minta: a mai harangtartó szerkezet alatt, a nyugati észak-déli gerenda (nagyobb a gerendafészek!)	tölgy	56	3	-	-	1786-1841	1851-1855 körül

¹⁰ Összehasonlítási értékek: t=4.06, Gw=68.2/99.0%.



3. ábra: a toronyból származó 19. századi faminták egymáshoz viszonyított időrendje (feketével fenyőfa-elemet jelöltünk)

(A 4. minta esetén nem lehet egyértelműen megállapítani, hogy a kéreg felőli legkülső évgűrű záróévgűrű-e, ezért kérdőjeles a keltezés pontos meghatározása.)

A torony 19. századra keltezhető faelemei között az 5. minta is helyet kapott, amely a harangablakok felett, észak-déli irányú, önmagában álló, ma rendeltetés nélküli és minden bizonnyal vörösfenyő gerendából származik. Erdély területéről egyelőre nem rendelkezünk vörösfenyő-évgűrűadatokkal, így a mintát csupán jegenyefenyő-adatsorokkal tudtuk összehasonlítani. A besztercei evangélikus templom adatsorai alapján a minta valószínűleg 1830 után kivágott vörösfenyőből való, ami a 19. századi tölgyminták keltezését tekintve elfogadhatónak tűnik.¹¹

Nem szerepel a fenti értékelő táblázatokban a 14. minta, amely a mai harangállás alatti észak-déli irányú gerendák közül nyugatról a 2. gerendából való. A minta feltehetően alacsony évgűrűszáma (35), esetleg egyedi növekedése miatt nem egyezik más mintával, így keltezése nem lehetséges.

A marosvásárhelyi vártemplom tornyában vett 17 famintából tehát 15 mintát sikerült dendrokronológiai módszerrel keltezni.

A legkorábbi kilenc vizsgált faelem közül egy 1602/1603 telén, kettő pedig 1603 nyarán

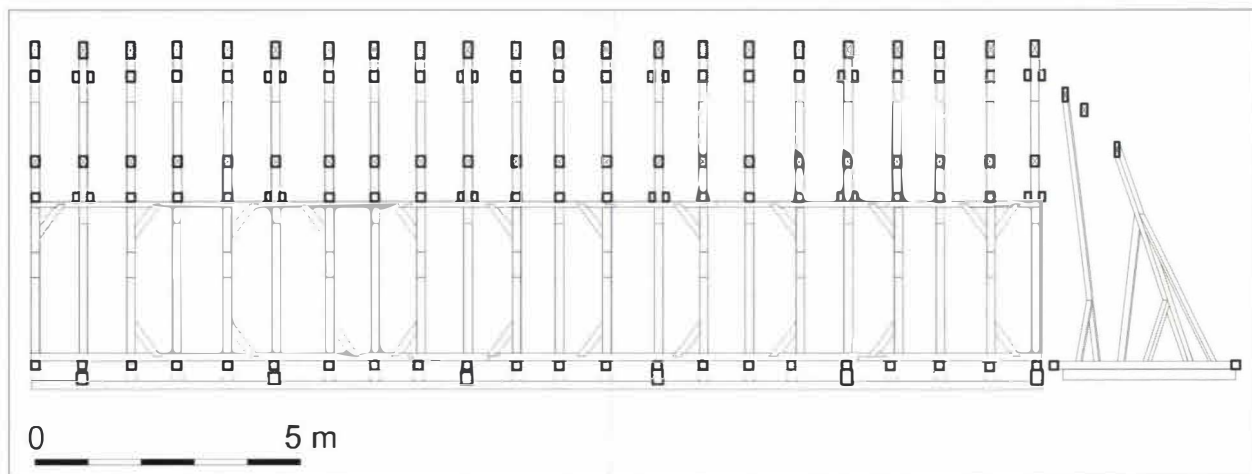
kivágott fából származik. Figyelembe véve a velük egykorú, többi hat minta keltezését, nagy valószínűséggel azok is ebben/ezekben az év(ek)ben, 1602-1603-ban kivágott fából származnak. Mindez azt jelenti, hogy a toronysisak faszerkezete és a mainál korábbi harangszerkezet, valamint az egykori szintekből megmaradt földemgerendák mind egy időben kerültek helyükre. A dendrokronológiai keltezés egyértelműen egybecseng a város és a templom 1601-ben és 1602-ben bekövetkezett dűlőjáról szóló híradásokkal. A faelemek vizsgálata arra utal, hogy a torony ekkor teljesen kiegészült, ezért nem találhatók korábbi faelemek a toronyban. Az újjáépítés során a tornyot 1602/1603 telén, illetve 1603 nyarán kivágott tölgyfák felhasználásával állították helyre.¹²

A dendrokronológiai elemzés szerint a mai harangállás 1834/1835 telén kivágott tölgyfából épült meg (7–9. minta). Ez összhangban van azzal az adattal, miszerint 1834-ben a templom számára 31 mázsás harangot öntöttek a kolozsvári Andrásovszky-fivérek.¹³ Orbán Balázs leírásából

¹² Nagy Szabó 1885, 76: „Hozzája fogának azért a klastromhoz, és az égott fát s földet kitisztították, és fát hordának az erdőről annak megépítésére...1602-k esztendőben kisasszony-nap tájatt”, Székely Oklevéltár IV., 3–5: 1603. január 28. Básta rendelete a Maros-Vásárhely városában lakó összes nemességhez, hogy a hajdúk által kirabolt és felégetett iskola és templom restaurálásában és körülötte a városi polgárok által építeni kezdett vár munkálataiban ők is részt vegyenek munkájukkal és költségekkel. Kelt Gy.-Fejérvárt

¹³ Orbán 1870, 128; Kiss 1942, 27.

¹¹ Az 5. minta összehasonlítási értékei a besztercei adatssorokkal: $t = 5.50$, $Gw = 67.7/99.0\%$.



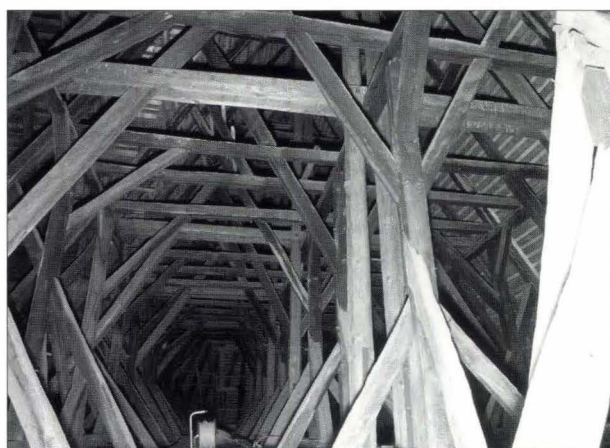
4. ábra: a szentély feletti fedélszerkezet hosszszelvényi felmérése (Köllő Miklós, 2011.)

ismert, hogy a templom két középkori harangját 1856-ban újraöntötték. A mai harangszerkezet feletti, kelet-nyugati irányú, északi gerendából és a mai harangtartó szerkezet alatt, a nyugati észak-déli gerendából származó faminták (4. és 13. minta) datálását minden valószínűség szerint az új haranggal hozhatjuk összefüggésbe.

A szentély feletti fedélszerkezet leírása, az elemekből vett faminták dendrokronológiai elemzése és a szerkezet rekonstruált építéstörténete

A szentély feletti fedélszerkezet tekintetében munkánk elsődleges célja a fedélszék korának dendrokronológiai módszerrel történő meghatározása volt. Nincs tudomásunk olyan korábbi művészet-, vagy építéstörténeti munkáról, amely a fedélszerkezet építéstörténetét tárgyalná, vagy az arra vonatkozó írott adatokat gyűjtötte volna össze. A már említett 1601-ben és 1602-ben történt város- és templomdúláson kívül, valamint Debreczeni László 1941-ben elkészített templom-felmérésén kívül nem volt számunkra ismert más, a fedélszerkezet építéstörténetére vonatkozó írott adat. Ez okból alapvetően saját megfigyeléseinkre, kutatásainkra támaszkodhattunk. Első helyszíni munkánk során, 2010-ben már láthattuk, hogy a szerkezeten több építkezés is nyomot hagyott. (4. ábra, 7. kép) Jól elkülöníthető a fedélszerkezet – vésett ácsjelekkel megjelölt tölgyfa elemekből és félfecskefarkú kötésekkal megépített – eredetinek tűnő magja. (5–6. ábra)

A tölgyfa-szerkezet egyes elemeinek javításán, pótlásán kívül később nagyarányú beavatkozás történt, ugyanis a tölgyfa-szerkezet alatt fenyőfából készített, fiókgerendás – fiókki-váltó gerendás szerkezet helyezkedik el. (5–6.

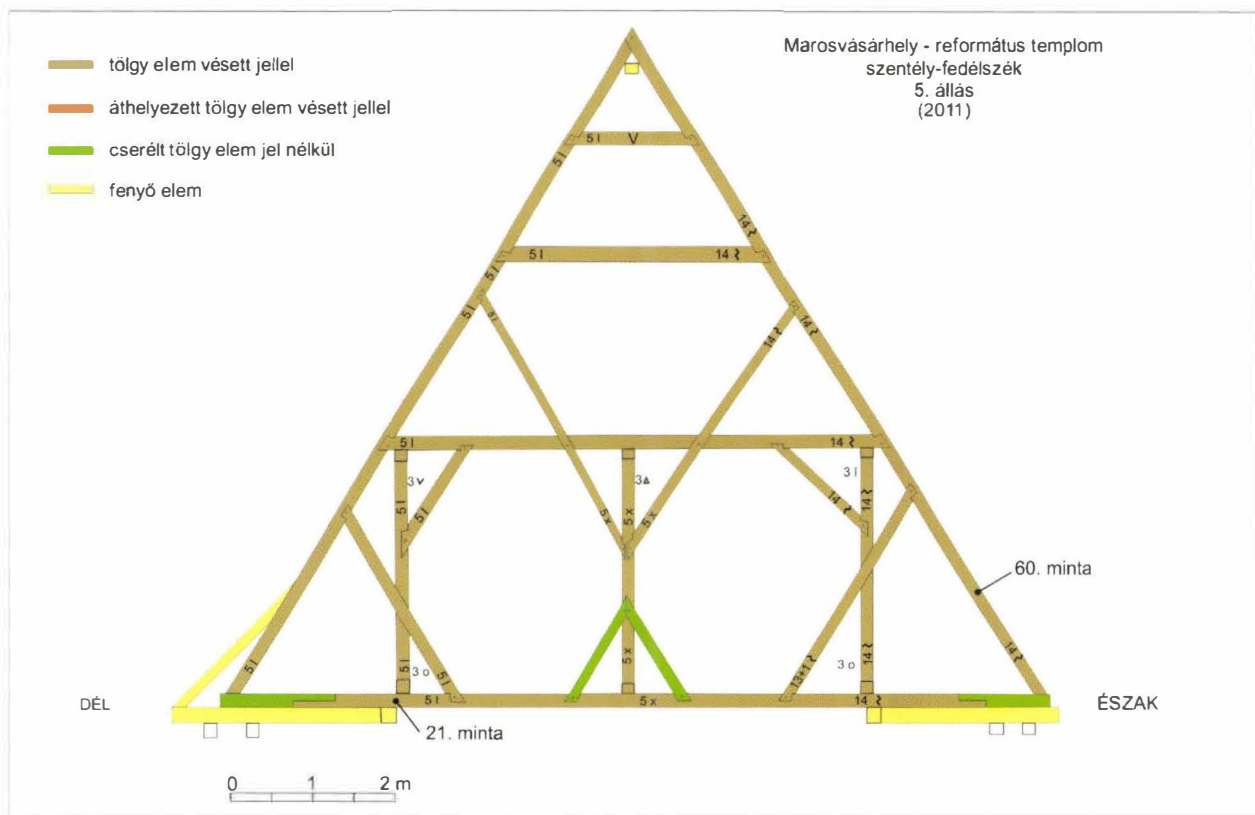


7. kép: a szentély feletti fedélszerkezet nyugatról

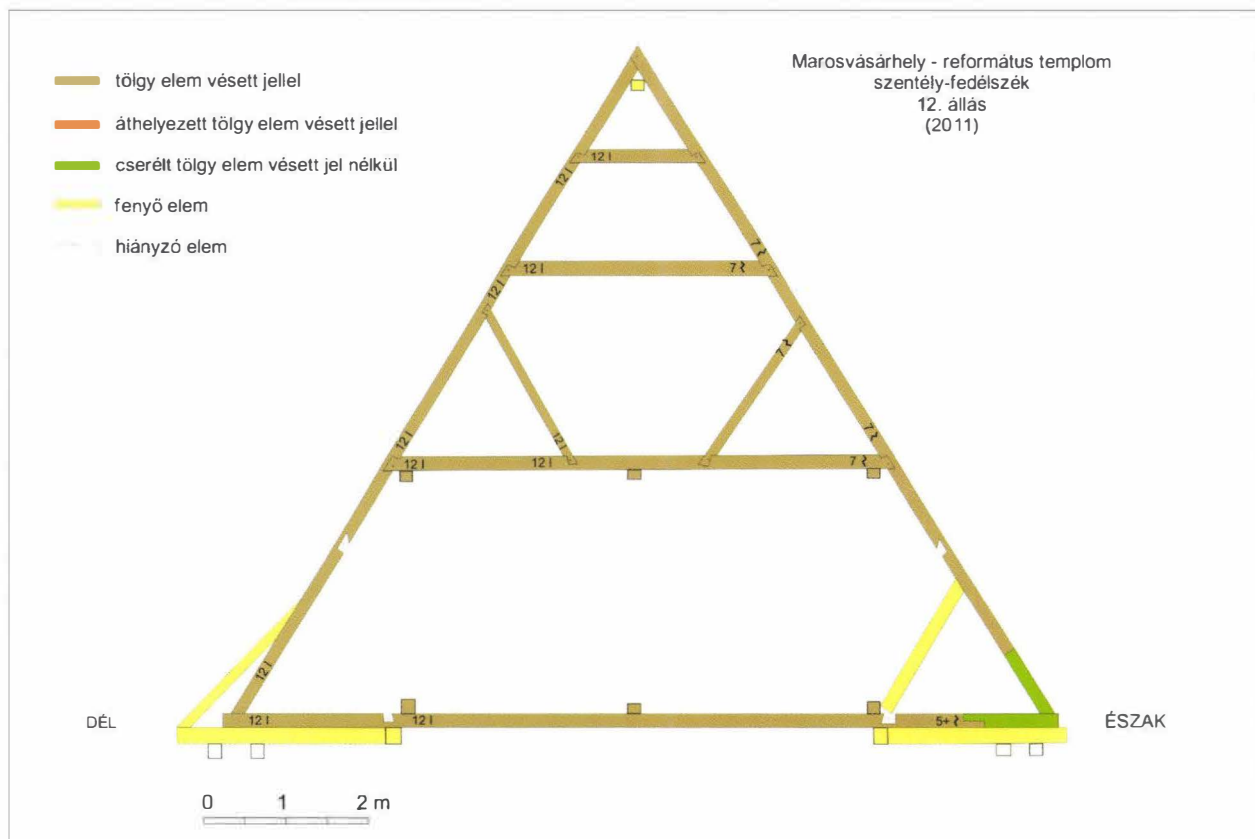
ábra) Ezzel egy időben fenyőfából készített függesztőműves szerkezet került hat állásba az eredeti belső elemek eltávolításával. (7. ábra) Dendrokronológiai vizsgálatra ez évben a szentély tölgyfa-fedélszerkezetének 6 eleméből vettünk famintát (15–20. minta).

A szerkezetek alapos megismerése és a dendrokronológiai keltezések helyes értelmezése, valamint az eredeti szerkezet rekonstrukciója céljából 2011-ben építészeti felméréseket készítettünk Köllő Miklós építész közreműködésével.¹⁴ Ezen kívül feltérképeztük az elemeken látható ácsjeleket, hogy megismerhessük a jelek használatának rendszerét, és állásról-állásra dokumentáltuk minden egyes elem jellemzőit. Megvizsgáltuk és dokumentáltuk az elem anyagát (tölgy- vagy fenyőfa), a rajta található ácsjelet, vagy a jel hiányát, a másodlagos felhasználásra

¹⁴ Elkészítettük a szerkezet alaprajzi, három hosszszelvényi és három keresztmetszeti felmérését. Ez utóbbiak a három különböző állástípust mutatják be (fő-, mellék-, valamint megerősített mellékállás). Ezen kívül pontos állapotfelmérést készítettünk két állásról: a 4. főállásról (7. állás) 1:25-ös léptékben, valamint a 18. állásról 1:50-es léptékben.



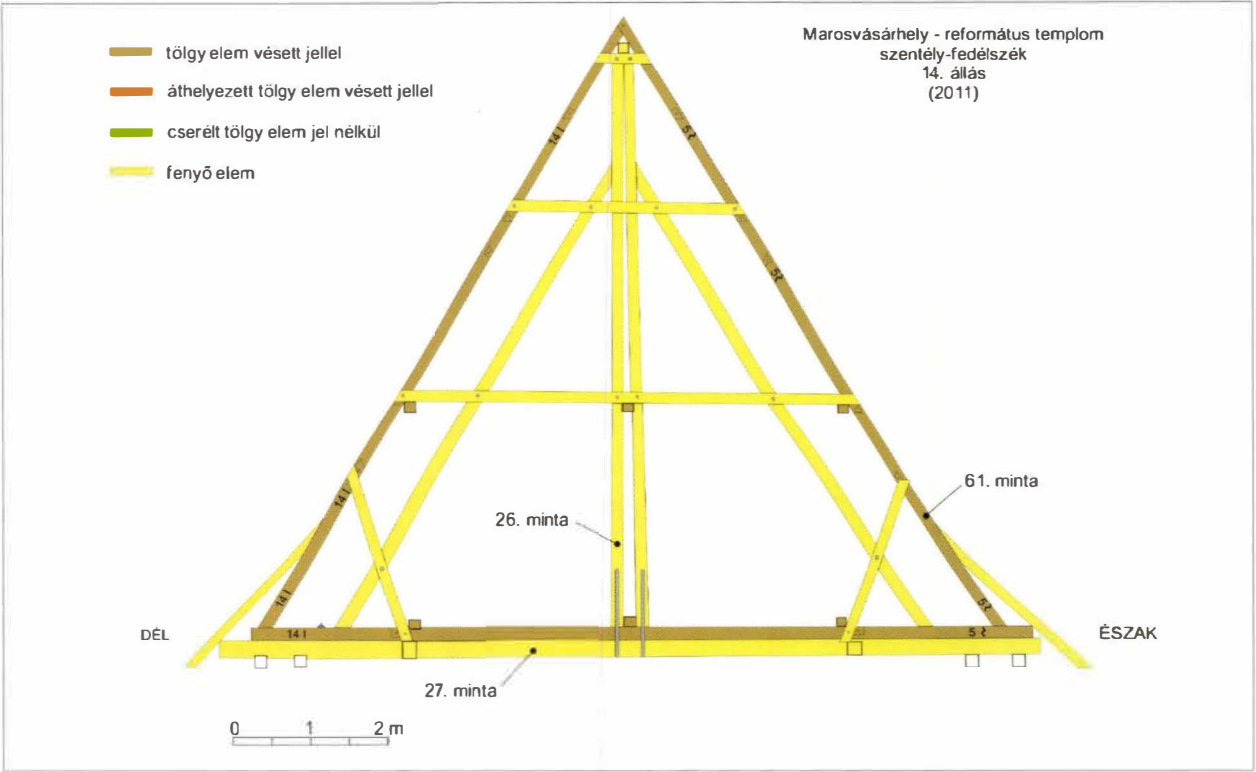
5. ábra: az 5. állás (3. főállás) felmérése az ácsjelek feltüntetésével (Botár – Tóth – Walgraffe, 2011.)



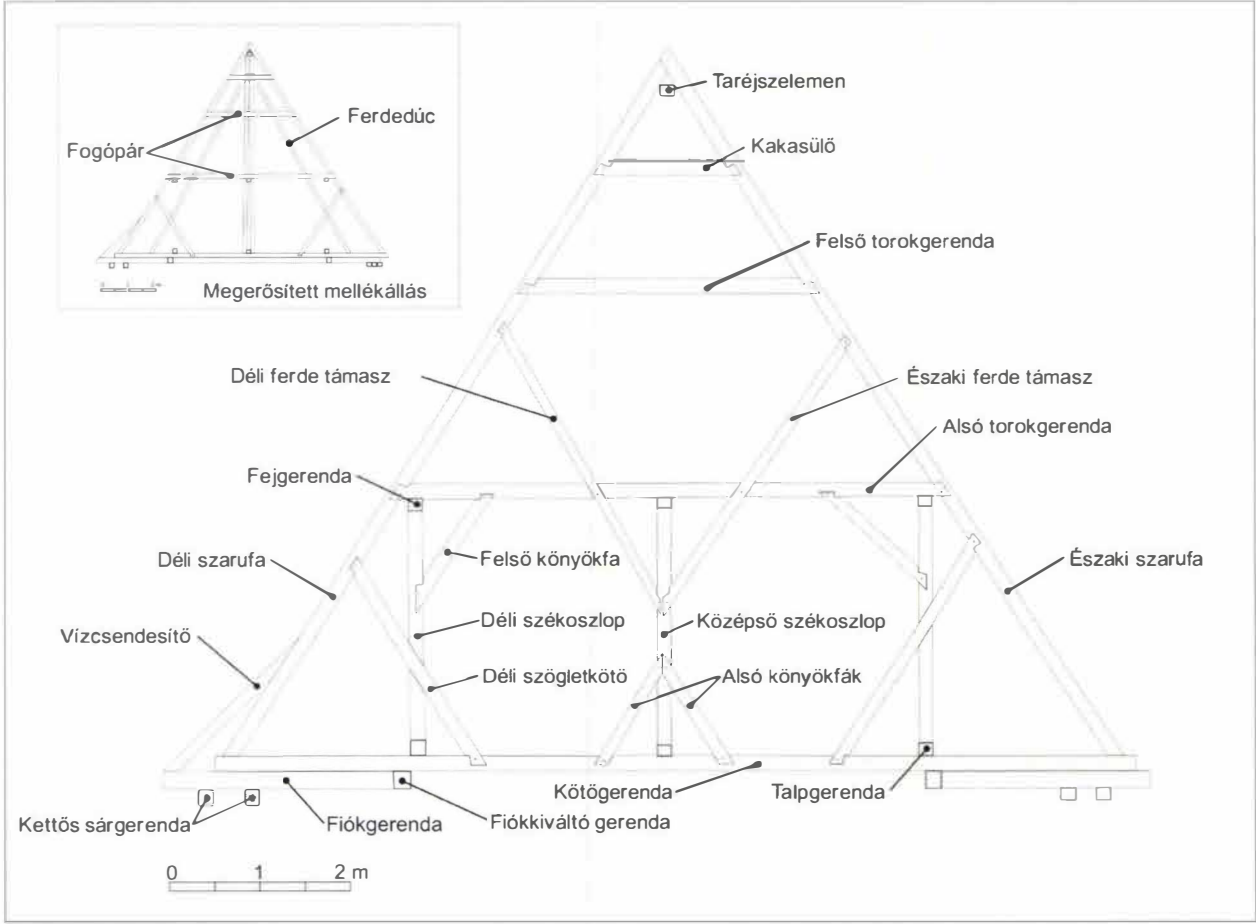
6. ábra: a 12. állás (mellékállás) felmérése az ácsjelek feltüntetésével (Botár – Tóth – Walgraffe, 2011.)

* Az állásrajzokon az átláthatóság kedvéért számok mutatják, hogy hány db állásjel található az elemen. - pl. 5 | azt jelenti, hogy 5 db vonallal jelölték meg az elemet. Vannak esetek, amikor az ácsjel

sora például gerendavég-csere miatt megszakad. Ezekben az esetekben + jel mutatja, hogy eredetileg még folytatódott a jelek sora.



7. ábra: a 14. állás (megerősített mellékállás) felmérése az ácsjelek feltüntetésével (Tóth – Walgraffe, 2011.)



8. ábra: a szentély feletti fedélszerkezet elemeinek általunk használt megnevezése

utaló jeleket (használaton kívüli lapolásnyomok, nem helyének megfelelő állás- vagy illesztési jel, nagyobb lapolási fészkek, stb.), valamint a gerendavégek esetleges javítását. Jelöltük továbbá, ha a gerenda végéhez közel, a sarkokon bevéssett vájatokat láttunk – ezek rendeltetéséről később még szólunk.¹⁵ (5–7. ábra) 2011-ben további 16 famintát vettünk. Ötöt a tölgyfa-, illetve nyolcat a fenyőfa-szerkezetekből (21–29., 32–33. minta), két famintát a szentély boltozata feletti vonóvasakra fektetett fenyőfa-gerendákból (30–31. minta), továbbá három mintát a hajó fedélszerkezetének elemeiből (34–36. minta). A tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet építéstörténetének helyes értelmezése végett 2013-ban újabb 26 famintát fűrtünk a szentély tölgyfa-fedélszerkezetének elemeiből (40–65. minta).

A szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet

A szentély feletti, tölgyfa elemekből épített fedélszerkezet 22 szaruállásból épül fel. Nyugatról az első állással kezdődően minden második állás főállás, amely torokgerendás, három-állószerű szerkezet: két torokgerenda és egy kakasülő merevíti, ahol az alsó szinten három-állószerű szerkezet található. (5. ábra) Keresztirányban a két szélső székoszlopot szögletkötők és felső könyökfák, a középső székoszlopot alsó könyökfák és két, a második szintre is felnyúló ferdefüggesztő erősíti. A hosszmerovítést székoszlopokhoz kapcsolódó talp- és fejgerendák, valamint ezekbe futó alsó és felső könyökfák biztosítják. (A fedélszerkezet leírásának megértése és az elemek azonosítása érdekében az általunk használt elem-megnevezéseket a 8. ábrán közöljük.)

Eredetileg nyugatról az első állással kezdődően minden második állás üres, vagyis mellékállás volt. Az eredeti tölgyfa-szerkezet mellékállását ma már csak rekonstruálni lehet, ugyanis a későbbi megerősítő beavatkozások során bizonyos elemeket következetesen eltávolítottak. A lapolásnyomok és ácsjelek azonban egyértelműen utalnak az eltávolított elemek egykori léteire. A mellékállásokat két torokgerenda, egy kakasülő, továbbá az alsó két szinten eredetileg szögletkötők merevítették. (6–7. ábra)

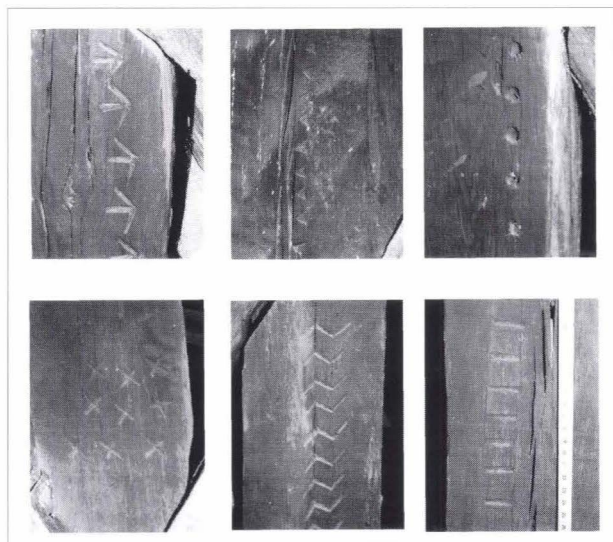
A tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet elemeit félfecskéfarkú lapolással vagy csapolással rögzítették egymáshoz. A szerkezet faanyagának

meghatározása, a helyszíni megfigyelésen kívül, 37 elemből vett faminta laboratóriumi mikroszkópos vizsgálata alapján történt (ld. a dendrokronológiai elemzést).

A szerkezetben vannak tölgyfa-elemek, amelyek nyilvánvaló módon utólagos javítás során kerültek helyükre (nincsen rajtuk ácsjel, más a megmunkálás minősége), és több, ácsjellel ellátott elem is előfordul a szerkezetben, amely ma nem eredeti helyén található.

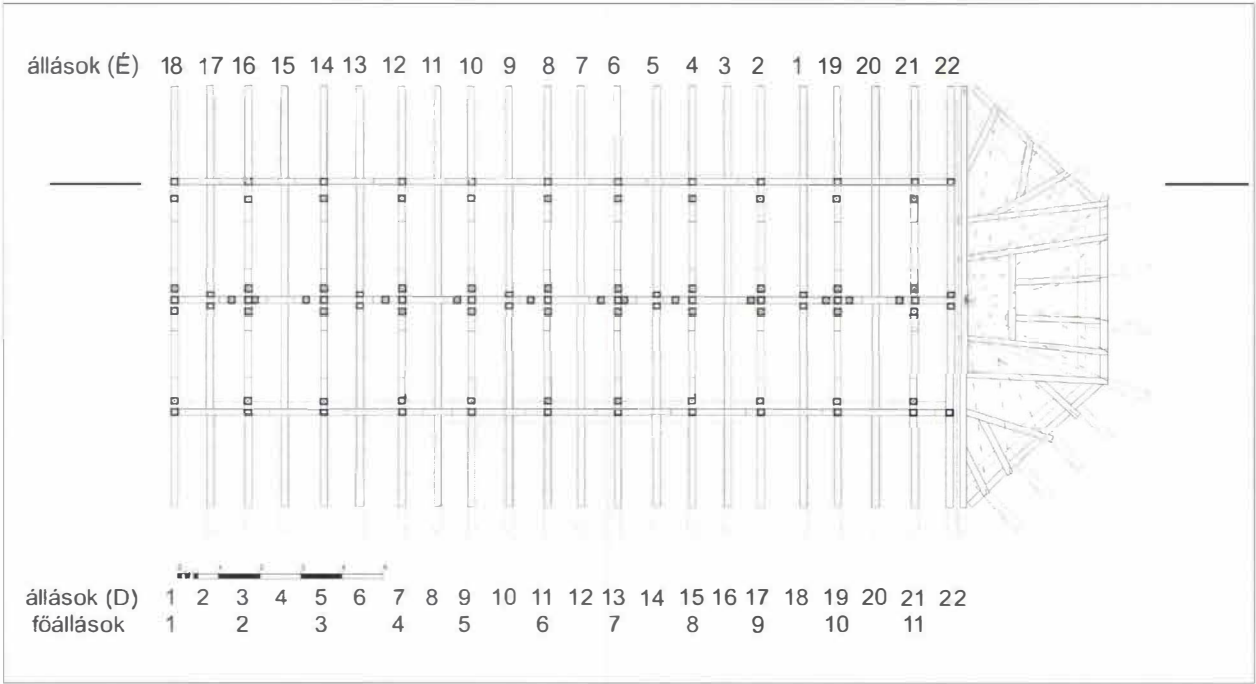
Ácsjelek (állásjelzések és illesztési jelek) a szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezetben

A szaruállásokat alapvetően nyugatról kelet felé számozták 1-től 22-ig. (Mi is eszerint számozzuk az állásokat.) Érdekes azonban, hogy míg a fedélszerkezet déli oldalán és középső részében lévő elemeken nyugatról-keletre növekvő sorrendben megfelelő számú vonallal, illetve megfelelő számú kereszttel jelezték, hogy az elemek hányadik álláshoz tartoznak (1. állás elemein 1 vonás, a 21. állás elemein 21 vonás), addig az északi oldalon beépített elemeken más a jelölés rendszere. (9. ábra) Itt fordítva, keleten indul a számozás, de nem is az első, hanem keletről az 5. állástól, ami nyugatról a 18. állás. Ebben az állásban egy darab villám formájú jel (⚡) látható, és innen nyugatra haladva mindig eggyel több jel mutatja az állások számát 18 álláson keresztül. A keleten „kimaradt” 4 állásban viszont a déli oldalon megfigyelhető rendszer szerint, nyugatról-keletre növekedve számozták meg az elemeket 19, 20, 21, illetve 22 villám formájú jellel (⚡). (10. ábra, 8. kép)

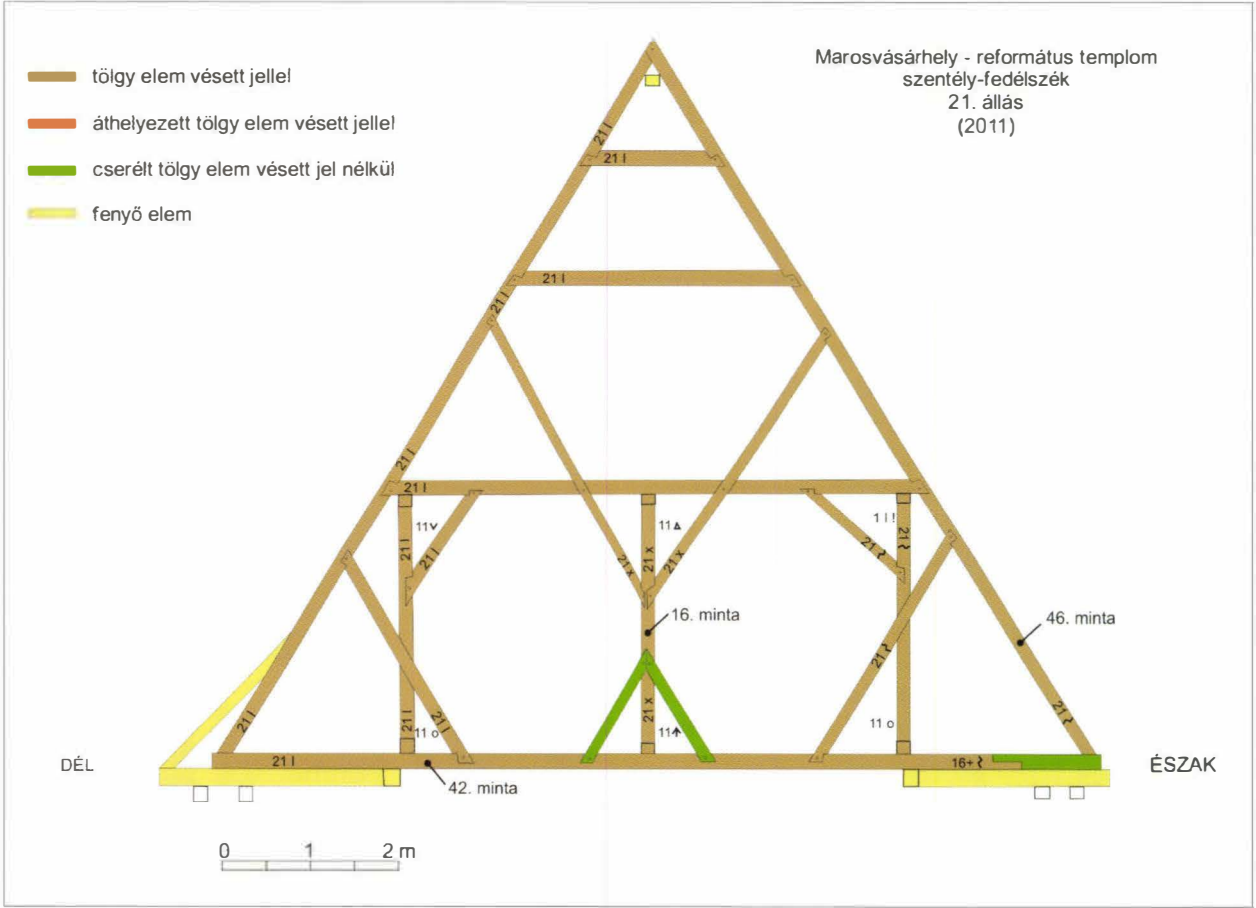


8. kép: a szentély feletti tölgyfa fedélszerkezet elemein látható ácsjelek

¹⁵ Minden állás dokumentációját elkészítettük. Nem láttuk azonban értelmét, hogy minden állás rajzát jelen tanulmányban bemutassuk, ezért itt csak a megértéshez szükséges főbb típusok szerepelnek.

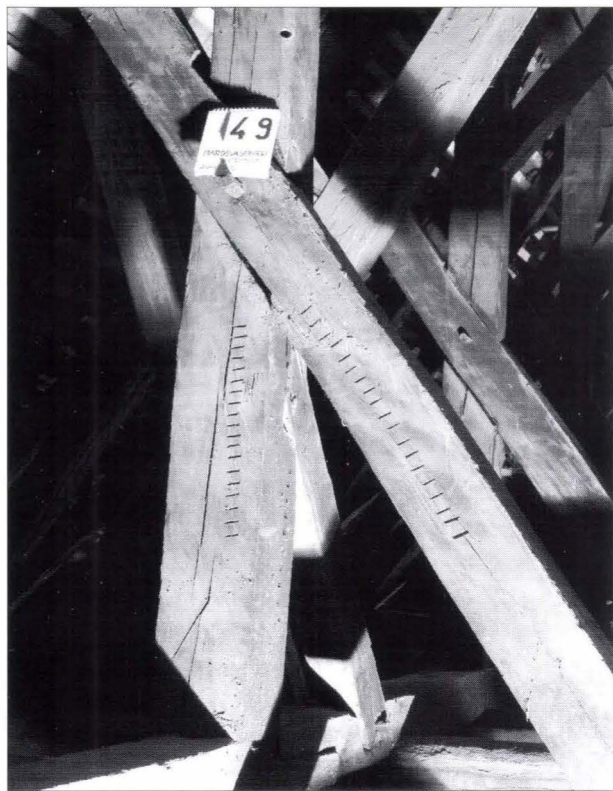


9. ábra: a tölgyfa-szerkezet állásainak számozási rendszere az északi és a déli oldalon



10. ábra: a 21. állás (11. főállás) felmérése az ácsjelek feltüntetésével (Botár – Tóth – Walgraffe, 2011.)

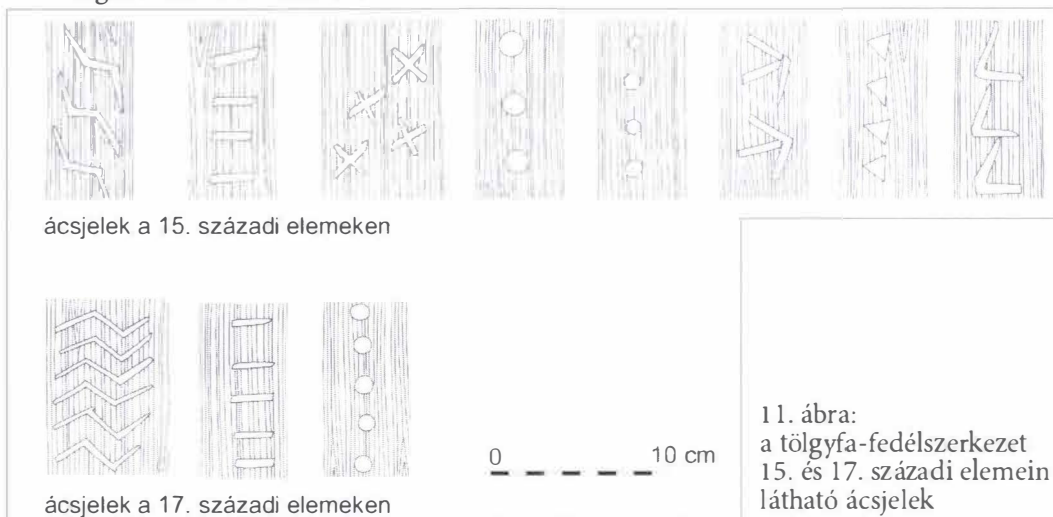
Az állásszámot mutató ácsjelek mindig a faelemek keleti oldalán láthatók. Az állások déli felében lévő elemeken vonalakat, a középső részen keresztteket, az állások északi felében pedig villám formájú jeleket (4) használtak. A torokgerendák, kakasülők és ferdefüggesztek két végére általában mind a kettő, illetve a kötőgerendák végére és közepére mind a három jelet bevésték/beütötték – ezt láthatjuk például az 5. állás gerendáin. (5. ábra) Az elemek összeépítését azzal segítették, hogy minden csatlakozásnál megjelölték mind a két csatlakozó elemet. (9. kép) Így a hosszú elemekre (szarufákra) olykor minden illesztési hely mellé felvésték az állásnak megfelelő



9. kép: ácsjelek a déli oszlopon és a hozzá kapcsolódó szögletkötőn a 19. állásban

számú jelet – ebben azonban nem voltak az ácsok következetesek. Például az 4. állás déli szarufáján minden egyes illesztési pont mellett megtalálható a 4 vésett vonal (összesen hat helyen), de a 20. és 21. állásban az északi szarufán például egyetlen egy helyre került fel a 20, illetve 21 vésett villám formájú jel: a szarufa alsó részére, a kötőgerenda csatlakozásánál.

Az elemek keleti oldalán található állásjelzések kívül további ácsjelek figyelhetők meg a főállásokban az elemek északi vagy déli oldalán. Ezekkel az illesztési jelekkel a székoszlopokhoz csatlakozó, kelet-nyugati (hosszanti) síkban lévő alsó és felső könyökfák helyét azonosították, de úgy, hogy minden egyes könyökfa helyét pontosan azonosítani lehet. Vegyük például az 5. állás, vagyis a 3. főállás rajzát! (5. ábra) Láthatjuk, hogy a déli székoszlop felső felébe, az északi oldalra 3 db V-alakú jelet, alsó felébe 3 db nagy kört, a középső székoszlop felső felébe, szintén északi oldalra 3 db háromszög formájú jelet, valamint az északi székoszlop felső felébe – a déli oldalra – 3 db vonalat, míg az alsó felébe 3 db kis kört vésték/ütöttek be. (11. ábra, 8. kép) Az 5. állásban éppen nem látható, de a középső székoszlopok alsó felében megfelelő számú nyíl alakú jel jelenik meg. A 3 db jel azt mutatja, hogy az elemnek a 3. főállásban van a helye. Ezeket az illesztési jeleket a székoszlopba és a hozzájuk csatlakozó könyökfába is bevésték. Valóban minden egyes könyökfa egyedi jelzést kapott, így helye pontosan azonosítható. A könyökfák a legtöbb esetben nyugat felé erősítik a székoszlopot, de az első két főállásban gyakoribb a keletre néző könyökfa, és van néhány hely, ahol mind a két irányban megerősítették a székoszlopot egy-egy könyökfával. Ebben nem találtunk következetességet. Ki kell emelni, hogy nagyon sok esetben cseréltek a könyökfák, így sok elem már nem látható az eredeti illesztési jel.



Megállapíthatjuk, hogy az állásjeleket és illesztési jeleket alapvetően igen következetesen használták: minden elemet helyének megfelelően megjelöltek, abban azonban vannak eltérések, ahogy már említettük, hogy a hosszabb elemeket minden csatlakozásnál megjelölték-e, vagy csak egyszer.¹⁶

A 22. állásban sem a szarufákon, sem a kötőgerendán nem találtunk rendszernek megfelelő ácsjelet (a mellékállás többi eredeti elemét a későbbi megerősítés során mind eltávolították). Az északi szarufán mindössze egy négyzetes jelet találtunk. A szarufákon viszont látható az eredeti alsó szögletkötők lapolási helye, ami alapján feltételezhetjük, hogy eredetiek.

Az eddig tárgyalt állás- és illesztési jeleken kívül megfigyelhető még egy fajta jelzés, mégpedig az eredeti szerkezet kakasülőin, nyugatról az első 9 állásban. Az állás számának megfelelő római számot véstek a kakasülők közepére a keleti oldalon.¹⁷

A tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet több szarufáján és kötőgerendáján igényesen megfaragott vájatot figyeltünk meg az elemek végéhez közel, egy vagy két sarkon. (10. kép) Feltételezésünk szerint



10. kép: szarufán megfigyelhető vésett vájat

¹⁶ Ezen kívül találtunk néhány, rendszertől eltérő jelölési módot. Nyugatról az 1. állásban két csatlakozásnál is használtak olyan jelet, ami a többi állásban nem fordul elő. A déli szarufán és a hozzá csatlakozó déli ferdefüggesztőn két vonalat lehet látni, valamint az északi szarufa felső torokgerendához való találkozási pontjánál egy T-alakú jel látható, holott – a rendszer szerint – ezekre a csatlakozási helyekre is egy-egy vésett vonal kellett volna kerülni. Ezen kívül a székoszlopokba és könyökfákba vésett, ütött jelek sem a további jelrendszerhez igazodnak: a középső székoszlop alsó részén használt nyíl alakú jelet leszámítva a többi jel (három esetben egy vésett vonal, és egyszer háromszög) eltér a főállásokban egyébként következetesen használt jelektől. Valószínűleg arról lehet szó, hogy az első állás építésénél még nem tisztult le a későbbiekben használt jelölési rendszer. További eltérés nyugatról a 7. állásban figyelhető meg: az északi oszlopon, az északi szarufán és – a ferdefüggesztő kivételével – az összes hozzá csatlakozó elemen 11 villám formájú jel (⚡) látható, holott ebben az állásban 12 jelet kellett volna használni. Ez félrevezető lehetett, hiszen nyugatról a 8. állásban is 11 villám formájú jelet használtak, de itt a rendszernek megfelelően. Ennek oka egyelőre számunkra ismeretlen. Ezen kívül két állásban lehet megfigyelni a jelölések hiányát. A 8. állás tölgy kötőgerendáján nem találtunk egyáltalán jelet, pedig a gerendavégek eredetiek, nem javítottak, viszont megfigyelhető az eredetileg hozzá kapcsolódó szögletkötők lapolási fészke. Ezek alapján, valamint a kötőgerendából vett faminta dendrokronológiai keltezése alapján (18. minta) mégis eredetinek kell tartanunk a 8. állás kötőgerendáját. A 2. állás északi szarufáján sem látni ma állásjelzést, azonban feltételezhető, hogy a kötőgerenda közelében volt a jel, csak a szarufa végét később javították.

¹⁷ A 2. és 6. állásban hiányzik ez a jel, mert ott nem eredetiek a kakasülők, hanem a későbbi mellékállás-megerősítéseknek kiváltották fenyőfa fogópárok. Ez alapján lehet, hogy a 10. állás kakasülőjén is volt eredetileg jel.

ezeknek a vájatoknak a kifaragott gerendák felhúzásában lehetett szerepe. A 20. állásban az északi szarufa alsó végén látható vájat vágja az állásjelzést. Ha helyes a feltételezésünk, akkor értelemszerűen először összeépítették az állást, helyüknek megfelelően megjelölték az elemeket, majd utána faragták ki a vájatot, hogy felhússák a gerendát.¹⁸

A szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet elemeinek dendrokronológiai elemzése

A szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezetből három alkalommal összesen 37 famintát vettünk dendrokronológiai elemzésre. 2010-ben 6 elemből (15–20. minta), 2011-ben további 5 elemből (21–23., 32–33. minta), majd 2013-ban újabb 26 elemből vettünk furatmintát koronafúróval (40–65. minta). A 37 minta

¹⁸ A homoróddaróci (Draas, Dräusen) evangélikus templom szentélye feletti fedélszerkezet szarufáin láthatunk hasonlóan igényesen vésett, szintén a faelem végén található, de a gerendavégén következetesen két sarkon is megjelenő vájatokat. A homoróddaróci templom 2008-ban elvégzett dendrokronológiai kutatása során a szentély feletti fedélszerkezetből vett 8 keltezhető faminta alapján megállapíthattuk, hogy a szerkezetet 1478/1479 telén kivágtott tölgyfákból építették.

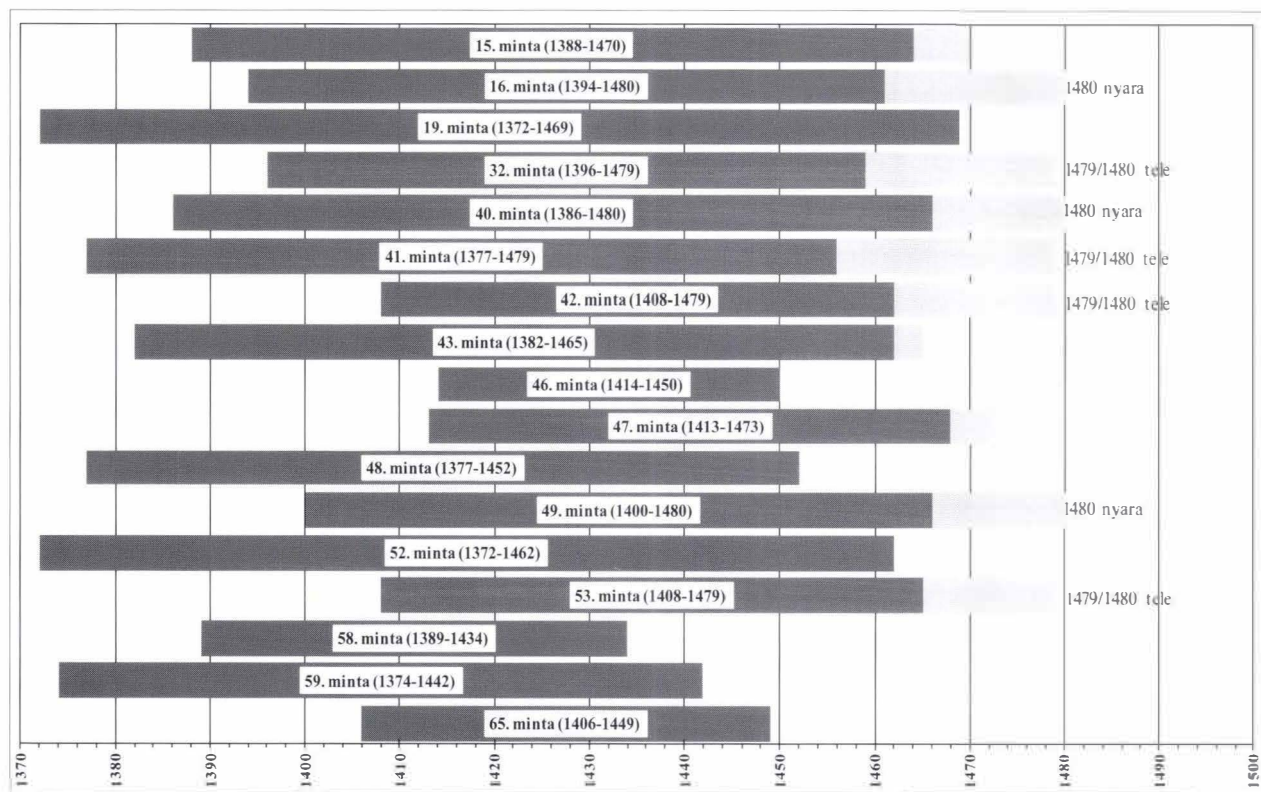
keresztmetszetének mikroszkópos vizsgálata során megállapítottuk, hogy mindegyik tölgyfából (*Quercus sp.*) származik. Négy mintán mindössze 30 vagy annál kevesebb évgűrűt lehetett lemérni, így azok alkalmatlanok dendrokronológiai elemzésre (17., 50., 62. és 64. minta). A tölgyfa-minták közül összesen kettő tartalmazza a teljes évgűrűsört a fa belétől a kéregig: a 49. minta 81 éves, az 51. minta 48 éves fából származik. A többi mintán hol a bél felőli vég, hol a kéreg felőli vég, hol mindkettő hiányzik.

A minták évgűrűinek lemérése után számítógépes program segítségével és vizuálisan is összehasonlítottuk egymással az évgűrű-adatsorokat, az ún. évgűrű-görbéket. Négy minta (33., 45., 57. és 63. minta) évgűrűinek dendrokronológiai összehasonlítása eredménytelen volt – ennek oka minden bizonnyal a fák egyedi növekedése lehetett. Az összehasonlítással kiderült, hogy az értékelhető 29 minta nem egykorú, hanem két csoportba sorolható. Az egyik csoportba 17, a másikba 11 egykorú minta

tartozik. Az egykorú minták egyesítésével kapott két adatsort összehasonlítottuk az erdélyi keltezett tölgyfa-kronológiákkal és a következő eredmény született:

- a 17 minta évgűrűsorának átlagolásával kapott 109 éves adatsort a szászföldi és udvarhelyi kronológia alapján 1372 és 1480 közé lehet keltezni – igen magas összehasonlítási értékekkel¹⁹
- a 11 minta egyesítésével kapott 48 éves adatsort az udvarhelyi kronológiával sikerült datálni: az első év 1555-re, az utolsó 1602-re keltezhető.²⁰

A szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezetből származó minták dendrokronológiai elemzésének eredményeit két táblázatba foglaltuk össze, ahol a minták pontos leírása mellett minden egyes minta keltezése látható. Az első táblázat a 15. század végére keltezett mintákat, a következő táblázat a 17. század legelejére keltezett mintákat tartalmazza.²¹ Az egykorú minták egymáshoz viszonyított időrendjét egy-egy diagram is szemlélteti. (12–13. ábra)



12. ábra: a szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezetből származó 15. századi faminták egymáshoz viszonyított időrendje

¹⁹Összehasonlítási értékek: a szászföldi kronológiával: $t = 14.56$, $Gw = 88.0/99.9\%$, az udvarhelyi kronológiával: $t = 12.26$, $Gw = 83.8/99.9\%$.

²⁰ Összehasonlítási értékek az udvarhelyi kronológiával: $t = 8.05$, $Gw = 75.7/99.9\%$.

²¹ A táblázat értelmezéséhez ld. a 8. lábjegyzetben olvasható feloldásokat.

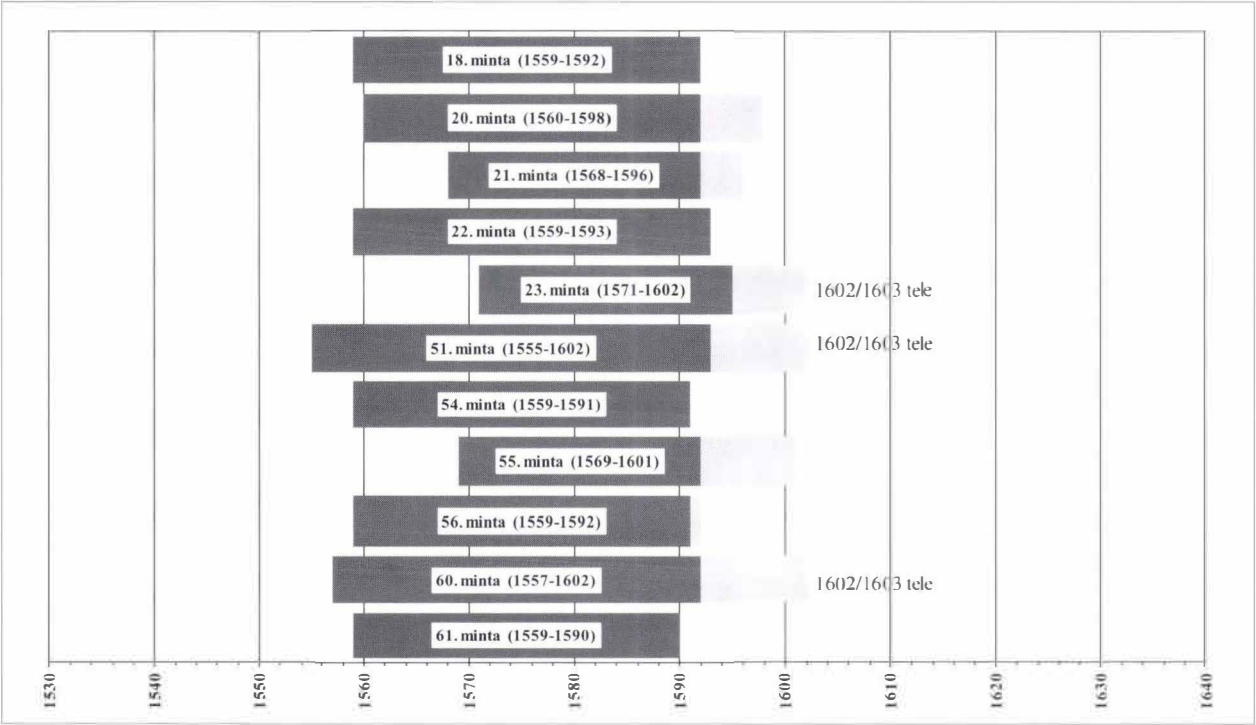
A SZENTÉLY FELETTI TÖLGYFA- FEDÉLSZERKEZETBŐL SZÁRMAZÓ 15. SZÁZADI FAMINTÁK	FAFAJ	ÉV	SZ	WK, TP	BÉL	IDŐREND	KELTEZÉS
15. minta: 7. állás (4. főállás), középső székoszlop (ácsjel: 4 háromszög, 7 ×)	tölgy	83	6	-	-	1388-1470	1477-1481 körül
16. minta: 21. állás (11. főállás), középső székoszlop (ácsjel: 11 nyíl, 21 ×)	tölgy	87	19	WK,TP	-	1394-1480	1480 nyara
19. minta: 3. állás (2. főállás), déli székoszlop (ácsjel: 2 kör, 3 vonal)	tölgy	98	-	-	igen	1372-1469	1482-1486 körül vagy azután
32. minta: a szentélyzáródás déli részében, az északi fiókgerendához futó fiókgerenda	tölgy	84	20	WK	-	1396-1479	1479/1480 tele
40. minta: szentélyzáródás, keleti szarufák közül a délihez futó ferdetá- masz	tölgy	95	14	WK, TP	-	1386-1480	1480 nyara
41. minta: szentélyzáródás, a délkeleti szarufák közül a nyugati	tölgy	103	23	WK	-	1377-1479	1479/1480 tele
42. minta: 21. állás (11. főállás), kötőgerenda (ácsjel: 21 vonal)	tölgy	72	17	WK	-	1408-1479	1479/1480 tele
43. minta: 20. állás, kötőgerenda (ácsjel: 20 vonal)	tölgy	84	3	-	igen	1382-1465	1475-1479 körül
44. minta: 19. állás (10. főállás), déli szarufa (ácsjel: 19 vonal)	tölgy	83	18	WK	-	?	?
46. minta: 21. állás (11. főállás), északi szarufa (ácsjel: 21 villám)	tölgy	37	-	-	-	1414-1450	1463 körül vagy azután
47. minta: 18. és 22. állás között, északi talpgerenda	tölgy	61	5	-	-	1413-1473	1481-1485 körül
48. minta: 18. és 22. állás között, déli fejgerenda	tölgy	76	-	-	-	1377-1452	1465 körül vagy azután
49. minta: 19. állás (10. főállás), déli székoszlop (ácsjel: 19 vonal, 10 nagy kör, 10 nyíl)	tölgy	81	14	WK, TP	igen	1400-1480	1480 nyara
52. minta: 15. állás (8. főállás), déli székoszlop (ácsjel: 15 vonal, 8 nagy kör)	tölgy	91	-	-	-	1372-1462	1475 körül vagy azután
53. minta: 5. és 6. állás között, déli talpfa	tölgy	72	14	WK	-	1408-1479	1479/1480 tele
58. minta: északkeleti szenté- lyzáródás, belső sárgerenda (rég gerendafészkekkel!)	tölgy	46	-	-	-	1389-1434	1447 körül vagy azután
59. minta: északi szentélyzáródás, északkeleti csúcsba futó fiókgerenda	tölgy	69	-	-	-	1374-1442	1455 körül vagy azután
65. minta: 11. állás (6. főállás), déli szarufa (ácsjel: 11 vonal)	tölgy	44	-	-	-	1406-1449	1462 körül vagy azután

Láthatjuk, hogy a 15. századra keltezett minták közül hét tartalmazta a kéreg alatti záróévgyűrűt (WK), így ezek esetében féléves pontossággal sikerült megállapítani a fa kivágásának idejét. Négy szerkezeti elem (32. 41., 42. és 53. minta) 1479/1480 telén, három elem (16., 40. és 49. minta) 1480 nyarán kivágott fából származik. Végigtanulmányozva a minták dendrokronológiai keltezését és figyelembe véve, hogy a minták elsődleges felhasználásban, egy szerkezetből

származnak, nagy valószínűséggel kijelenthetjük, hogy az összes elemzett faminta 1479/1480 telén, vagy 1480 nyarán kivágott fából való. Ezt szemléletesen mutatja be a 12. ábra. Szembetűnő, hogy a 15. század végére keltezett elemek mind idős, legalább 80-90 éves fából valók – a három 40-50 évgyűrűt tartalmazó mintánál a bél felőli vég és a szíjács is hiányzik, így ezeknél is elképzelhető, hogy szintén idős egyedekből származnak (46., 58. és 65. minta).

A szentély tölgyfa-fedélszerkezetének 17. század elejére keltezett mintáinál három esetben lehetett féléves pontossággal meghatározni a fa kivágásának időpontját. Mindhárom esetben 1602/1603 telén vágták ki a fát (23., 51. és 60. minta).

A többi faminta vagy szintén 1602/1603 telén vagy az utána lévő 1–2 évben kivágott fából származhat. Míg a 15. század végi elemeket feltételezhetően mind idős tölgyfából készítették, a 17. század legelejére datált minták mindegyike igen fiatal, 40–60 év körüli tölgyfából való.



13. ábra: a szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezetből származó 16–17. századi faminták egymáshoz viszonyított időrendje

A SZENTÉLY FELETTI TÖLGYFA-FEDÉLSZERKEZETBŐL SZÁRMAZÓ 17. SZÁZADI FAMINTÁK	FAFAJ	ÉV	SZ	WK, TP	BÉL	IDŐREND	KELTEZÉS
18. minta: 8. állás, kötőgerenda (nincs ácsjel)	tölgy	34	-	-	-	1559-1592	1605-1609 körül
20. minta: 15. állás (8. főállás), északi székoszlop (ácsjel: 4 villám)	tölgy	39	6	-	-	1560-1598	1605-1609 körül
21. minta: 5. állás (3 főállás), kötőgerenda (ácsjel: 5 vonal, 14 villám)	tölgy	29	4	-	-	1568-1596	1605-1609 körül
22. minta: 4. állás, kötőgerenda (ácsjel: 4 vonal)	tölgy	35	-	-	-	1559-1593	1603 körül vagy azután
23. minta: 4. állás, déli szarufa (ácsjel: 4 vonal)	tölgy	32	7	WK	-	1571-1602	1602/1603 tele
51. minta: 7. állás (4. főállás), kötőgerenda (ácsjel: 7 vonal, 7x, 11 villám)	tölgy	48	9	WK	igen	1555-1602	1602/1603 tele
54. minta: 1. állás, északi székoszlop (ácsjel: 17 villám)	tölgy	33	-	-	-	1559-1591	1604 körül vagy azután
55. minta: 14. és 15. állás között, északi fejgerenda	tölgy	33	9	-	-	1569-1601	1605-1609 körül
56. minta: 7. állás (4. főállás), északi székoszlop (ácsjel: 11 villám, 4 kör, 4 vonal)	tölgy	34	1	-	-	1559-1592	1604-1608 körül
60. minta: 5. állás (3. főállás), északi szarufa (ácsjel: 14 villám)	tölgy	46	10	WK	-	1557-1602	1602/1603 tele
61. minta: 14. állás, északi szarufa (ácsjel: 5 villám)	tölgy	32	-	-	-	1559-1590	1603 körül vagy azután

A szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet
rekonstruált építéstörténete a
dendrokronológiai elemzés és helyszíni
megfigyeléseink alapján

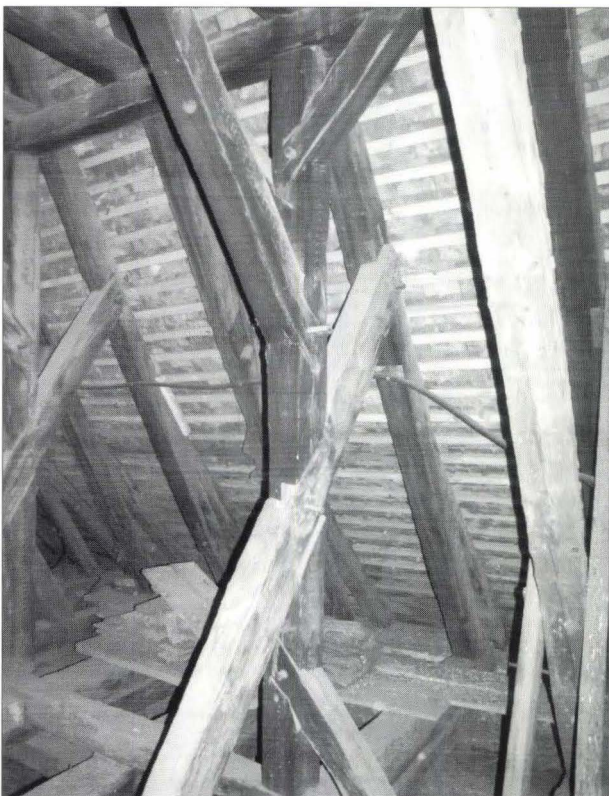
Noha a tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet látszólag egységes képet mutat, a faminták elemzése egyértelműen arról tanúskodik, hogy az két építési periódus eredményeként jött létre. Az első mintavétel után az eredményeket – helyszíni megfigyeléseinkre támaszkodva – úgy értelmeztük, hogy a szerkezetet a 15. század végén építették, majd a 17. század legelején – a templom dülését követően – kijavítottak bizonyos elemeket. Erre utalt az, hogy az egyik 17. század eleji kötőgerendán nem találtunk ácsjelet, és az is, hogy a másik elemen nem az állásnak megfelelő ácsjelet találtuk. A második mintavételt követően a korábbi és az új dendrokronológiai adatok, összesen kilenc minta keltezése alapján azonban valószínűbbnek tűnt, hogy az 1601., 1602. évi dülések után minden bizonnyal új fedélszerkezetet építettek a szentély fölé, amikor nyilván a korábbi, leégett szerkezet még használható elemeit újrahasználták. Feltételeztük, hogy a 17. századi szerkezet a régi mintájára készült. Szembetűnő volt ugyanis, hogy egy kivétellel mind az öt 17. század legelejére keltezett minta hosszú elemből, vagyis kötőgerendából, illetve szaru fából

származik (18., 20–23. minta), míg a 15. század végi minták rövid elemekből – székoszlopokból és a szentélyzáródás egyik fiókgerendájából –valók (15., 16., 19. és 32. minta).

Miután két helyszíni munka alapján sem volt teljes mértékben világos a szerkezet építésének története, 2013-ban újra bejártuk a fedélszerkezetet és a bizonytalan értelmezésű elemekből további kontroll-mintákat gyűjtöttünk. A keltezések ismeretében nyilvánvalóvá vált, hogy a két építési periódus faelemei között külső megjelenésükben nem lehet egyértelmű különbséget felfedezni. A 15. század végi elemek szögletesebbek és színük sötétebb, de ez nem következetes jellemző. Ugyanakkor a két periódus elemein megjelenő ácsjelek között vannak kisebb eltérések. A 15. század végi elemek jelei enyhén szélesebbek, szögletesebbek, míg a 17. század eleji elemeken az ácsjelek vékonyabbak (11. ábra). Az északi oldal ácsjelrendszerének szabálytalanságát kutatva azonban kulcsfontosságú megfigyelést tehettünk: a nyugatról számított négy utolsó állás, vagyis a 19–22. állás összes tölgyfa-eleme a korai periódushoz tartozónak, azaz 15. század végének tűnik (a faelemek megmunkálása, színe és az ácsjelek is erre utalnak).²² A 18. és 19. állás között a hosszmerovítés elemei – mind a hat talp- és fejgerenda – megszakad, tehát szerkezetiileg is „elkülönülő” egységről van szó. (11–12. kép)

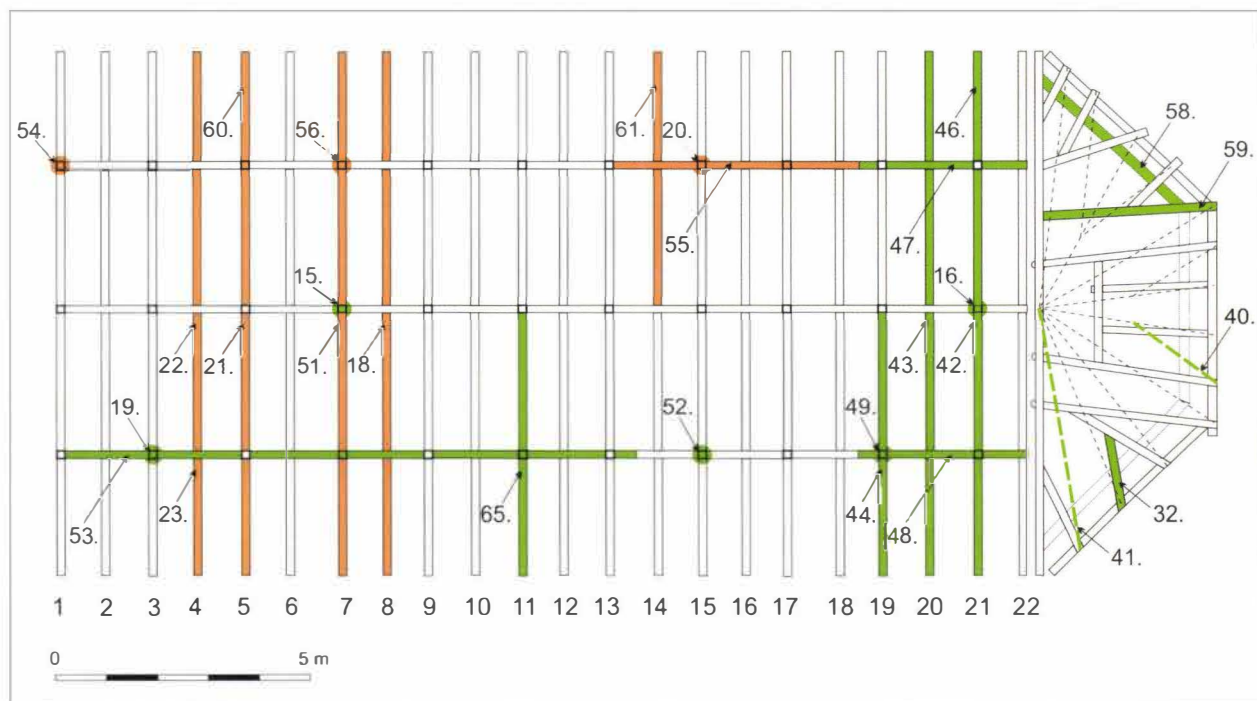


11. kép: a 19–21. állások déli fele keletről nézve



12. kép: a 21. állás északi fele keletről nézve

²² Minden állásban utólagos megerősítés a középső székoszlop két alsó, keresztirányú, ácsjel nélküli könyökfája, ezért a megállapítás ezekre az elemekre nem vonatkozik.



14. ábra: a szentély feletti középkori fedélszerkezet keltezett elemei (zöld színnel a 15. századi, narancssárgával a 17. századi elemeket jelöltük)

A négy állás elemeiből vett korábbi (16. minta) és a 2013-ban vett további hat faminta (42., 43., 46–49. minta) dendrokronológiai elemzése alapján ma már biztosan állíthatjuk, hogy a tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet szóban forgó 4 állásból álló keleti egysége valóban az 1480-as évek legelejére keltezhető. A keleti négy állás datált famintái a következő elemekből származnak: a 19. állásban a déli székoszlop (49. minta) és minden bizonnyal a déli szarufa (44. minta), a 20. állásban a kötőgerenda (43. minta), a 21. állásban a kötőgerenda, a középső székoszlop és az északi szarufa (16., 42. és 46. minta), valamint a 18. és 22. állás között az északi talpgerenda és déli fejgerenda (47. és 48. minta).

Ezen kívül a fedélszerkezet további 15. századra keltezett elemei a következők:

- déli szarufa a 11. állásban (65. minta),
- déli székoszlop a 3. és 15. állásban (19. és 52. minta),
- középső székoszlop a 7. állásban (15. minta),
- déli talpfa az 5. és 6. állás között (53. minta),
- továbbá a szentélyzáródás faszervezetének öt eleme: két fiókgerenda (32. és 59. minta), egy ferdetámasz (40. minta), az egyik délkeleti szarufa (41. minta), illetve a belső sárgerenda az északkeleti záródásban (58. minta).

Ki kell emelni, hogy a belső sárgerendán ma nem használt gerendafészek láthatók.

Helyszíni megfigyeléseink alapján úgy tűnik, hogy a fedélszerkezet „keleti egységén” kívül a többi kötőgerenda, északi szarufa, északi

székoszlop, északi szögletkötő és szinte az összes déli szarufa 17. század eleji elem! (14. ábra) A dendrokronológiai elemzés a 17. század elejére keltezte:

- a 4., 5., 7. és 8. állásban a kötőgerendát (18., 21., 22. és 51. minta),
- az 1., 7. és 15. állásban az északi székoszlopot (20., 54. és 56. minta),
- az 5. és 14. állásban az északi szarufát (60. és 61. minta),
- a 4. állásban a déli szarufát (23. minta),
- valamint a 14. és 15. állás között az északi fejgerendát (55. minta).

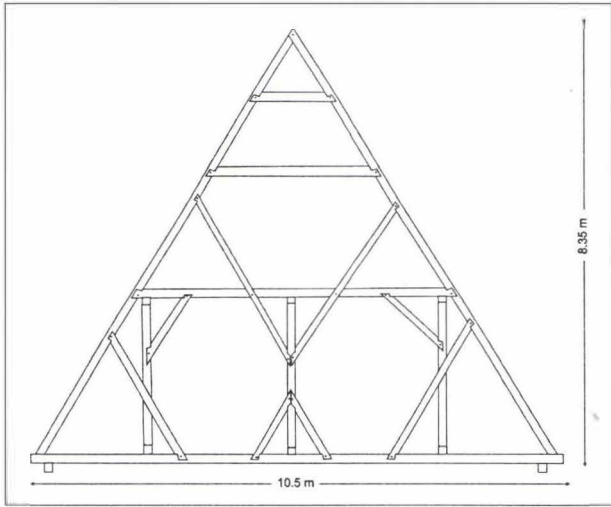
Mindezek ismeretében – a dendrokronológiai elemzés és helyszíni megfigyeléseink alapján – a következőképpen vázolhatjuk fel a szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet építésének történetét. A szerkezetet eredetileg 1479/1480 telén és 1480 nyarán kivágott tölgyfákból minden bizonnyal az 1480-as évek legelején építették. Ebből a szerkezetből teljes épségben megmaradt a keleti egység, a 19–22. állás, amely két főállást (19. és 21. állás – 10. ábra), és két mellékállást (20. és 22. állás) tartalmaz. (Az utóbbi, 22. mellékállást a későbbiekben fenyőfa anyagú függesztőműves szerkezettel erősítették meg.) Éppen ez a négy állás egysége igazolja, hogy a máig fennmaradt fedélszerkezet a 15. század végi kialakítást öröközte meg. Az állások már akkor FMFM rendszerben követték egymást, és a hosszmerítés is szerves része volt az eredeti szerkezetnek. Ez alapján

tehát pontosan lehet rekonstruálni a 15. század végi fedélszerkezetet. Az ácsjelek szintén már a 15. század végén rákerültek az elemekre – a mai rendszerhez képest azzal a különbséggel, hogy eredetileg az északi oldalon is nyugatról kezdték az állásokat számozni. Megfelelő számú villám formájú jelet ütöttek az elemekbe: például a 21. állás északi elemein 21 villám formájú jelet számolhatunk. Érdeemes megemlíteni, hogy az utolsó, 22. állás megmaradt elemein, a kötőgerendán és a szarufákon nem találtunk ácsjeleket.

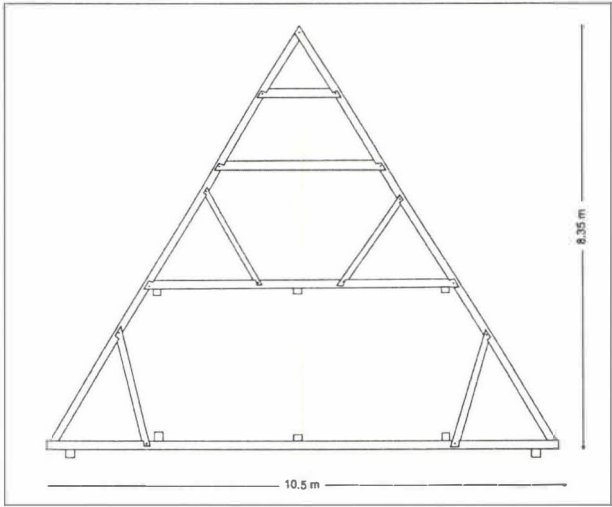
Ez a 15. század végi szerkezet 1601-ben vagy 1602-ben – a harangtoronyhoz hasonlóan – sérült: a szerkezet számos eleme, sőt valószínűleg egész állásai cserére szorultak. A szerkezetet 1602/1603 telén kivágott tölgyfából javították. A négy megmaradt álláson (19–22. állás) kívül az eredeti szerkezetnek még számos eleme ép maradt, hiszen a javítás során pontosan az eredeti szerkezetet állították helyre. Megfigyeléseink szerint alapvetően a déli és középső belső elemek maradtak meg épen, míg a kötőgerendák, a szarufák és az északi belső elemek talán mind újak (eltekintve a négy keleti állástól). Sajnos nincs módunkban megállapítani, hogy pontosan hány elemet kellett a 17. század elején kicserélni, mert dendrokronológiai elemzés nélkül, csak a külső jegyek alapján nem lehet teljes bizonyossággal meghatározni, mely elem régi és melyek az újak. A 17. századi fedélszerkezet-helyreállítás legizgalmasabb jellemzője, hogy a 15. század végi ácsjel-rendszert használták, és a cserélt elemekbe ugyanolyan ácsjeleket véstek/ütöttek, mint 120 évvel korábban. (11. ábra) Kizárólag a fedélszerkezet északi elemeinek jelölési módja változott meg. Ennek az lehetett az oka, hogy a helyreállítás során valószínűleg nem nyugatról, az 1. állástól

kezdték felépíteni a fedélszerkezetet, hanem keletről az épen maradt állásokkal. Valószínűleg az összes északi elem cserére szorult a fedélszerkezet alsó szintjén, ezért kellett az összes északi elemre az új rendszernek megfelelő ácsjelzést bevésni. Ha megnézzük a 21. állás rajzát, rajta az elemek jelölési módját, látható, hogy a vízszintes elemeken, valamint a ferde-támaszokon egy helyen van ácsjel, mégpedig a déli oldalon, illetve a középső székoszlopnál. Így tehát bele lehetett ütni utólag az eredeti elemekbe is az új rendszernek megfelelő villám formájú jeleket úgy, hogy az ma már nem tűnik fel. (10. ábra) Nem találtunk egyetlen olyan elemet sem, amelyen a kétféle, 15. századi és 17. század eleji rendszernek megfelelő jelet is láttunk volna.

Összefoglalóan elmondhatjuk tehát, hogy a szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet az 1480-as évek első éveiben épülhetett 1479/1480 telén és 1480 nyarán kivágott tölgyfák felhasználásával. A torokgerendás, három-állószerű fedélszék 22 szaruállásból épült fel. A 11 fő- és 11 mellék-szaruállás FMFM rendszerben követi egymást. A fő-szaruállást két torokgerenda, egy kakasülő, az alsó szinten három székoszlop, valamint hozzájuk csatlakozó szögletkötők, középső ferdefüggesztők és könyökfák erősítik. (15. ábra) A mellék-szaruállásban a torokgerendákon és kakasülőn kívül két-két szögletkötő van az alsó két szinten. (16. ábra) A fedélszék hosszanti merevítését talp-és fejgerendák, valamint székoszlopokhoz csatlakozó alsó és felső könyökfák biztosítják. A tölgyfa-fedélszerkezet elemeit félfecskefarkú lapolással, illetve csapolással rögzítették egymáshoz. A szarufa hossza 9,5 m, a kötőgerenda hossza 10,5 m, a szerkezet magassága 8,35 m. A fedélszerkezet állásait nyugatról kezdték számozni. Az állás déli



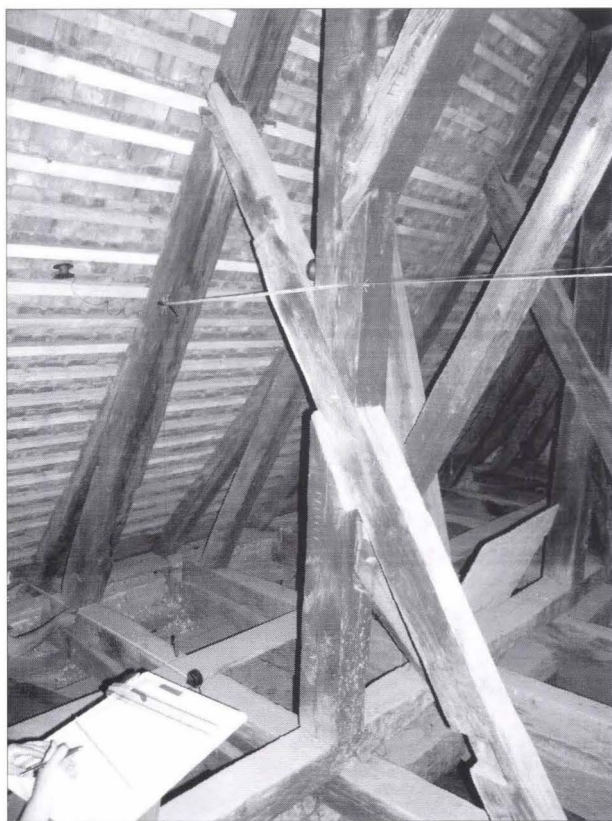
15. ábra: a szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszék főállása az 1480-as évek első éveiből (elméleti rekonstrukció)



16. ábra: a szentély feletti tölgyfa-fedélszék mellékállása az 1480-as évek első éveiből (elméleti rekonstrukció)

elemeibe megfelelő számú vonalakat, a középső elemekbe megfelelő számú kereszteket, valamint az északi elemekbe villám formájú jeleket ütöttek. A hosszanti irányú könyökfák mindegyikét a főállásnak megfelelő számú, saját jellel látták el (V-, háromszög-, nyíl formájú jel, kis és nagy kör, valamint vonal).

A 15. század végi fedélszerkezetet az 1601/1602-es dűlások következtében kellett helyreállítani. A munkálatokhoz 1602/1603 telén és valószínűleg az azt követő 1-2 évben kivágott tölgyfákat használtak fel. A 17. századi javítás mértékét csak sokkal több keltezett minta alapján lehetne megbecsülni. A rendelkezésünkre álló adatok alapján azonban azt mondhatjuk, hogy a 15. századi szerkezet keleti és déli felének jó része érintetlenül megmaradt. A 17. században cserélt elemek a szerkezet toronyhoz közel eső északnyugati részén sűrűsödnek. A sérülések esetenként a nyugati kötőgerendák északi végét is érintették, így ezekben az esetekben a teljes elem cseréjére is sor került. A 15. századi szerkezet jelentős részének megmaradását jelzi az is, hogy a 17. századi javítás során átvették a korábbi szerkezet ácsjeleit.²³



13. kép: másodlagos helyzetű régi elem a 7. állásban

A szentély feletti fedélszerkezet későbbi javításai, megerősítése

A több mint 500 éve készült, majd a 17. században felújított fedélszerkezet az idők folyamán valószínűleg többször is javításra szorult. Az „eredeti” fedélszerkezetben több helyen előfordul teljes elem cseréje, vagy pótlása, illetve olyan javítás, amikor a szarufák és kötőgerendák végeit kellett kicserélni. Egy eset kivételével, amikor a gerendavéget fenyőfával javították, az eredeti szerkezetet mindig tölgyfával javították, illetve pótolták.

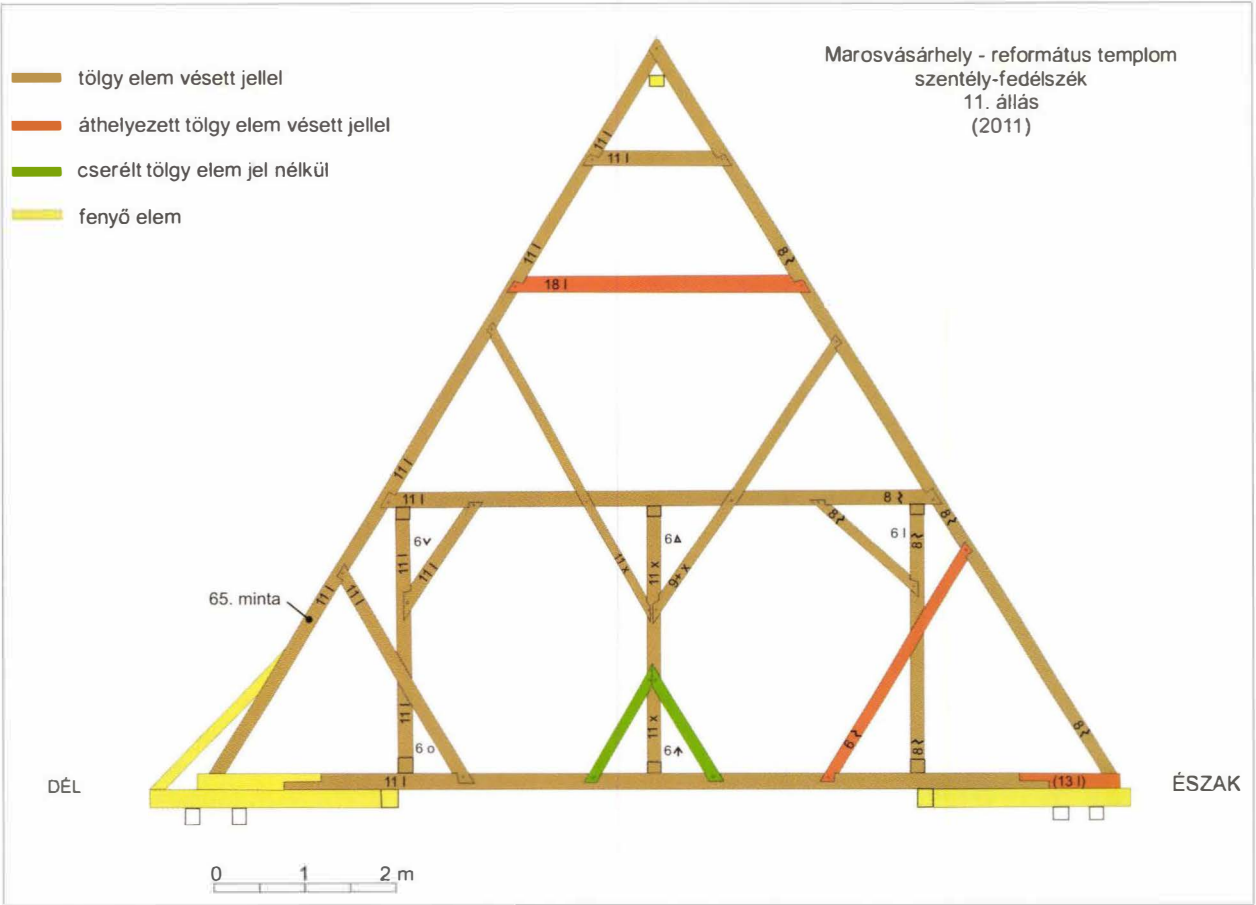
Pótlás és javítás során több esetben az eredeti szerkezetből származó, másodlagosan felhasznált tölgyfa-elemet építettek be, amire ácsjelek utalnak. (13. kép) A 2011. évi állapotfelmérés során külön jelöltük az előforduló javítási formákat (tölgyfa-elem ácsjellel másodlagos helyzetben, tölgyfaelem ácsjel nélkül, fenyőfaelem), így azok – a felmérések alapján – elemről-elemre követhetők. (17. ábra)

Teljes szerkezeti elem cseréje könyökfák, felső torokgerenda, ferde-támaszok, illetve alsó és felső szögletkötők esetében fordult elő. Nagyon sok könyökfa cserélt, a kelet-nyugati síkban lévő könyökfák fele sem eredeti. Felső torokgerendát és felső szögletkötőt egy-egy állásban cseréltek. A bevésett ácsjelek alapján elmondható, hogy mind a két elem eredetileg ugyanabban a pozícióban, de mellékállásban volt. Jelenlegi helyükre – másodlagos felhasználásban – akkor kerültek, amikor minden második mellékállásba beépítettek egy fenyőfából készített függesztőműves szerkezetet és ezeket az elemeket onnan eltávolították.

Ki kell emelnünk, hogy sem szarufa-, sem kötőgerenda-csere nem történt a 17. század után, azok – a faanyag, az ácsjelek és a lapolási fészkek alapján – mind „eredetiek”, 15. vagy 17. századiak.

A szentély feletti fedélszerkezetben a tölgyfa-elemek javításán és pótlásán kívül nagyarányú megerősítő munkák is történtek. A fedélszerkezet megerősítése során a tölgyfa-szerkezet alá egy kötőgerendás-fiókgerendás szerkezetet, valamint a 2., 6., 10., 14., 18. és 22. mellékállásba (vagyis minden második mellékállásba) függesztőműves szerkezetet építettek be. A szerkezeteket fenyőfából készítették. A tölgyfa-szerkezet északi és déli talpgerendája alatt fiókkiváltó gerendák húzódnak, amelyekhez a tölgyfa-szerkezet fő- és mellékállásai alatt fiókgerendák csatlakoznak, a megerősített mellékállásokban – amelyek így főállásokká váltak – kötőgerendák találhatók. (4-7. ábra, 7. kép)

²³Jelen tanulmányunk kéziratához a szentély feletti fedélszerkezettel kapcsolatban számos hasznos pontosítást, javaslatot kaptunk Sarkadi Mártontól, akinek ezúton is köszönjük segítségét.



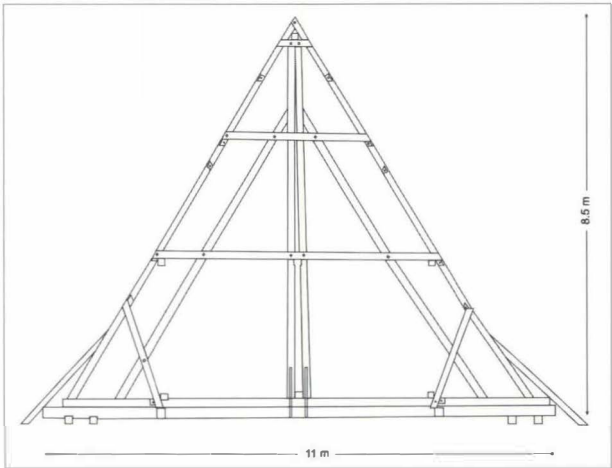
17. ábra: a 11. állás (6. főállás) felmérése az ácsjelek feltüntetésével (Botár – Tóth – Walgraffe, 2011.)

A 2., 6., 10., 14., 18. és 22. mellékállás megerősítése során az eredeti torokgerendákat, kakasülőket, valamint az alsó és felső szögletkötőket, tehát a szarufák és kötőgerenda kivételével minden elemet eltávolítottak, és helyükre került a fenyőfából készített új, függesztőműves szerkezet. A fenyőfa-szerkezet középső páros függesztőfából és hozzájuk csatlakozó két ferdedúcából áll, amelyeket három helyen is fogópárokkal, és két, szintén páros, alsó szögletkötővel erősítettek a szarufákhoz. Az egymásra fektetett fenyőfa és tölgyfa kötőgerendákat hosszú vaspánt segítségével függesztették fel a páros függesztőfához. Az elemeket négyszög-fejű vascsavarokkal erősítették egymáshoz. Az állások hosszanti tengelyű megerősítését szolgáló fenyőfa taréjszelement is ekkor építették be. (7. és 18. ábra) A többi mellékállásban (4., 8., 12., 16. és 20. állás) – vélhetően ezzel egy időben – következetesen eltávolították az alsó szögletkötőket. (6. ábra)

A nyolcszög három oldalával záródó szentélyzáródásban is megfigyelhető a fenyőfagerendákból épített alsó szerkezet. Feltételezésünk szerint a felette lévő tölgyfa-szerkezetet teljesen újrarakták, mert a szarufák nem eredeti helyeikben, hanem elforgatva kerültek vissza. A szarufákhoz kapcsolódó szögletkötőkön

megfigyelhető állásjelekből pedig arra következtethetünk, hogy a szögletkötők olyan másodlagosan felhasznált elemek, amelyek eredetileg nem a záródás feletti szerkezethez készültek.

A 2011. évi helyszíni munka során a tölgyfa-szerkezet alatti fiókgerendás-kötőgerendás szerkezet 5 eleméből, továbbá a mellékállás-megerősítések egy eleméből vettünk famintát dendrokronológiai vizsgálatra (24–29. minta).



18. ábra: a függesztőműves fenyőfa-szerkezettel megerősített mellékállás keletről nézve

A szentély falainak és a szentély jelenlegi boltozatának megerősítését szolgálják a fedélszerkezet alatt, a szentély északi és déli falába beépített vonóvasak.

A vonóvasakon nagyméretű fenyőfagerendák fekszenek, amelyek szerepe ma a szentélyboltozat felfüggesztése: a boltozat egyes pontjait fémsodronnyal erősítették fel a fenyőfagerendákhoz és néhol a vonóvasakhoz. (14. kép) A gerendák mérete: 18×23–24 cm. A vonóvasak – vastraverz megnevezéssel – és a rájuk fektetett fagerendák Debreczeni László 1941-ben készített felmérésein már szerepelnek. A nagyméretű fenyőfagerendák közül kettőből fűrészeltünk teljes keresztmetszetű famintát dendrokronológiai elemzéshez 2011-ben (30. és 31. minta).

A szentély feletti fenyőfa-szerkezetek és a vonóvasakra fektetett fenyőfagerendák keltezése

2011-ben fafajmeghatározásra és dendrokronológiai elemzésre 6 famintát vettünk a szentély feletti fedélszerkezetet megerősítő fenyőfa-szerkezetek elemeiből, és 2 mintát a vonóvasakra fektetett fenyőfa-gerendákból. A minták sugár-, húr- és keresztirányú metszetének mikroszkópos vizsgálata során megállapítottuk, hogy a fenyőszerkezetekből származó minták (24–29.) lucfenyőből (*Picea abies* KARST.), a vonóvasakra fektetett fenyőfagerendák való minták (30–31.) pedig jegenyefenyőből (*Abies alba* MILL.) származnak. Alacsony évgűrűszám miatt a lucfenyő-szerkezetből három minta sajnos eleve alkalmatlan dendrokronológiai elemzésre (24., 25. és 28. minta) – a minták mindössze 25–27 évgűrűt tartalmaznak, és fiókkiváltó gerendákból, valamint fiókgerendából származnak.



14. kép: a szentély boltozata feletti vonóvasakra fektetett fenyőgerendák (30. minta)

A hat faminta évgűrűinek lemerését követően összehasonlítottuk egymással az adatsorokat, amiből az derült ki, hogy a két jegenyefenyő-minta egyidős. A 30. és 31. minta adatainak átlagolásával kapott 111 éves adatsort két, egymástól független keltezett kronológia is 1776 és 1886 közé helyezett: a beszercei evangélikus templom fedélszerkezetének megerősítéséből származó jegenyefenyő-mintákból összeállított évgűrűsor, valamint a Vatra Dornei-környéki középmagas-hegyi recens fenyők alapján összeállított kronológia.²⁴ Tekintettel arra, hogy egyik minta sem tartalmazta a záróévgűrűt, a keltezés szerint a vonóvasakra fektetett egyik gerenda 1884 után, a másik vizsgált gerenda 1886 után kivágott jegenyefenyőből származik.

Láthattuk, hogy a vonóvasakra fektetett vizsgált jegenyefenyő-gerendák 1884, illetve 1886 után kivágott fákból származnak. Megfigyeléseink szerint ezekhez a gerendákhoz erősítették fel a boltozat elemeit, így a fenyőfa-gerendák nagy valószínűséggel a szentélyboltozat 1906–1907-ben lezajlott átépítése során kerülhettek mai helyükre.²⁵ Mindkét gerenda pontosan négyszög keresztmetszetű, vagyis elképzelhető, hogy a megmunkálás során akár 20 külső évgűrű is eltűnt a sarkoknál. (14. kép)

A lucfenyő minták sem egymással, sem más lucfenyő-adatsorral, illetve –kronológiával nem egyeztek, így dendrokronológiai keltezésük egyelőre nem lehetséges.

Ha dendrokronológiai módszerrel egyelőre nem is sikerült a szentély feletti fedélszerkezet lucfenyőből készített szerkezeteit keltezni, írott adatok egyértelműen utalnak a megerősítés idejére. 2012-ben egy konferencián, az itt tárgyalt akkori eredmények bemutatása után Kirizsán Imola hívta fel a figyelmünket, hogy Debreczeni László készítette 1941-ben a megerősítés terveit, amelyet Balogh Ferenc az építésről írt könyvében közölt is.²⁶

Ha összevetjük a terveket és a mai fedélszerkezet felméréseit, láthatjuk, hogy a fedélszerkezet megerősítése tehát Debreczeni László tervei szerint valósult meg. Az 1941. évi, illetve utána következő egyházi levéltári iratok alapján minden

²⁴ Összehasonlítási értékek: a beszercei adatsorral: $t = 11.63$, $Gw = 80.5/99.9\%$, a Vatra Dornei-környéki kronológiával: $t = 7.32$, $Gw = 73.2/99.9\%$. A beszercei adatsort a dél-német és a dél-lengyel jegenyefenyő-kronológia datálta, a keltezésben Tomasz Wazny lengyel dendrokronológus volt segítségünkre. A Vatra Dornei-környéki fenyő-kronológiát Ionel Popa bocsátotta rendelkezésünkre. Mindkettőjüknek hálásan köszönjük a segítséget.

²⁵ Soós 2010.

²⁶ Balogh 1983, 37. kép.

A SZENTÉLY FELETTI FENYŐFA-SZERKEZETEKBŐL ÉS FENYŐFAGERENDÁKBÓL SZÁRMAZÓ FAMINTÁK	FAFAJ	ÉV	WK, TP	BÉL	IDŐREND	KELTEZÉS
26. minta: fedélszerkezet, 14. állás, a középső páros függesztő közül a déli	lucfenyő	34	-	igen	?	?
27. minta: fedélszerkezet, 14. állás, fenyőfa-kötőgerenda	lucfenyő	58	WK?	-	?	?
29. minta: fedélszerkezet, 18. állás, fenyőfa-kötőgerenda	lucfenyő	93	WK	-	?	?
30. minta: vonóvasakra fektetett gerenda (a 7. és 8. állás között a déli)	jegenyefenyő	109	-	igen	1776-1884	1884 után
31. minta: vonóvasakra fektetett gerenda (a 12. és 13. állás között a déli)	jegenyefenyő	72	-	igen	1815-1886	1886 után

bizonynal a fedélszerkezet-megerősítés pontos ideje, talán a hozzá felhasznált fák származási helye is meghatározható, és feltételezhetően a munkálatok kivitelezése is nyomon követhető.

A marosvásárhelyi vártemplomban végzett dendrokronológiai vizsgálat legfőbb vonzata, hogy Erdély szívében egy lappangó középkori tetőszerkezetet azonosított, és sikeresen keltezte annak építési és javítási periódusait is. A szentély feletti fedélszerkezet datálása a templom

építéstörténetére és koraújkori sorsára nézve is fontos adalékokkal szolgál, hiszen korábban nem volt adatunk arra vonatkozóan, hogy az 1480-as évek elején nagyobb munkálatok zajlottak a ferences templomnál. Az is világossá vált, hogy a 17. század eleji dűlások jelentős károkat okoztak a torony és a templom tetőszerkezetében. Ennek ellenére a pusztítást követő gyors helyreállítás arra utal, hogy a közösség az előzmények ellenére képes volt arra, hogy templomát használja, javítsa.

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Summary

The Reformed church localized inside the castle of Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely) belonged in the Middle Ages to the Franciscan-order. Despite of destructions and renovations of the last centuries the church preserved more wood structures which chronological relations could bring important information about the periods of the building. The most appropriate method for such research is the dendrochronology which in optimal circumstances can result dating with half year accuracy. For the analysis we took 65 samples in all. In the bell tower there are no wood elements contemporary with the construction, the inside structures belong all to the renovation made after the devastation of 1601–1602, some are even younger. The roof of the tower and the beams of the old bell-structure were made from oak-timber cut in 1603, while the actual bell-structure is made from oaks felled in the winter of 1834–1835. Unlike the tower and the nave the roof structure of the sanctuary contains elements from a much earlier roof. Four complete trusses on the east side and the elements in the centre and south part of the structure were made from oaks cut during the winter of 1479/1480 and the next summer. One has to presume a bigger intervention, construction on the friary for this period. The devastations from the beginning of the 17th century had strong effects on the north-west part of the roof positioned near the bell tower, there fore the rafters located here and also the connected tie-beams were replaced with wood material cut in winter of 1602/1603. Surprisingly the assembly marks used on the 17th century elements are almost the exact copies of those dated in the 15th century. The following major intervention on the roof was in the 20th century, when every second secondary truss was strengthened with a pine structure.

The main importance of the dendrochronological research is the identification of a historical structure in the heart of Transylvania on a well-known building, and the exact dating of the construction and reconstruction years.

Rezumat

În evul mediu biserica reformată din cetatea din Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely) a fost lăcașul franciscanilor. În ciuda distrugerilor și reconstrucțiilor din secolele anterioare clădirea încă păstrează mai multe structuri și elemente de lemn a căror datare este foarte importantă pentru istoria bisericii. Metoda cea mai potrivită pentru astfel de datări este dendrocronologia, care în circumstanțe optime poate să producă datări cu o precizie de jumătate de an. În cursul prelevărilor am luat în total 65 de probe dendrocronologice. Datorită devastărilor vechi în cazul turnului cercetarea dendrocronologică nu a identificat elemente contemporane cu construcția clădirii. Elementele cercetate pot fi legate de lucrările de reconstrucție efectuate după incendiile din 1601–1602, sau sunt elemente chiar mai noi. Grinzile folosite pentru acoperișul turnului, respectiv cele de la nivelul de bază a clopotelor vechi provin din stejari tăiați în anul 1603, iar grinzi din structura clopotelor actuale aparțin unor stejari doborâți în iarna anilor 1834/1835. Spre deosebire de navă și turn acoperișul corului poate fi legat de perioade de construcții mult mai timpurii. Cele patru ferme estice, respectiv majoritatea elementelor din partea centrală și sudică a structurii au fost executate din copaci de stejari tăiați în iarna anilor 1479/1480 respectiv vara anului 1480. Prin urmare se poate constata că în acești ani a avut loc o mare intervenție/construcție la biserica franciscană. Devastarea și incendiile de la începutul secolului la 17-lea au produs ravagii și pe șarpanta corului, majoritatea câpriorilor vestice de pe partea nordică de lângă turn, și elementele legate de acestea, mai ales coardele au fost schimbate cu grinzi din stejar tăiați în iarna anilor 1602/1603. Este extrem de interesant că în cursul acestei renovări dulgherii au copiat semnele folosite de meșterii din secolul al 15-lea. O nouă intervenție majoră s-a derulat în secolul al 20-lea, când fiecare a doua fermă secundară a fost întărită cu o structură din molid.

Succesul cercetării dendrocronologice constă în faptul că a localizat în inima Transilvaniei pe o clădire ușor accesibilă o șarpantă medievală necunoscută anterior, în cazul căreia s-a reușit atât datarea absolută a construcției cât și fixarea cronologică a reparațiilor medievale.

Peter Anreiter, Eszter Bánffy, László Bartosiewicz, Wolfgang Meid, Carola Metzner-Nebelsick (eds), *Archaeological, Cultural and Linguistic Heritage. Festschrift for Erzsébet Jerem in Honour of her 70th Birthday*, 2012, Main Series 25, 633 pp. with BW and colour illustrations ISBN 978-963-9911-28-4

Book review by Sándor BERECKI

The work of Erzsébet Jerem is well known among specialist researching the Early and Late Iron Age of the Carpathian Basin and Central Europe. On the occasion of her 70th birthday celebrated in 2012 she was worthily greeted by her colleagues with a *Festschrift* study volume published in the Archaeolingua Main Series, whose founder and editor is Jerem herself. The Jerem-Festschrift has five editors, with most of them Jerem published studies or edited volumes and books earlier. The high quality, hardcover volume presents the well known signs of the series; the simple, no-frills front cover is memorable due to the pot from Hidegség. The structure of the volume follows the tradition of the Festschriften by ordering the papers in the authors' alphabetical order. The table of content, the German foreword and Jerem's list of publications is followed by the 43 equally proportioned English and German studies of 55 authors. In spite of the bilingualism of the studies in the case of the volume's title the editors opted for the English version. Finally, the studies are followed by the list of contributors and the list of the publications of the Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft respectively Archaeolingua.

The contents of the studies are connected mainly to Jerem's main research areas, however among the contributors researchers reporting on other historical periods also occur. The volume starts with a study in toponymy (Anreiter), while further papers examine several early Neolithic phenomena (Bánffy-Süsmegi), the Late Copper Age wagon models (Bondár), the prehistoric war chariots (Burmeister-Raulwing), the Early Bronze Age settlement structure (Fischl-Rebenda), the regional connections from the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Kiss), the Bronze Age bronze tools (Hänsel et al), settlements (Kulcsár), fortifications (Karl-Waddington), cultic artefacts (K. Kaus-M. Kaus) and mining (Tomedi-Töchterle), a Roman *burgus* (Redő), Roman rhetorician and rhetorician schools (Dobesch), onomastic (Stifter) and montan

archaeology and mining (Klemm), or the origins of the Hungarian word asszony (Janda).

As it was expected, the majority of the papers refer to the Early and Late Iron Age. The topics are diverse, both the theoretical and analytical methods and papers combining both approaches occur. The papers referring to the Early Iron Age report about the ornamentation of the pottery from the Hallstatt period (Tarpini), the northeast Hungarian fortifications (C. Metzner-Nebelsick), the connections in the period with the Balkans (Vasić), the unmodified stone inventory of graves (Arnold), the interpretation of warrior representations (A. Eibner), the proto-Celts (Stöllner) or the myths and legends of the period (C. Eibner). The studies about the Late Iron Age focus on the Celtiberians from the second half of the first millennium (Arenas-Esteban), an Etruscan grave from the 3rd century BC (Lang), the functionality (Schwellnus) and chronology (Zeiler) of vessels from the Early and Late Iron Age, the archaeological evidence of Gaul and Celtiberian

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ARCHAEOLINGUA

women potters (de Bernardo Stempel et al), the Celtic stelae (Ramsl) and the excavations from a Celtic settlement (Guštin).

Several studies reflect upon the Iron Age art, religion, beliefs and cult: the eagle representations of the Scythian art (L. D. Nebelsick), the elephant, dolphin and griffin representations of the Celtic metalwork and coinage (Olmsted), the so called "Hungarian" sword style of the Celtic art (V. Megaw-R. Megaw), the Celtic beliefs and "metempsychosis" (Meid), the Celtic ancestor god (Zeidler), Celtic cosmology and the connected rituals (Simón), Late Iron Age and Celtic hero cult (Haeussler) and Neo-Druidism (Leskovar).

A study in linguistics examines a Gaul inscription (Stüber), a further paper relates about the Celtic language and the Indo-European languages (Schmidt) and the theoretical approach of historical linguistic (Hajnal).

Two studies interpret archaeozoological materials; the first refers to the economic and spiritual importance of the red deer (Bartosiewicz), while the second one reports the occurrence and spreading of domestic hen (Gál).

The volume is highly recommended for all those interested in European, especially Central European Early and Late Iron Age archeology and linguistics.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
AB	Archaeologia Baltica, Klaipėda
ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
ActaEa	Acta Eurasistica, Wrocław
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaSic	Acta Siculica, Sf. Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy
ActaTS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
AE	L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
AHG	Annals of Human Genetics, New York
AI	Archaeologia Iugoslavica, Beograd
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
AKorrBl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Mainz
AnB	Analele Banatului, Timișoara
AncCivScytSib	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Leiden
AnnMedCEU	Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, Budapest
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
ArchAustr	Archaeologia Austriaca, Wien
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
ArchKözl	Archaeologiai Közlemények, Budapest
ARozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy, Praha
Areopolisz	Areopolisz. Történelmi és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok, Székelyudvarhely
ArhKiev	Archeologija. Nacional'na akademija nauk Ukraini. Institut archeologii, Kyjiv
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală, Cluj-Napoca
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, București
ArhSof	Arheologija. Organ na Arheologičeskija Institut i Muzej pri Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Sofija
ARegia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis, Székesfehérvár
ArsHung	Ars Hungarica. Bulletin of the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
AT	Antik tanulmányok. Studia antiqua, Budapest
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BAVA	Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie, München
BayVgBl	Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München
BerBayDenkmPfl	Bericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege, Bonn
BerDenkmPflNs	Berichte zur Denkmalpflege in Niedersachsen, Hameln
BerRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, Berlin
BiMÉ	A Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve, Berettyóújfalú
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei, Budapest

CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
CercArh	Cercetări arheologice, București
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae, Budapest
CSIR	Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Berlin–Mainz
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne, Bucarest
DissArch	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
DMÉ	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen
Dolg	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár
DolgSzeged	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből, Szeged
EJA	Estonian Journal of Archaeology, Tallinn
EMÉ	Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve, Eger
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
EMúz	Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár
ETF	Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek, Kolozsvár
FI	File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
FontArchHung	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae, Budapest
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
FVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Sibiu/Hermannstadt
GCBİ	Godišnjak Centra za Balkanološka Ispitivanja, Sarajevo
Gymnasium	Gymnasium Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung, Heidelberg
HK	Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, Budapest
IPH	Inventaria Praehistorica Hungariae, Budapest
IstorZapiski	Istoricheskije Zapiski, Novorossijsk
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
IzvSamara	Izvestija Samarskogo Naučnogo Centra Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, Samara
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, New York
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies, London
KM	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata, Kolozsvár
Korall	Korall. Társadalomtörténeti Folyóirat, Budapest
KSIA	Kratkie Soobščeniya Instituta Arheologii AN SSSR, Moskva
MAK	Materialy po arheologii Kavkaza, Moskva
MAR	Materialy po arheologii Rossii, Sankt Petersburg
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters, München–Zürich
Marisia	Marisia (V-). Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
Marmatia	Marmatia, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Maramureș, Baia Mare
MatCercArh	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
MatWczesnośred	Materialy Wczesnośredniowieczne, Wrocław
MemAnt	Memoria antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț
MFME	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
MFME – StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica, Szeged
MH	Műveltség és Hagyomány, Debrecen
MHVK	Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz, Aarau
MIA	Materialy i Issledovanija po Arheologii SSSR, Moskva

MNMAK	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Adattárának Közleményei, Budapest
MünchBeitrVFG	Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, München
MPK	Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, Wien
NK	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
OH	Opuscula Hungarica, Budapest
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani, Berlin
PrzA	Przegląd Archeologiczny (Archaeological Review), Poznań–Wrocław
RBK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Stuttgart
RE	Realencyclopädie: Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes, Bucarest
RevBist	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița
RossArh	Rossijskaja Arheologija, Moskva
RRHA	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, Bucarest
SAI	Svod arheologicheskikh istochnikov, Moskva
Sargetia	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
Savaria	Savaria, Szombathely
SCIV(A)	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
SF	Südostforschungen, München
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
SlovNum	Slovenská Numizmatika, Bratislava
SMMK	A Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
SovArh	Sovetskaja Arheologija, Moskva
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Zagreb
SpNov	Specimina nova. Dissertationem ex Instituto Historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae, Pécs
SSz	Soproni Szemle, Sopron
StAntArch	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
Starinar	Starinar. Arheološki Institut Beograd, Beograd
Stratum	Stratum plus. Archaeology&Anthropology, Chișinău
StTH	Studia Turco-Hungarica, Budapest
Światowit	Światowit. Annual of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of
Warsaw, Warsaw	
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata, Budapest
Thraco-Dacica	Thraco-Dacica, București
UAV	Ufimskij Arheologicheskij Vestnik, Ufa
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
VAU	Voprosy Arheologii Urala, Sverdlovsk
Vestnik MGOU	Vestnik Moskovskij Gosudarstvennyj Oblastnoj Universitet. Istoriâ I Političeskie Nauki = Bulletin of the Moscow State Regional University. History and political science, Moscow
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii, Moskva
VjesDal	Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Povijest Dalmatinsku, Split
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Veszprém
VMS	Viking and Medieval Scandinavia, Turnhout
VTT	Veszprémi Történelmi Tár, Veszprém
WMMÉ	A Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
ZGy	Zalai Gyűjtemény, Zalaegerszeg
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn

